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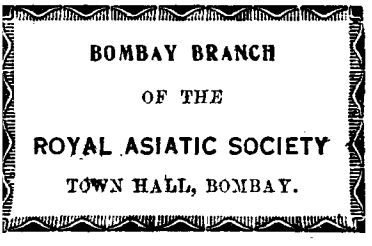

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A CATALOGUE

OF

THE ROMAN COINS

IN

THE BRITISH MUSEUM

COINS

OF THE

ROMAN REPUBLIC

IN THE

BRITISH MUSEUM

BY

H. A. GRUEBER, F.S.A.

KEEPER OF THE DEPARTMENT OF COINS AND MEDALS

LIBRARY OF THE ROYAL BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY

IN THREE VOLUMES

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND 123 PLATES

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VOLUME II.

COINAGES OF ROME (CONTINUED), ROMAN CAMPANIA, ITALY, THE SOCIAL WAR, AND THE PROVINCES

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COINS

OF THE

ROMAN REPUBLIC

COINAGE OF ROME

(*CONTINUED*)

PERIOD XV.

Circ. B.C. 36—17; A.U.C. 718—737

A MOST remarkable change took place after B.C. 37 in the coinage issued at the Roman mint. This change consisted not only in the exclusion of the names of the moneyers, but also of all personal reference to them in the types of the coins. It was one which, though it may not have actually affected the existing constitution and organization of the mint and its officers, yet practically revolutionized the character of the coinage. Hitherto, with some few exceptions, the coins struck at the mint on the Capitol from the middle of the third century B.C., bear either the symbols, the initials, or the names of the moneyers, or of those who under special circumstances were authorized by the Senate to strike money in their official capacity, either as praefects, quaestors, curule aediles, or otherwise. These special issues were usually inscribed with the letters S.C. (*Senatus consulto*) denoting that they were duly authorized by the Senate. The most recent and most notable exceptions to this general rule were the coinages in gold and silver of Julius Caesar which were struck in B.C. 49, and that in gold only issued in B.C. 44 (see vol. i., pp. 505 f., 540). These coins bear only the name of Julius Caesar, and in the first instance, at all events, they appear to have been struck quite independently of any official sanction. The circumstances connected with the coins of B.C. 44 were different, as Caesar was then occupying a very exalted position in the State, and there is some probability that the Senate sanctioned the issue, which commemorated his fifth consulship.

There is no historical record of this important change in the types of the Roman coinage, but we may gather from numismatic evidence, and also from that of finds, that it occurred some time during B.C. 36; possibly at the time of the close of the war with Sextus Pompey, or when Octavius returned to Rome

after his victories. This view is confirmed by the hoards which were found at Garlasco and Carbonara (see vol. i., pp. 561, 562), where we meet with denarii struck in the provinces after B.C. 37, but none of the Roman mint which can be assigned to a subsequent date; that is, there were no recent coins of Rome in those hoards without moneyers' names.

In the absence of any historical mention it would seem that amongst the numerous honours and privileges accorded to Octavius by the Senate in B.C. 36, there was an order directing that not only should his portrait be placed on the coinage, but also that the types generally should relate to events connected with his life, and further, that the sole inscription should be his name, to the exclusion of those of the moneyers which had hitherto occurred. In B.C. 44 the Senate had promulgated a similar order with respect to Julius Caesar, but in that instance it was limited to the stamping of his portrait and name on the obverse of the coinage, the names of the moneyers still retaining their position on the reverse. The exclusion of the moneyers' names for that of Octavius only was a still greater honour, and it entirely changed the character of the coinage, depriving it of its republican element and rendering it imperial. It is to this circumstance that we would assign the origin of the imperial authority over the gold and silver money issued at Rome, which from this time was never absolutely relinquished. When a few years later, from B.C. 16—3, the names of the moneyers were temporarily restored, the gold and silver money still retained in the main its imperial stamp; but the new bronze coinage, first issued about B.C. 15, which is inscribed with the letters S.C. (*Senatus consulto*) shows that, at all events in this instance, the Senate did not surrender its rights. It is therefore probable that the origin of the imperial authority over the gold and silver money of the State was not due to any arbitrary act on the part of Octavius, but to a gracious concession on the part of the Senate.

Before offering any remarks on the denominations struck during this Period, the nature of the types, the chronological sequence of the various issues, and the evidence of finds, it may be useful to give a very brief summary of the principal events which occurred between the years B.C. 36—17, some of which are recorded on the coins, and most of which influenced the coinage, if not in Rome itself yet in the provinces. From this time the types mainly illustrate contemporary history.

At Naulochus, on September 3, B.C. 36, Octavius, with the assistance of Marcus Agrippa, brought the war with Sextus Pompey in Sicily to a successful issue. After this battle Sextus fled to Asia, where two years later he was taken prisoner, and by order of Antony put to death. Soon after the defeat of Sextus, Lepidus, having treacherously attempted to form a junction with the remnant of the Pompeian party in Sicily, was compelled by Octavius to surrender himself, and, being deprived of his triumvirate and of his province, he was banished to Circeii, where under strict surveillance he survived till B.C. 13. From B.C. 36 his name therefore disappears from the coinage. The Senate voted Octavius unbounded honours on his return to Rome in September, giving him the privilege of accepting all or such as he chose (Appian, *de Bell. Civ.*, v. 13, 130), and accorded him an ovation. Octavius then announced his intention of resigning the title of triumvir so soon as Antony on his return from Parthia would

consent to join with him in this voluntary surrender. The title of triumvir was in consequence omitted on all the coins issued by Octavius at Rome after that date.

During the next two years Octavius was occupied with military operations in Illyricum and Dalmatia. In the meantime in the East Antony invaded Parthia in B.C. 36, but was compelled to retreat, and two years later attacked Armenia, took Artavasdes prisoner, and celebrated a triumph at Alexandria. The rupture between Octavius and Antony began in B.C. 33, and both sides prepared for the coming struggle, which culminated in the defeat of Antony at Actium, September 2, B.C. 31, and in his death and that of Cleopatra a few months later. For this and other victories, Octavius, who was now without a rival, was awarded a threefold triumph on his return to Rome in B.C. 29; the temple of Janus was closed, and he was proclaimed *Imperator Perpetuo* and *Princeps Senatus*, titles which conferred on him the highest military and civil power. Two years later he was accorded the title of *Augustus*. Of subsequent honours and titles granted by the Senate and the people, he was invested for life with the *tribunitia potestas* in B.C. 23, which was renewed each year till his death in A.D. 14, when he attained its thirty-seventh anniversary; he was *Pontifex Maximus* in B.C. 12, after the death of Lepidus, and was named *Pater Patriae* in B.C. 2. Mention will be made of the various events commemorated on the coinage during the years B.C. 36—17 as they occur in the types, but the following chronology of the *cursus honorum* of Octavius will enable us to fix the dates of many of the issues.

B.C. 43 (A.U.C. 711)	COS I	IMP . I	
B.C. 42 (A.U.C. 712)		IMP . II	
B.C. 39 (A.U.C. 715)		IMP . III	
B.C. 36 (A.U.C. 718)		IMP . IV	
B.C. 33 (A.U.C. 721)	COS II	IMP . V	
B.C. 31 (A.U.C. 723)	COS III	IMP . VI	
B.C. 30 (A.U.C. 724)	COS IIII		
B.C. 29 (A.U.C. 725)	COS V	IMP . VII	
B.C. 28 (A.U.C. 726)	COS VI		
B.C. 27 (A.U.C. 727)	COS VII		
B.C. 26 (A.U.C. 728)	COS VIII		
B.C. 25 (A.U.C. 729)	COS VIIII or IX	IMP . VIII	
B.C. 24 (A.U.C. 730)	COS X		
B.C. 23 (A.U.C. 731)	COS XI		TR . P . I
B.C. 21 (A.U.C. 733)			TR . P . III
B.C. 20 (A.U.C. 734)		IMP . VIIII	TR . P . IV
B.C. 15 (A.U.C. 739)		IMP . X	TR . P . VIIII
B.C. 12 (A.U.C. 742)		IMP . XI	TR . P . XII
B.C. 11 (A.U.C. 743)		IMP . XII	TR . P . XIII
B.C. 9 (A.U.C. 745)		IMP . XIII	TR . P . XV
B.C. 8 (A.U.C. 746)		IMP . XIIII	TR . P . XVI
B.C. 6 (A.U.C. 748)			TR . P . XVIII
B.C. 5 (A.U.C. 749)	COS XII		TR . P . XVIIII
B.C. 2 (A.U.C. 752)	COS XIII		TR . P . XXII and PATER PATRIAE

Denominations and Types.—The only denominations struck at the mint at Rome from B.C. 36—17 are the aureus and the half-aureus in gold, and the denarius in silver. There was no issue of bronze money.

Mention has been made of the great change which took place at this time in the general character of the types, which are now personal to Octavius; first, as Caesar, and from B.C. 27 as Augustus. From B.C. 36—27 his portrait usually forms the obverse type, and after his proclamation as Augustus it is with two exceptions (see pp. 33, 42) exclusive of all other types. On the earlier pieces the portrait is youthful, the head is bare and without beard. As the head of Octavius down to B.C. 36 is shown with a beard, it is evident from the coinage that it was not till after the defeat of Sextus Pompey that he abandoned this sign of mourning for his uncle, Julius Caesar (see vol. i., p. 574). From B.C. 27 the portrait is less juvenile, and the head is generally larger, and has a more dignified appearance. It is, however, still bare, except in the case of the coinage of B.C. 18, when it is laureate or with an oak-wreath. The reverse types still commemorate events in more or less chronological order, but as there is a great deal of repetition, those recorded are not in all cases of quite contemporary occurrence.

There is a slight epigraphic point to be noticed, which is that during this Period there is a change in the form of the letter G which occasionally occurs as Ϛ. This cursive form, however, does not appear to have been used on coins struck at the Roman mint after B.C. 17.

Classification.—Apart from the evidence of the types and that of finds, the coins of this Period may be divided into three separate series, ranging in order according to the titles which Octavius bore as Caesar and as Augustus.

From B.C. 36—29 he is styled "Caesar Divi f.," a title which he assumed in B.C. 44 after the death of Julius Caesar, when he wished to assert his position as the adopted son of the great imperator (Suetonius, *Augustus*, 7). His full designation was "Caius Julius Caesar Octavianus," which on his early coins was abbreviated to "C. Caesar." On the last coins bearing moneyers' names in B.C. 37 he is styled "Divi Iuli f." From B.C. 29—27, after receiving the *imperium* from the Senate, his title is changed to that of "Imp. Caesar" or "Imp." only, and from B.C. 27 he is designated "Augustus" or "Caesar Augustus." The types follow chronologically this sequence of titles. Those from B.C. 36—29 relate principally to the defeat of Sextus Pompey at Naulochus and of Antony at Actium; those from B.C. 29—27 to the same events, to Octavius's triple triumph, his erection of public buildings, temples, &c.; and those from B.C. 27—17 to the awards of the Senate of the *corona civica*, of the golden shield of valour (*clypeus virtutis*), and of the golden triumphal chariot, to the planting of the laurel-trees at either side of the door of his house, the surrender of the standards by the Parthians, the continued embellishment of the city and the improvement of the public roads, the celebration of the *Ludi Saeculares*, and his adoption of Caius Caesar, the son of Agrippa and his daughter Julia (B.C. 17).

The following summary will show the localities and duration of the provincial mints which were issuing coins of Roman standard and denominations during this Period and onwards to B.C. 3, which is the limit of date for the coins described in this work.

Spain.—The only issues attributed by Count de Salis to this district between B.C. 36—3 are those of P. Carisius, the legate and propraetor, who struck coins in silver and bronze in his own name and in that of Augustus to commemorate his victories and the foundation of the city of Emerita, B.C. 24—22.

Gaul.—All the issues are of Octavius; from B.C. 36—27 as "Imp. Caesar Divi f."; and from B.C. 27—3 as "Augustus" or "Caesar Augustus."

The East.—From B.C. 36—31 these coinages were struck by Antony; the later ones by Octavius as "Caesar Divi f." or "Caesar" from B.C. 29, and as "Augustus" or "Caesar Augustus" from B.C. 27—18. No coins are assigned to this district after the last date.

Sicily.—This coinage comes to an end with the defeat of Sextus Pompey in B.C. 36.

Africa.—The coinage of this district also terminates in B.C. 36, the last issues being those of Lepidus as triumvir, and of Octavius after the defeat of Sextus Pompey, the latter consisting of the aureus and denarius with *rev.* type temple of Julius, *Divo Iul.*, and the quinarius with galley and Victory (see Babelon, vol. ii., p. 59, nos. 138, 139: and p. 57, no. 132).

Cyrenaïca.—These issues are limited to the coinage of L. Pinarius Scarpus, who acted as legate for Antony from B.C. 31—30, and for Octavius from B.C. 30—27.

According to Count de Salis's classification, Gaul alone of the provinces continued to issue coins down to our limit of date, B.C. 3. Those of Sicily and Africa came to an end in B.C. 36; those of Spain in B.C. 22; those of the East in B.C. 18; and those of Cyrenaïca in B.C. 27. Gaul appears to have continued to issue denarii after B.C. 3, and at some time during the reign of Augustus the mints were revived in Spain. These dates are of importance when we have to consider the chronological evidence of the finds which relate to this and the next Period.

The coins struck at the provincial mints between B.C. 36—3 were the aureus and half-aureus in gold, the denarius and the quinarius in silver, and the sestertius and its divisions in bronze.

On account of their small number, the evidence of finds in support of the chronology of the issues of this Period is not so strong as in previous instances. Only two finds appear to be recorded, the burial of which can be put within the years included in this Period. They were both unearthed in France; one at Chantenay (Dépt. Nièvre); the other at Beauvoisin (Dépt. Drôme). Particulars as to the dates and circumstances under which these hoards were discovered do not seem to be recorded. The only published reference appears to be that of M. Anatole de Barthélémy in the *Mémoires de la Société Éduenne, Nouvelle Série*, t. ii., 1878, pp. 149 f.; but he only mentions the actual fact of their discovery, and the probable dates of their burial. These two finds appear, however, to have been carefully examined by Count de Salis, and he has given in manuscript complete analyses of the contents of both. He makes no mention, however, of the circumstances under which he examined them.

The *Chantenay* hoard consisted of 181 coins of the Roman Republic, of which two only were quinarii of M. Cato and L. Papius; the rest were denarii. In addition there were 409 Gaulish silver pieces: making a total of 590. The Roman coins represented 109 different issues, very evenly distributed from the middle of

the second century B.C. The largest numbers of specimens of any particular issue were 8 of P. Clodius M. f. (see vol. i., p. 582), 7 of Q. Titius (see vol. i., p. 286), and 5 of Q. Minucius Thermus (assigned to Italy; Babelon, vol. ii., p. 235, no. 19). The majority were represented by one or two specimens only. The earliest denarii were those of Cn. Domitius, *circ.* B.C. 196—172; of L. Sempronius Pitio, *circ.* B.C. 172—150; and of C. Antestius, *circ.* B.C. 151. There were no pieces of the early issues without moneyers' names. The latest coins of the Roman mint were of T. Carisius and L. Valerius Acisculus (B.C. 45); of L. Aemilius Buca and M. Mettius (B.C. 44); of P. Clodius M. f. and C. Vibius Varus (B.C. 38); and of Octavius, *obv.*, head of Octavius; *rev.*, Mercury seated on a rock (B.C. 36—29; see below, p. 11, no. 4335). There were no coins of Q. Voconius Vitulus and Ti. Sempronius Graccus, the moneyers of B.C. 37. Of the provincial issues the latest were of Julius Caesar with bust of Venus and Cupid, and *rev.*, trophy (Babelon, vol. ii., p. 11, no. 11), struck in Spain B.C. 45; of Octavius, with *rev.*, sacrificial implements (*cos. iter. et ter. desig.*; *ib.*, vol. ii., p. 59, no. 140), struck in Gaul, B.C. 36; of Antony as augur, with *rev.*, head of Sol (*M. Antonius M. f. M. n. augur imp. ter.* and *iiivir R.P.C. cos. desig. iter. et ter.*; *ib.*, vol. i., p. 188, no. 80), struck in the East, *circ.* B.C. 38—37; of Q. Nasidius, with *rev.*, galley (*ib.*, vol. ii., p. 252, no. 1), struck in Sicily, B.C. 38—36; and of Octavius, with *rev.*, temple of Julius (*Divo Iul.* and *cos. iter. et ter. desig.*; *ib.*, vol. ii., p. 59, no. 139), struck in Africa, B.C. 36. The most recent pieces in the hoard were, therefore, those of Octavius struck at the Roman mint, in Gaul, and in Africa, all of which appear to have been issued in B.C. 36, or soon after. We have therefore an approximate date for the burial of this hoard, which may have occurred in B.C. 35 or a little later, if it be taken into account that Chantenay is some distance from Rome and Africa, and that a certain interval should be allowed for coins of such issues to be conveyed so far northwards. Also, we are unable to fix the precise date of the coin of the Roman mint with the reverse type, Mercury seated on a rock, as it may have been issued at any time between the battles of Naulochus and Actium (see below, pp. 8, 11).

The *Beauvoisin* hoard supplies us with practically the same evidence as that of Chantenay, but it included some pieces issued a few years later. The hoard consisted of 196 denarii, 11 quinarii, and 40 Gaulish silver coins with the legends DVRNACOS, DVRNACOS-AVSCROCOS, or DVRNACVS-DONNVS. The quinarii all date from the passing of the *Lex Clodia* in B.C. 104. The contents of this hoard were very similar to those of Chantenay; the Roman coins representing 137 different issues, there being of no single one more than three specimens. The earliest denarius was that with the symbol a wheel (*circ.* B.C. 217—197); those which follow next are of the middle of the second century B.C. These were of C. Antestius (*circ.* B.C. 151); of Diana in biga of stags with symbol a crescent (*circ.* B.C. 148), and of C. Titinius of about the same time. The most recent denarii of the Roman mint were of Petillius Capitolinus (B.C. 40); of L. Mussidius Longus and L. Livineius Regulus (B.C. 39); of P. Clodius M. f. (B.C. 38); of Octavius as "Caesar Divi. f.," with reverse types, Octavius carrying spear and rushing to l. (p. 9, no. 4327); Mercury seated on a rock (p. 11, no. 4335); and Victory standing on a globe (p. 11, no. 4338); all struck between B.C. 36—29; also as "Imp. Caesar," with reverse types, Octavius in triumphal

car (p. 13, no. 4343); triumphal arch (p. 14, no. 4348); rostral column (p. 14, no. 4349); terminal figure (p. 16, no. 4360); and Octavius as pontifex ploughing with yoke of oxen (p. 17, no. 4363); all issued between B.C. 29—27. Again, as in the Chantenay find, the moneyers of B.C. 37, Q. Voconius Vitulus and Ti. Sempronius Graccus, were not represented. Most of these later coins are described by Count de Salis as *fine*. From the Tables of Finds it will be seen that the most recent coins of the provincial mints in this hoard were mainly the same as in that of Chantenay. These were of Julius Caesar with *rev.*, trophy, struck in Spain, B.C. 45; of Octavius, with *rev.*, sacrificial implements, struck in Gaul, B.C. 36; and of Octavius, with *rev.*, temple of Julius, struck in Africa, B.C. 36; all as in the Chantenay hoard. Others were of Antony and Octavius with their heads (*M. Anton. imp. iiivir R.P.C. Aug.* and *Caesar imp. pont. iiivir R.P.C.;* Babelon, vol. i., p. 172, no. 40), B.C. 40—39; of Antony and M. Silanus, with *rev.*, inscription, *M. Silanus aug. q. procos.* (*ib.*, vol. i., p. 197, no. 97), B.C. 34; and legionary coins of Antony, with *rev.*, standards (*Leg. ii.—Leg. xx.; ib.*, vol. i., p. 200, no. 105 f.), *circ.* B.C. 32—31; all struck in the East. It is evident from the above summary that the latest coins in the hoard were those of Octavius, which give him the title of "Imp. Caesar" only, and as there were no pieces with the title of "Augustus" the burial of this hoard must have occurred between B.C. 29—27, probably at the end of B.C. 28, as most of the types of those years were represented, or, at the beginning of B.C. 27, if we allow some time for the coins to get to Gaul.

It is very remarkable how these two hoards of Chantenay and Beauvoisin confirm not only Count de Salis's classification of the coinage of the Roman mint, but also of those assigned to the various provinces. It is to be regretted that no finds appear to have been described which would enable us to test the classification of the issues between B.C. 27—17, for it will be seen that those next noticed carry us a few years beyond the latter date. For the order of the coins of those years we have therefore to depend chiefly on the evidence of the types and on fabric.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			SERIES I.	
			Circ. B.C. 36—29; A.U.C. 718—725[1]	
			CAESAR DIVI F	
			(CAESAR DIVI [JULI] FILIUS[2])	
			Type I.	
			Aureus	
4321	119·2	*N* ·85	Head of Octavius l., bare.	CAESAR · DIVI · F (in exergue). Triumphal quadriga r., horses walking; the car is ornamented with bas-reliefs of figures, and surmounted by a small quadriga with horses galloping. **[Pl. lix. 1.]** (Cracherode Coll.)
4322	121·3	*N* ·85	Similar.	Similar; triumphal quadriga l. **[Pl. lix. 2.]** (Wigan Coll.)

[1] The coins attributed to these years date from about the defeat of Sextus Pompey at Naulochus to the battle of Actium and to the return of Octavius to Rome in B.C. 29 (see above, pp. 2, 3).

[2] As mentioned above (see p. 1) the moneyers' names no longer appear on coins struck at the Roman mint, but only that of Octavius. During B.C. 36—29 he issued CAESAR DIVI F, which may be compared with DIVI IVLI F on coins issued in B.C. 37. His discontinuance of the title of IIIVIR R.P.C. may be due to the following circumstances—that he wished to be acknowledged as the son and heir of Julius Caesar; that he had deprived Lepidus of all his powers as a triumvir; and that on the occasion of his ovation in B.C. 36 he declared his intention of resigning the title so soon as Antony on his return from Parthia would consent to join in this voluntary surrender (Appian, *de Bell. Civ.*, v., 13, 132).

The head of Octavius, not laureate, forms as a rule the obverse type of this series, and all the other types, both obverse and reverse, refer either to his ovation after the battle of Naulochus (Types I.—VII.) or to his triumph in B.C. 29 after the defeat of Antony at Actium (Types VIII.—X.). The aurei (Types I.—III.) were, no doubt, struck to commemorate the ovation of Octavius after his return from Sicily in B.C. 36, and the obverses of the denarii of Types IV. and V. with the head of Pax record the return of peace and plenty to Italy. The reverses depict Octavius as a general leading his troops to battle, and as haranguing them either before or after the engagement. The attitude of Octavius with his right hand raised, as shown on Type V., is precisely similar to that of his well-known statue as Augustus from Primaporta, now preserved in the Vatican (see Bernoulli, *Röm. Ikon.*, vol. ii., p. 25). Like Julius Caesar, Octavius no doubt attributed most of his victories to the aid of Venus Victrix, the divinity who was specially worshipped by the Julia gens, and from whom it claimed descent (see Type VI.). Mercury seated on a rock (Type VII.) may refer to the restoration of commerce to Italy after the defeat of Sextus Pompey at Naulochus (see p. 11, note 1). The remaining types of this series, Victory standing on a celestial globe, Octavius as Neptune, and in his triumphal car, record the victory of Actium and his triumph in B.C. 29. This last type connects this series with the following one.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type II.	
			Aureus	
323	121·5	*N* ·8	Head of Octavius r., bare.	CAESAR · DIVI · F (in exergue). Victory in biga r., horses galloping; she holds wreath in r. hand, and long palm-branch and reins in l.[1] **[Pl. lix. 3.]** (Blacas Coll.)
324	119·2	*N* ·8	Similar.	Similar; Victory holds palm-branch in r. hand, and reins only in l.; and there is no exergual line except below the horses' hind-legs. **[Pl. lix. 4.]** (Trattle Coll.)
			Type III.	
			Aureus[2]	
325	122·6	*N* ·8	Head of Octavius r., bare.	CAESAR · DIVI · F below Octavius on horseback, galloping r., his r. hand raised. (Cracherode Coll.)
326	122·0	*N* ·8	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. lix. 5.]** (Wigan Coll.)
			Type IV.	
			Denarius	
327	57·7	*R* ·75	Head of Pax[3] r., wearing diadem, earring in shape of cross, and necklace of pendants; hair collected into a knot behind, and falling in two locks down her neck.	CAESAR DIVI · F (across the field). Octavius, in military dress, rushing l., his cloak over his arm; he extends his r. hand, and bears spear in l. **[Pl. lix. 6.]** (Woodhouse Coll.)
328	57·3	*R* ·8	Similar.	Similar.

[1] Babelon (vol. ii., p. 52, no. 114) figures a variety of this aureus with the head of Octavius l. Cohen (*Méd. imp.*, vol. i., p. 72, no. 68) mentions a further variety, formerly in the *Cabinet des Médailles*, with the biga to l.

[2] The aureus or denarius figured by Babelon (vol. ii., p. 49, no. 104) with head of Octavius to r. on the obverse, and with Octavius on horseback to l., and the legend CAESAR DIVI. F on the reverse, and described by Eckhel (*Doct. num. vet.*, t. vi., p. 80) as being in gold in the Museum at Vienna, and by Riccio (*Mon. fam. rom.*, p. 115, no. 102) as being in gold in the collection at Milan, does not exist in either of those Cabinets. As no coin of this type has been met with, the description and illustration are possibly inaccurate (Gnecchi, *Riv. Ital.*, 1891, p. 420; and Bahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1896, p. 153).

[3] This head is described by Babelon (vol. ii., p. 49, no. 105) as of Venus, but if compared

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type V.	
			Denarius	
4329	62·7	Æ ·8	Bust of Pax[1] r., slightly draped, wearing diadem; hair collected into a knot behind, and falling in two locks down her neck; before, olive-branch; behind, cornucopiae.	CAESAR DIVI · F (acro the field). Octavius, military dress, walkin r., his r. hand raise and bearing in l., spea directed over his shoulde (Woodhouse Coll.)
4330	61·4	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. lix. 7.]** (de Salis Coll.)
4331	59·9	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar. (Woodhouse Coll.)
4332	55·7	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar.
			Type VI.	
			Denarius	
4333	54·9	Æ ·85	Head of Octavius r., bare.	CAESAR DIVI · F (acr the field). Venus V trix, naked to the hip standing r., turned fro the spectator, and restin l. arm on pillar; sh holds crested helmet extended r. hand, a sceptre in l.; behind h and placed against t pillar is her shield, orna mented with star centre.[2] **[Pl. lix. 8.]**
4334	56·3	Æ ·85	Similar; head of Octavius l.; behind, countermark, M	Similar. **[Pl. lix. 9.]**

with the obverse of the next denarius it seems to be more probably of Pax. Babelon (*loc. cit.*) figures a variety of this type on which Octavius is shown holding a globe in his r. hand.

[1] Babelon (vol. ii., p. 50, no. 107) identifies this head also as of Venus.

[2] There is a restoration in gold by Trajan of this denarius, an example of which is in th British Museum. It has the head of Julius Caesar and the legend C. IVLIVS CAES. IMP COS. III on the obverse, and the reverse type is varied in showing Victory holding a spea instead of a sceptre, and in placing the shield before and not behind her.

...e.	*Weight*	*Metal and Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
			Type VII.	
			Denarius[1]	
...35	57·2	*Æ* ·8	Head of Octavius r., bare.	CAESAR DIVI · F (across the field). Mercury seated r. on a rock, on which his cloak is spread, and holding lyre with both hands; his petasus hangs down behind his shoulders, and talaria are attached to his ankles. **[Pl. lix. 13.]** (Cracherode Coll.)
...36	56·3	*Æ* ·85	Similar.	Similar. (Cracherode Coll.)
...7	47·3 (*plated*)	*Æ* ·75	Similar.	Similar. (Woodhouse Coll.)
			Type VIII.	
			Denarius	
...38	59·5	*Æ* ·8	Head of Octavius r., bare.	CAESAR DIVI · F (across the field). Victory standing l. on celestial globe;[2] she holds wreath in r. hand, and palm-branch in l. **[Pl. lix. 10.]**
...39	59·2	*Æ* ·8	Similar; head of Octavius l.	Similar. **[Pl. lix. 11.]**
...0	60·7	*Æ* ·85	Similar.	Similar; Victory stands r. on globe. **[Pl. lix. 12.]**

[1] Babelon (vol. ii., p. 53, no. 116) and Cohen (*Méd. imp.*, vol. i., p. 71, no. 61) have ...tified the seated figure on the reverse as Apollo, but the petasus and the talaria show it ...be Mercury, who was the inventor of the lyre and the protector of commerce (see vol. i., ...511, note). This type may refer specially to the restoration of commerce to Italy after ...battle of Naulochus. The denarius of this type was the latest piece of the Roman mint in ...Chantenay find (see above, p. 6, and Tables of Finds).

[2] For previous representations of the celestial globe on coins of the Julia gens, see vol. i., ...529, *et pas.* Of this denarius, with head of Octavius to r., which Babelon (vol. ii., p. 51, ... 111) mentions as being in the possession of Messrs. Rollin and Feuardent, there are, ...sides the British Museum specimen, others in the Berlin, Vienna, Bologna, and Elberling ...llections (Bahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1896, p. 154; 1900, p. 56).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type IX.	
			Denarius	
4341	56·6	*R* ·85	Bust of Victory r., bare; she wears earring in shape of cross; her hair is drawn back, and collected into a knot, which is ornamented with jewels.[1]	CAESAR DIVI · F (acro the field). Octavius, Neptune, his mantle fal ing from his shoulder standing l., and restin r. foot on celestial globe he is armed with par zonium, holds aplustre r. hand, and leans wi l. on sceptre. **[Pl. lix. 14.]**
			Type X.	
			Denarius[2]	
4342	58·3	*R* ·8	Victory standing r. on prow; she holds wreath in r. hand, and palm-branch in l.	CAESAR DIVI · F (in ergue). Octavius triumphal chariot drawn by four hors walking; he holds laur branch in r. hand, a reins in l.; the chariot ornamented with figu in relief. **[Pl. lix. 15.]** (Cracherode Coll.)

[1] For a similar representation of Victory, see coins of T. Carisius struck in B.C. 45 (vol p. 530, no. 4070). Victory on the above denarius is supposed to bear the features of Scribo the wife of Octavius (Babelon, vol. ii., p. 53, no. 117), but this identification is not possi as she was divorced by Octavius in B.C. 39 in order that he might marry Livia. Sim proposed identifications of portraits on coins have already been noticed, viz., of Calpurnia, wife of Julius Caesar, on the aureus struck by him in B.C 44 (see vol. i., p. 540), and of Ful the wife of Mark Antony, on the aureus of C. Numonius Vaala (*ib.*, p. 570), and on denarius of L. Mussidius Longus (*ib.*, p. 575).

[2] The denarius of this type described by Babelon (vol. ii., p. 53, no. 118) is stated by H to be in the possession of Messrs. Hamburger of Frankfort, but Bahrfeldt (*Num. Zeit.*, 19 p. 57) not only mentions the above specimen, but also another formerly in the possession Sig. Sarti in Rome, and now in the Haeberlin cabinet. Babelon's description of this c does not appear to be quite accurate. Victory holds wreath and palm-branch in r. and hands, and not in l. and r., and the horses on the reverse are walking, not galloping. T obverse type recalls that of the coins of Demetrius I., king of Macedon, which record his victo over Ptolemy off the island of Cyprus, when he was in command of the fleet of Antigonus.

For other coins of this period with the legend CAESAR DIVI F, see under COINAGE THE EAST.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			SERIES II.	
			Circ. B.C. 29—27; A.U.C. 725—727[1]	
			IMP . CAESAR	
			(IMPERATOR CAESAR)	
			Type I.	
			Denarius	
43	61·4	*R* ·75	Victory standing r. on prow; she holds wreath in r. hand, and palm-branch in l.	IMP · CAESAR (in the exergue). Octavius in triumphal chariot r., drawn by four horses, walking; he holds laurel-branch in r. hand, and reins in l.; the chariot is ornamented with figures in relief. [Pl. lix. 16.]
44	59·0	*R* ·75	Similar.	Similar.
45	57·0	*R* ·8	Similar.	Similar.
46	59·2	*R* ·9	Similar; before Victory, countermark, C	Similar.
47	58·3	*R* ·8	Similar; behind Victory, countermark, Γ	Similar. (Devonshire Coll.)

[1] After the battle of Actium Octavius spent the winter in Greece and Asia Minor, and in next year proceeded to Egypt, which, after the deaths of Antony and Cleopatra, he reduced he form of a province. The following winter was again passed in Asia Minor, and he did return to Rome till the summer of B.C. 29. On the seventh and following days of the ath of Sextilis (August) in that year the Senate assigned to him the honours of a triple mph; the first for his victories over the Pannonians, the Dalmatians, and the Gauls; second for the battle of Actium; and the third for the final extinction of the rivalry the East and West before the walls of Alexandria. On this occasion Octavius awarded thousand sesterces to each of the veterans of his numerous legions, and four hundred sterces were allotted to every private citizen. He also paid all his own debts, but claimed me that were due to him, and distributed so much money among the populace that the lue of property was increased, and the rate of interest fell from a denarius to one-third ion Cassius, li. 21).

Amongst the many honours conferred on Octavius was the title of *Imperator*, not in the mer sense as accorded to generals in consequence of victories obtained, for as such he had eady received it on seven separate occasions (see p. 3); but in the sense that it was used subsequent emperors, i.e. as a praenomen or as a proper name, which was to be hereditary, d to descend to his children and to posterity (Dion Cassius, xliii. 44; lii. 41). This title ve him the supreme command of all the military forces of the State, and it is the only one hich occurs with his name on the coins issued between the years B.C. 29—27, in which last ar he was proclaimed *Augustus*. He was also invested with the *potestas censoria* (an office hich carried with it also the administration of the finances of the State), and with the le of *princeps senatus*. The temple of Janus having been closed after his triumph, ctavius, between B.C. 29—27, occupied himself chiefly with the restoration of order in all arts of the government, the renovation of temples which had fallen into decay, and the uilding of others, the apportionment of lands amongst his veterans, and the foundation f cities. It is to these, and to his victories over Sextus Pompey and at Actium, that

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type II.	
			Denarius	
4348	58·4	Æ ·8	Head of Octavius r. bare.	Triumphal arch, s mounted by quadr facing, in the car which stands Octavi the frieze of the arch inscribed, IMP · CAESA **[Pl. lix. 17.]**
			Type III.	
			Denarius	
4349	63·3	Æ ·8	Head of Octavius r., laureate.	IMP CAESAR (across t field). Rostral colu ornamented at sides w prows of ships, and front with two ancho and surmounted by statue of Octavius rest with r. hand on spear, a holding parazonium in **[Pl. lix. 18.]**

the types of his coins issued at this period relate. Thus Types I.—V. refer to his triumphs to the battle of Actium, and the defeat of Sextus Pompey. Type I. is interesting as also occurs with the title of "Caesar Divi f.," showing that it must have been used before Octavius actually received the title of *Imperator*. It therefore constitutes a connecting link between the two series. The temple on the reverse of Type V. may be that erected on the Aventine in honour of Diana by Lucius Cornificius (Suetonius, *Augustus*, 29) who had commanded for Octavius in the war against Sextus Pompey. The triquetra in the pediment seems to connect it with this campaign, whilst the naval and military trophies shown within, which is similar to the reverse of Type IV., may relate more specially to the battle of Actium. The figure of Victory on Type VI. represents the famous statue of the goddess which Octavius placed in the basilica of the great Julius in the Forum, which his uncle had commenced, and which he himself completed. It is mentioned by Dion Cassius (li. 22) as still standing there two centuries later, and it was in all probability the same which was finally removed by the Christian emperor Gratianus, amidst the indignant murmurs of the pagan Rome. This statue had been brought at an earlier period from Tarentum (Merivale, *Rom. Hist.*, vol. iii., p. 393). On the death of Octavius it was removed from its pedestal, and carried before his funeral bier (Suetonius, *Augustus*, 100). The temple shown on the reverse of Type VII. may be identified with the *Aedes Divi Iulii* which was erected over the spot in the Forum where the body of Caesar was cremated. The construction of this temple was begun by Octavius in B.C. 33, and dedicated by him on the 18th August, B.C. 29. Dion Cassius (li. 20) relates that Octavius during his sojourn in Greece, early in B.C. 29, permitted the erection at Ephesus and Nicaea of temples surrounded by sacred enclosures in honour of Roma and his father Caesar, whom he styled "Julius the Hero." The terminal figure on the reverse of Type VIII., and the terminal bust on the obverse of the next one, taken in conjunction with the thunderbolt, may have been intended to ascribe to Octavius the divine honours paid to Jupiter himself, who, as the god Terminus, was the protector of boundaries and frontiers, i.e. the Roman provinces. The reverse of Type IX. shows Octavius as the victorious *Imperator* seated on the curule chair or the *sella castrensis*. The head of Apollo on Type X. may relate to the famous temple erected to that divinity on the Palatine hill after the battle of Actium, which, besides its dazzling columns of Parian marble (*Ipse sedens niti candentis limine Phoebi*; Virgil, *Aen.*, viii. 720), was renowned for its library, which Augustus there collected for the use of the citizens; or it may be intended to represent him as the protector of cities, the foundation of which by Octavius appears to be implied by the reverse design of the plougher and oxen. Mars and the shield on Type XI. are a tribute to the generalship of the *Imperator*.

Weight	*Metal and Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
63·2	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar. (Woodhouse Coll.)
55·0	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar. (Blacas Coll.)
		Type IV.	
		Denarius	
61·2	Æ ·8	Head of Octavius r., bare.	IMP CAESAR (across the field). A naval and military trophy placed on a prow r.[1] **[Pl. lix. 19.]** (Cracherode Coll.)
55·5	Æ ·8	Similar; head of Octavius l.; before, countermark, Γ	Similar. **[Pl. lix. 20.]** (Devonshire Coll.)
57·0	Æ ·85	Similar; countermark, T, behind head.	Similar.
		Type V.	
		Aureus	
123·2	N ·8	Bust of Diana r., draped; her quiver and bow behind her shoulders; earring in form of cross; her hair is drawn back, and collected into two knots above and at the back of her head.	Tetrastyle temple within which is a naval and military trophy placed on a prow (as on no. 4352); a triquetra within the pediment, which is ornamented with aplustra; the base is inscribed, IMP · CAESAR **[Pl. lx. 1.]** (Thomas Coll.)
		Type VI.	
		Aureus	
121·0	N ·85	Head of Octavius r., bare.	IMP CAESAR (across the field). Victory standing front on a celestial globe, head l.; her wings spread; she holds wreath in r. hand, and standard (*vexillum*) in l.[2] (Wigan Coll.)
119·6	N ·85	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. lx. 2.]**

[1] The aureus of this type in the cabinet at Vienna, which appears to be the one figured by Pelon (vol. ii., p. 65, no. 157), is false (Bahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1896, p. 159). It is a cast.

[2] For particulars of this type and of the next one see p. 14.

No.	*Weight*	*Metal and Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
			Type VII.	
			Denarius	
4358	61·0	Æ ·8	Head of Octavius r., bare.	Temple (*Aedes Divi* surrounded by a trade; the pedim surmounted by a of Victory, and mented with cro an armed figure at each angle; inscribed IMP CAE within the pedime figures (Venus between two birds? **[Pl. lx. 3.]** (Cracherode Coll
4359	56·3	Æ ·85	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. lx. 4.]**
			Type VIII.	
			Denarius	
4360	58·6	Æ ·85	Head of Octavius r., bare.	IMP CAESAR (acros field). An ithyp terminal figure, laureate head of Oc facing, placed winged thunderbolt **[Pl. lx. 5.]**
4361	54·5	Æ ·85	Similar; head of Octavius l.	Similar. **[Pl. lx. 6.]**
			Type IX.	
			Denarius	
4362	59·0	Æ ·85	Terminal bust of Octavius r., laureate; behind, winged thunderbolt.[1]	IMP CAESAR (acros field). Octavius s l. on a curule chair, holding a figure of tory on r. hand. **[Pl. lx. 7.]**

[1] This is a side view of the upper part of the figure illustrated on the reverse of preceding type.

Weight	*Metal and Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
		Type X.	
		Denarius[1]	
60·0	Æ ·75	Head of Apollo r., laureate; hair long.	IMP · CAESAR (in exergue). Octavius, as pontifex, veiled and laureate, ploughing with yoke of oxen to l.; he holds plough and reins with r. hand, and goad in l. **[Pl. lx. 8.]** (Woodhouse Coll.)
59·4	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar. (de Salis Coll.)
58·7	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar. (Cracherode Coll.)
57·8	Æ ·8	Similar; countermark, T, behind head.	Similar.
57·3	Æ ·8	Similar; countermark, U, before head.	Similar.
		Type XI.	
		Denarius	
59·9	Æ ·8	Head of Mars r., slightly bearded,[2] wearing crested Corinthian helmet; below, IMP	A circular shield, inscribed CAESAR; the boss ornamented with star; behind, spear and parazonium in saltire. **[Pl. lx. 9.]**
57·6	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar. (Cracherode Coll.)
52·6	Æ ·85	Similar; the cheek of Mars is countermarked Γ	Similar. (Claude Stewart Coll.)

[1] The denarius of this type and others assigned to this particular epoch were the latest pieces in the Beauvoisin hoard (see above, p. 7, and Tables of Finds).

[2] There is a variety in the Haeberlin collection, which shows Mars without a beard (Hahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1896, p. 160, pl. vii., no. 157).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			SERIES III.	
			Circ. B.C. 27—17; A.U.C. 727—737	
			B.C. 27; A.U.C. 727	
			CAESAR AVGVSTVS	
			Aureus[2]	
4371	120·5	*N* ·8	CAESAR · COS · VII · CIVI BVS · SERVATEIS around Head of Augustus r., bare.	An eagle, with spread, standing on a civic w dividing the letters (*Senatus consulto*) the background, laurel-trees or bran above, AVGVSTVS [Pl. lx. 10.] (Cracherode Coll.
4372	117·2	*N* ·8	Similar.	Similar.

[1] The coins attributed to these years form the third series assigned to this Period. are distinguished from the two previous ones in giving to Octavius the title of "August "Caesar Augustus." From B.C. 36—29, as we have seen (p. 4), he assumed on his c the title of "Caesar Divi F.," and from B.C. 29—27 that of "Imp. Caesar," or "Imp." o consequence of his receiving the title of "Imperator." This last title was granted to Oc in B.C. 29 without any limitation of time, but two years later, on the 1st January, B.C. offered in an address to the Senate (Dion Cassius, liii. 3-10) to resign his imperial fu into the hands of his patrons, on the ground that, as there was peace throughout the E and as the temple of Janus was closed, his retention of them might be looked upon aspiration to monarchical power. The people and the Senate declined to accept the pro and, besides confirming the imperium or chief military command, added to the honours a accorded to Octavius by conferring on him the title of "Augustus." Some of his par proposed that he should receive the name of Quirinus or Romulus, he being, as it w second founder of the city, but it was carried that he should rather be called "Augus name that was not only new but much more considerable, because religious places and wherein was anything consecrated by augury were called *august* (Suetonius, *August* This title was granted to him on the 16th January, B.C. 27, and by this name he is reco in Roman history, and is so designated on all his subsequent coinages. But for this cha title the coinage in its character remained unaltered. The head of Augustus is, wit exceptions (see p. 33, no. 4432, and p. 42, no. 4468), always placed on the obverse, usuall but sometimes wearing an oak-wreath or laureate (see below, pp. 29-35), and the reverse are either connected with him personally, or relate to events which happened at this tim in which he more or less participated. As the coins of this series are arranged year by y in groups of years, explanations of the types will be given with the descriptions.

[2] These are the only coins definitely assigned by Count de Salis to B.C. 27. The memorate at least five events which occurred in that year, viz.: (1) the seventh consul Octavius; (2) his reception of the title of Augustus; (3) the confirmation of his o Imperator by the Senate; (4) its award to him of a civic crown; and, (5) its orde the pillars of the doorway of his house should be bound with laurel. All these event circumstances are set forth in the *Monumentum Ancyranum*:—*In consulatu sexto et se bella ubi civilia exstinxeram, per consensum universorum potitus rerum omnium, rem pub ex mea potestate in senatus populique Romani arbitrium transtuli. Quo pro merito senatus consulto Augustus appellatus sum et laureis postes aedium mearum vestiti pu coronaque civica super ianuam meam fixa est; clypeusque aureus in curia Iulia positus, q*

Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
		Circ. B.C. 27—25; A.U.C. 727—729[1]	
		AVGVSTVS	
		Type I.	
		Aureus	
114·9	*N* ·8	Head of Augustus r., bare.	Capricorn r., holding globe and rudder; on its back, cornucopiae; below, AVGVSTVS [Pl. lx. 11.] (Cracherode Coll.)

enatum populumque Romanum dare virtutis clementiae iustitiae pietatis causa testatum eius clypei inscriptionem (Mommsen, *Res gestae*, p. 144).

hen the Senate insisted on Octavius retaining the *Imperium*, he stipulated that it should a specified period of ten years, and he also restricted its operation to a certain portion of tion's dominions, selecting from the list of the entire provinces such as seemed most to e the vigour of military control. These he reserved for his own government; the rest ided over to the Senate to be controlled by officers selected by that body. This power gustus is no doubt symbolized by the imperial eagle. The Ancyran inscription says that the *postes* of the house of Augustus which were adorned with laurel, but Dion Cassius 6) relates that laurel-trees were ordered to be placed before it, and that a wreath of oak l be suspended above it as a token that he would always conquer the enemies of the and protect its citizens (see also Ovid, *Met.*, i. 562; *Fast.*, iv. 953). This statement of Cassius seems to define accurately the resolution of the Senate, as is shown by the entations of the two laurel-trees or branches on these aurei, and also on another of the er L. Caninius Gallus struck some years later, which depicts the entrance of the house gustus with a laurel-tree on either side and the wreath of oak above (Babelon, vol. i., , no. 1). The award of the golden "shield of valour" is commemorated on coins struck years later (see below, p. 21).

With the exception of the aurei commemorating the seventh consulship of Augustus . 18), the only coins assigned by Count de Salis to the years B.C. 27—25 as having been at the Roman mint are the aurei and denarii described above and on the next page, he reverse type a capricorn. The portrait of Augustus is an intermediate one between n the coins assigned to the years before B.C. 27 and that after B.C. 25 (see also below, p. 36). n somewhat higher relief and smaller, and the lines of the face and neck are carefully led. It is not laureate. The capricorn was the genethliac sign of Augustus, and was held t veneration by him. Suetonius (*Augustus*, 94) relates that when Augustus was in retire- at Apollonia, he went with Agrippa to visit Theogenes, the astrologer. Agrippa having esired to know his horoscope, and being assured that it would be great and almost beyond Augustus did not care to discover his nativity, from a mixture of shame and fear, lest it prove inferior to Agrippa's. After some importunity he did declare it, upon which enes rose from his seat and adored him. From that time Augustus conceived so great ence in his fortunes that he made known his nativity, and struck a silver coin with the ssion of the capricorn upon it, under the influence of which he was born. As, however, stus was born at daybreak on September 23, B.C. 63, Capricornus was not the sign under the sun rose at that period (this was Libra), nor the sign that rose above the horizon moment of his birth. It has therefore been conjectured that it was the horoscopic of Augustus' conception, December 23, nine months before his birth (Théod. Reinach, *Chron.*, 1902, p. 3; A. Bouché-Leclercq, *L'Astrologie Grecque*, p. 374, note). The globe rudder (land and sea) are emblematic of the extended influence of Augustus, and the ucopiae of the abundance and prosperity which resulted from the restoration of peace to Empire. On account of differences in fabric, Count de Salis has also assigned aurei and rii with the same type of reverse to provincial issues in Gaul and the East.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Denarius	
4374	60·0	*R* ·75	Similar.	Similar.
4375	58·7	*R* ·8	Similar.	Similar; AVCVSTVS [Pl. lx. 12.] (Cracherode Coll.
4376	57·5	*R* ·75	Similar.	Similar. (de Salis Coll.)
			Type I. var.	
			Aureus	
4377	115·0	*N* ·8	Similar.	Similar; capricorn l.; VSTVS [Pl. lx. 13.] (Wigan Coll.)
			Denarius	
4378	58·4	*R* ·75	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. lx. 14.]
			Circ. B.C. 24—20; A.U.C. 730—734[1]	
			AVGVSTVS: CAESAR AVGVSTVS	
			Type I.	
			Half-Aureus	
4379	62·7	*N* ·6	Head of Augustus r., bare as no. 4373); across the field, and divided by neck, AVG VST	Victory standing r. globe, holding l. branch in r. hand, standard surmounte eagle in l. [Pl. lx. 15.] (Blacas Coll.)

[1] None of the events connected with the life of Augustus during B.C. 24—20 are re to on the coins of this particular series. It was during these years that his tenth and el consulships occurred, B.C. 24 and 23; his ninth imperatorship, B.C. 20; and his investmen the *tribunitia potestas*, B.C. 23 (see p. 3). The dedication of the temple to Jupiter, B. the restoration of the standards by the Parthians; and the erection of the temple of are reserved for future illustration on the coins. Augustus was absent from Rome fro middle of B.C. 21 to the summer of B.C. 19.

The only events recorded on the coins attributed to B.C. 24—20 are his victories Antony and in Egypt; his acceptance of the "golden shield of valour," *clypeus virt* which was deposited in the Curia Julia, and of the civic wreath, both of which were dec to him in B.C. 27 (see above, p. 18; and Mommsen, *Res gestae*, pp. 144-153). The figur Victory on the half-aureus (no. 4380) is similar to that on the aureus issued by Augustu

Weight	*Metal and Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
			Type I. var. *a*
			Half-Aureus
58·8	*N* ·6	Similar.	Victory standing front on globe, holding wreath in r. hand, and standard (*vexillum*) in l. (similar to no. 4356). **[Pl. lx. 16.]** (Blacas Coll.)
			Type I. var. *b*
			Half-Aureus
60·0	*N* ·6	Similar.	Victory standing front on globe, holding palm-branch in r. hand, and trophy in l. **[Pl. lx. 17.]** (Cracherode Coll.)
			Type II.
			Aureus
37·0	*N* ·8	Head of Augustus r., bare; around, CAESAR AVG VSTVS	Victory flying r., holding wreath with both hands; below, shield, which rests against column and is inscribed, CL·V (*Clypeus virtutis*); above, S·P·Q·R· (*Senatus populusque romanus*).

[Cohen, *Méd. imp.*, vol. i., p. 102, no. 288.]

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efore (see above, p. 15, no. 4356), which has been identified as the famous statue dess, placed by Augustus in the basilica of the great Julius in the Forum. When and Agrippa celebrated in B.C. 28 the games decreed in honour of the battle , it was ordered that they should be revived every five years (see Dion Cassius, t is possible that these gold coins were struck on the occasion of the second n, which would be in B.C. 23.

portrait of Augustus on the aurei and denarii varies somewhat from those in previous It is larger and in high relief, and the features are less attenuated, and depict a man robust physique. This portrait is to be found on the coins of the next two years, -18. Augustus is styled either "Augustus" or "Caesar Augustus." The latter title on subsequent issues to B.C. 17.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Denarius[1]	
4382	56·5	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. lx. 18.] (Bank Coll.)
4383	53·2	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar.
4384	40·1	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar. (Cracherode C)
			Type II. var. *a*	
			Aureus[2]	
	121·5	N ·85	Similar; below head, legend, AVGVSTVS	Similar.

[Cohen, *Méd. imp.*, vol. i., p. 102, n

			Type II. var. *b*	
			Aureus	
4385	122·2	N ·75	Similar; around head, legend, CAESAR AVGVS TVS	Similar; the shield scribed, S·P·Q· CL·V legend above. [Pl. lx. 19.] (Wigan Coll.
			Type III.	
			Aureus	
	122·1	N ·8	Head of Augustus r., bare; around, CAESAR AVGVS TVS	Victory flying r., shield inscribed l. hand, and branch in r.; S·P·Q·R

[Cohen, *Méd. imp.*, 1st ed., vol. i., p. 65, n

[1] Denarii of this type are also classed by Count de Salis to Gaul on account of dif in style and in the portrait of Augustus.

[2] The aureus of this type is for the same reasons also attributed to Gaul

Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
		Denarius	
56·1	Æ ·85	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. lxi. 1.]**
		Type III. var.	
		Denarius	
58·4	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar; shield, not inscribed; below, S · P · Q · R · CL · V **[Pl. lxi. 2.]** (Cracherode Coll.)
		Type IV.	
		Aureus [1]	
	N ·8	Head of Augustus r., bare; below, AVGVSTVS	Victory standing front, holding before her, with both hands, shield inscribed, CL · V; above, S · P · Q · R

[Cohen, *Méd. imp.*, vol. i., p. 102, no. 286.]

		Type IV. var.	
		Denarius	
	Æ ·8	Similar; around head, legend, CAESAR AVGVSTVS	Similar; the shield is inscribed, S · P · Q · R / CL · V; no legend above. **[Pl. lxi. 3.]** (de Salis Coll.)

[1] Denarius with this type of reverse also occurs, but with the legend CAESAR AVGVSTVS on the obverse (Cohen, *Méd. imp.*, p. 102, no. 287).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type V.[1]	
			Denarius	
4389	61·9	Æ ·85	Head of Augustus r., bare; around, CAESAR AVGVS TVS	Oak-wreath; abo CIVIS; below, TOS [Pl. lxi. 4
4390	54·0	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar. (Woodhouse C
			Type V. var. *a*	
			Denarius	
4391	60·7	Æ ·75	Similar.	Oak-wreath, within OB CIVIS SERVATOS
4392	55·8	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. lx
			Type V. var. *b*	
			Aureus	
	120·1	Æ ·75	Similar; head of Augustus turned to l.	Similar.
			[Cohen, *Méd. imp.*, vol. i., p.	
			Type VI.[2]	
			Denarius	
4393	60·3	Æ ·8	Head of Augustus r., bare; around, CAESAR AVGVS TVS	Shield inscribe within oak-w OB · CIVIS; VATOS [Pl. lx
4394	59·5	Æ ·7	Similar.	Similar. (Devonshir
4395	63·3	Æ ·75	Similar; head of Augustus to l.	Similar. [Pl. lxi.

[1] This type also occurs on denarii classed to Gaul by Count de Salis, some the head of Augustus to l.

[2] Strozzi (*Period. di Num. e Sfrag.*, vol. i., p. 46, pl. iii., no. 1) describes a aureus of this type in the Florence collection with the laureate head of Augustus (*Méd. imp.*, vol. i., p. 92, no. 216) describes another reading AVGVSTVS, and w of Augustus to l.

eight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
		Circ. B.C. 19; A.U.C. 735[1]	
		CAESAR AVGVSTVS	
		Type I.	
		Aureus	
·2	*N* ·8	Head of Augustus r., bare; around, CAESAR AVGVS TVS	SIGNIS RECEPTIS S P Q R (*Senatus populusque romanus*), arranged above and below Shield inscribed CL·V (*Clypeus virtutis*), and between two standards, an *aquila* on the l. and a *signum cohortis* on the r. [Pl. lxi. 8.] (Blacas Coll.)

s of the coins assigned to this year relate to two events only; the award by the golden "shield of valour" to Augustus, already illustrated by the coinages of B.C. 24—20; and the restoration in B.C. 20 by the Parthians of the Roman had been captured from Crassus in B.C. 53, from L. Decidius Saxa in Syria in Antony in B.C. 36. Augustus in his monumental record which he has left us of (*Monumentum Ancyranum*, ed. Mommsen, *Res gestae Divi Augusti*, p. 124) refers terms to the latter event:—*Parthos trium exercitum (sic) Romanorum spolia et hi supplicesque amicitiam populi Romani petere coegi. Ea autem signa in penetemplo Martis Vltoris, reposui.*" Suetonius (*Augustus*, 21) also relates:—*Parthi iam vindicanti facile cesserunt: et signa militaria quae M. Crasso et M. Antonio centi reddiderunt; obsidesque insuper obtulerunt.* There were two temples in to Mars the Avenger; one, a sort of *aedicula*, on the Capitol, erected in B.C. 20; r building, in the Forum, which Augustus had vowed before the battle of Philippi, not completed till B.C. 2 (Mommsen, *Res gestae*, p. 126). Bunsen (*Beschr. der* iii., pt. i., p. 281) considered that the temple which is figured on the coins was to the deity on the Capitol; but Borghesi (*Œuvres compl.*, t. ii., p. 379) would sentation of the greater one in the Forum before it was finished. As, however, struck in B.C. 18 it seems more probable that the temple shown on them was n the Capitol. Mommsen (*loc. cit.*) suggests that the standards may have been er date from the smaller to the larger temple. It is also possible that some of ay have been deposited in the temple of Jupiter, as Horace (*Carm.*, iv. 15, 6) *nostro restituit Iovi*; and Propertius (*Carm.*, iii. 4, 6) also says, *assuescent Latio Iovi*. This might account for the representation of the temple of Jupiter on st have been struck about the same time as those showing the temple of Mars. of these standards in the temple of Mars established a connection between d that of Jupiter Feretrius on the Capitol, where the *spolia opima* were placed. have treated the restoration of these lost standards as *spolia opima*, and e in the temple of Jupiter as well as in that of Mars; for Dion Cassius (liv. 8) ugustus received them as if he had conquered the Parthians, and was proud of nding that he had recovered without a struggle that which had been lost in es. Therefore on this occasion he decreed sacrifices and a temple to Mars Ultor, f that of Jupiter Feretrius on the Capitol, in order that he might place there s."

ronology of the coinage it may be noted that the portrait of Augustus is similar ns assigned to B.C. 24—20, and that it is not laureate. The style, CAESAR is the same on all the coins.

of Type I. were countermarked by Vespasian (Bahrfeldt, *Zeit. f Num.*, 1876,

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Denarius	
4397	58·6	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar; SIGNIS fo
4398	58·4	Æ ·85	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. lxi. (Cracherode
4399	58·0	Æ ·7	Similar.	Similar.
4400	55·7	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar; the positi standards are the *aquila* b r., and the *hortis* on th shield. [Pl. lxi. (de Salis
4401	54·0	Æ ·85	Similar; head of Augustus l.	Similar. [Pl. lx
4402	56·0	Æ ·7	Similar.	Similar; *aqui signum coho*
			Type II.	
			Aureus	
4403	122·0	Æ ·8	Head of Augustus l., bare; around, CAESAR AVGVS TVS	Mars helmete tied round standing f an *aquila* i a *signum co* over his s at sides, SI TIS [Pl. lx
			Denarius	
4404	57·9	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar.[1] [Pl. lx
4405	67·3	Æ ·75	Similar; head of Augustus r.	Similar; hea turned to r. [Pl. lxi. (de Salis
4406	58·0	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar; above NIS; below, [Pl. lxi (Devonshi

[1] Denarii of this type are also assigned to Gaul.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type III.[1]	
			Denarius	
	54·8	*R* ·8	Head of Augustus r., bare; around, CAESAR AVGVS TVS	Circular domed temple showing four columns; within it a figure of Mars standing l., holding an *aquila* in r. hand, and a *signum cohortis* in l.; at sides, MARTIS VLTORIS

[Cohen, *Méd. imp.*, vol. i., p. 91, no. 205.]

Type III. var. *a*

Denarius

4407	53·4	*R* ·7	Similar.	Similar; legend, below temple, MART · VLT **[Pl. lxi. 16.]**

Type III. var. *b*

Denarius

	57·0	*R* ·7	Similar.	Similar; Mars stands l., but looks to r.; and legend, MART VLT, in centre across the field.

[Cohen, *Méd. imp.*, vol. i., p. 90, no. 201.]

Type III. var. *c*

Aureus

4408	121·3	*N* ·8	Similar.	Similar; Mars stands and looks to l.; the legend, MAR VLT, in centre across the field. **[Pl. lxi. 17.]** (Cracherode Coll.)

[1] The aureus of this type with the name of AVGVSTVS only on the obverse is classed by Count de Salis to Gaul on account of its fabric.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Denarius	
4409	61·2	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. lxi. 18.]**
4410	59·6	Æ ·85	Similar.	Similar.
4411	60·0	Æ ·7	Similar; head of Augustus l.	Similar. **[Pl. lxi. 19.]**
			Type III. var. *d*	
			Denarius[1]	
	56·7	Æ ·75	Similar; head of Augustus l.	Similar; circular domed temple showing six columns; below, MART VLT

[Cohen, *Méd. imp.*, vol. i., p. 90, no. 196.]

Type IV.

Aureus

4412	120·6	Ɲ ·8	Head of Augustus r., bare; around, CAESAR AVGVS TVS	Hexastyle temple, within which figure of Jupiter, naked, standing l., holding thunderbolt in r. hand, and leaning with l. on sceptre; at sides, IOVIS TONANT **[Pl. lxi. 20.]**
			Denarius	
4413	58·1	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. lxii. 1.]**

[1] This type exists also in gold. Varieties of the aureus and of the denarius have the head of Augustus to r. (Cohen, *op. cit.*, vol. i., p. 90, nos. 197, 198).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type IV. var.	
			Aureus	
4414	120·4	*N* ·75	Similar.	Similar; at sides of temple, but across the field, IOV TON **[Pl. lxii. 2.]** (Wigan Coll.)
			Denarius	
4415	58·7	*R* ·75	Similar.	Similar; an eagle stands on the apex of the pediment of the temple. **[Pl. lxii. 3.]**
			Circ. B.C. 18; A.U.C. 736[1]	
			CAESAR AVGVSTVS	
			Type I.	
			Denarius	
4416	58·4	*R* ·8	Head of Augustus r., wearing oak-wreath; around, CAESAR AVGVSTVS	Comet of eight rays and tail; across the field and between the rays, DIVVS IVLIVS **[Pl. lxii. 4.]**

[1] The events commemorated on the coins of this year were of more or less recent occurrence. As before, they relate personally to Augustus.

The comet which is shown on the reverse of Type I. is that which appeared in the heavens for seven days soon after the death of Julius Caesar, whilst Augustus was celebrating the games to *Victoria Caesaris*, not to Venus Genetrix (see Mommsen, *Gesamm. Schrift.*, 1906, vol. iv., p. 180). Pliny (*Hist Nat.*, ii. 25) relates: *Cometes in uno totius orbis loco colitur in templo Romae, admodum faustus divo Augusto iudicatus ab ipso, qui incipiente eo adparuit ludis quos faciebat Veneri Genetrici non multo post obitum patris Caesaris in conlegio ab eo instituto. Namque his verbis in gaudium prodit "Iis ipsis ludorum meorum diebus sidus crinitum per septem dies in regione caeli quae sub septentrionibus est conspectum. Id oriebatur circa undecimam horam diei clarumque et omnibus e terris conspicuum fuit. Eo sidere significari vulgus credidit Caesaris animam inter deorum immortalium numina receptam, quo nomine id insigne simulacro capitis eius, quod mox in foro consecravimus, adiectum est." Haec ille in publicum; interiore gaudio sibi illum natum seque in eo nasci interpretatus est, et, si verum fatemur, salutare id terris fuit.* Suetonius (*Caesar*, 88) adds his testimony to the appearance of this comet: *Periit sexto et quinquagesimo aetatis anno: atque in deorum numerum relatus est, non ore modo decernentium, sed et persuasione vulgi. Siquidem ludis, quos primo consecratos ei heres Augustus edebat, stella crinita per septem dies continuos fulsit, exoriens circa undecimam horam. Creditumque est, animam esse Caesaris in caelum recepti: et hac de causa simulacro eius in vertice additur stella.* According to Pliny the comet appeared during the celebration of the games to Venus Genetrix; but from Suetonius it would seem that it was on the occasion of the games to Julius Caesar, the *ludi Victoriae Caesaris*, *i.e.* on July 20-30. The apparent difference between these two writers may be due to the circumstance that the *ludi Victoriae Caesaris* were instituted by Julius Caesar on his dedication of the temple to Venus Genetrix in B.C. 46; hence Pliny's statement. Mommsen (*loc. cit.*) cites other evidence in favour of the occasion being that of the celebration of the *ludi Victoriae Caesaris*, drawing attention to the statement of both Pliny and Suetonius that the comet was visible for seven days during the games, whilst those to Venus Genetrix lasted only one day,

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type II.	
			Denarius	
4417	48·5	Æ ·75	Head of Augustus r., wearing oak-wreath; around, CAESAR AVGVSTVS	Circular domed temple showing six columns, between which are seen two *signa cohortium* with an *aquila* in the centre; at the sides and across the field, MAR VLT **[Pl. lxii. 5.]**
			Type II. var.	
			Aureus	
4418	122·0	Æ ·8	Head of Augustus r., laureate; around, CAESARI AVGVSTO	Similar. **[Pl. lxii. 6.]** (Blacas Coll.)

i.e., September 25. The year B.C. 44 would correspond with one of the former appearances of Halley's comet, the second before the one observed by that astronomer. The coins illustrating this circumstance were not struck till some years afterwards, and not until some time after Octavius had assumed the title of Augustus. Type II. supplies us with another reference to the surrender of the Roman standards by the Parthians, which are now shown placed within the temple of Mars Ultor. This type seems to confirm the opinion that in the first instance the standards were placed in the temple of Mars on the Capitol (see p. 25). The triumphal chariot within the circular temple on Type III. is that which was voted to Augustus by the Senate and the Roman people in B.C. 19 on his return from Syria, and which he declined to use (*Caesari ex provinciis redeunti currus cum corona aurea decretus est, quo ascendere noluit*; Cassiodorus, *Chron.*, A.U.C. 735). It was evidently kept in the temple of Mars Ultor. In Type IV. we may have another reference to the chariot presented to Augustus or to the numerous triumphs which were accorded to him by the Senate, most of which he declined. This had happened in B.C. 20. Type V. shows the same chariot as on the previous one; and on the obverse an *aquila*, possibly relating to the surrender of the standards by the Parthians; the consular robes recording his eleven consulships already held; and the laurel-wreath which was symbolical not only of his numerous victories but also of imperial power. The altar on Type VI. is the one which was erected by order of the Senate to *Fortuna Redux* on the return of Augustus from Syria in the previous year. This altar was placed near the temple of Honos and Virtus at the *porta Capena*, and the pontifices and vestal virgins were ordered to offer up yearly sacrifices at it. The return of Augustus took place on October 12th, on which day the feast of the *Augustalia* was henceforth decreed to be solemnized. The altar was founded on that day, but not dedicated till December 15th following (Mommsen, *Res gestae*, p. 46). On Types VII. and VIII. we have another record of the golden "shield of valour" given to Augustus in B.C. 27, and a representation of the laurel-trees which were planted on either side of the entrance to his house. The reverses of Types I., VII., and VIII. occur also on aurei and denarii attributed, on account of their fabric, to Gaul, *circ.* B.C. 18—16.

Besides the data afforded by the types we have further evidence in the coins themselves for classifying them to about B.C. 18. The portrait of Augustus is very similar to that on coins of the previous year, but it is smaller and in somewhat lower relief, and is always wreathed either with laurel or with oak. The oak-wreath is also met with on coins classed by Count de Salis to Gaul *circ.* B.C. 18—16. The coins attributed to Gaul at this time are usually copies of those struck at Rome.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Denarius	
4419	59·4	Æ ·8	Similar; AVGVSTO for AVϚVSTO	Similar. **[Pl. lxii. 7.]**
4420	50·2	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar. (Devonshire Coll.)
4421	59·2	Æ ·75	Similar; head of Augustus l.	Similar. **[Pl. lxii. 8.]**
			Type III.	
			Aureus	
4422	119·7	Ɲ ·75	Head of Augustus r., laureate; around, CAE SARI AVGVSTO	Circular domed temple showing four columns, within which is a triumphal chariot, surmounted by a small quadriga with horses galloping; in the chariot is placed an *aquila*; at the sides of the temple and across the field, S·Ꝑ·Q·R (*Senatus populusque romanus*). **[Pl. lxii. 9.]** (Cracherode Coll.)
			Denarius	
4423	54·7	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. lxii. 10.]** (Cracherode Coll.)
4424	52·0	Æ ·8	Similar; head of Augustus l.	Similar.
			Type III. var.	
			Aureus[1]	
4425	120·0	Ɲ ·8	Similar; laureate head of Augustus l.	Similar; legend, S·Ꝑ·Q·R·, below temple.

(Strozzi Coll.)

[1] The specimen of this aureus in the British Museum was in the Strozzi collection, and was acquired after the plates had been worked off. It is an unpublished variety.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Denarius	
4426	59·2	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. lxii. 11.]** (Cracherode Coll.)
4427	57·4	Æ ·8	Similar; head of Augustus r.	Similar. **[Pl. lxii. 12.]** (Cracherode Coll.)
			Type IV.	
			Aureus	
4428	121·5	Æ ·8	Head of Augustus l., laureate; around, CAE SARI AVGVSTO[1]	Triumphal chariot r., drawn by four horses, walking; it is ornamented on the panels with figures of Victory, and is surmounted by a small quadriga with horses galloping; in it is placed an *aquila*; in the exergue, S·P·Q·R· **[Pl. lxii. 13.]** (Montagu Coll.)
			Denarius	
4429	51·5	Æ ·75	Similar; head of Augustus r.	Similar. **[Pl. lxii. 14.]** (Devonshire Coll.)
4430	56·7	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar; the side panel of the chariot is ornamented with palmette design; legend, S·P·Q·R·, above chariot. (Cracherode Coll.)
4431	59·2	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar; the front of the chariot, as well as the side, is ornamented with palmette designs, and the legend, S·P·Q·R·, is in the exergue. **[Pl. lxii. 15.]** (Cracherode Coll.)

[1] There is a variety with the head of Augustus to r. like the following denarii (Cohen, *Méd. imp.*, vol. i., p. 100, no. 270).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type IV. var.	
			Aureus	
4432	119·6	*N* ·85	Similar; laureate head of Augustus l.	Similar; the chariot is turned to l., and the front and side panels are ornamented with palmette designs; the legend, S·P·Q·R·, is in the exergue.[1] **[Pl. lxii. 16.]** (Trattle Coll.)
			Denarius	
4433	54·5	*R* ·75	Similar; countermark on neck, T	Similar; the front and side panels of the chariot are ornamented with figures of Victory; the legend, S·P·Q·R·, is above the chariot. **[Pl. lxii. 17.]**
			Type V.	
			Denarius	
4434	53·5	*R* ·8	The consular robes, the *toga picta* over the *tunica palmata* between an *aquila* on l. and a laurel-wreath on r.; above, S·P·Q·R·PARENTI; below, CONS·SVO (*Senatus populusque romanus parenti conservatori suo*).[2]	Triumphal chariot r., drawn by four horses walking; the front and side panels are ornamented with figures of Victory; it is surmounted by a small quadriga with horses galloping; above, CAESARI; in the exergue, AVGVSTO **[Pl. lxii. 18.]**
4435	57·8	*R* ·75	Similar; legend reading, S·P·Q·R·PAREN, above; CONS·SVO, below.	Similar. **[Pl. lxii. 19.]**
4436	53·0	*R* ·7	Similar.	Similar.

[1] The denarius of this variety was also struck.

[2] Eckhel (*Doct. num. vet.*, t. vi., p. 113) has suggested this interpretation of the inscription, but Madden (*Num. Chron.*, 1861, p. 236), who attributes the issue of this coin to B.C. 2, proposed *Parenti Consuli suo*, remarking that it is likely that a coin would be struck when Augustus was made *Pater Patriae*, bearing the titles of *Parens* and *Consul*, commemorating the two events of the year B.C. 2, when he was *Cos. xiii.*, and at the same time recalling his threefold triumph of B.C. 29. The coins were, however, struck several years earlier than B.C. 2, and though there appears to be no other record of Augustus's receiving the title of *Conservator*, yet it is quite possible that it was accorded to him in B.C. 19 on his return to Rome, and at a time when so many other honours were granted to him by the Senate.

The *ornamenta* or consular robes were the emblems of chief power in the State. When Scipio bestowed on Massinissa, king of Numidia, the title and insignia of royalty, he presented him with the *aurea corona, aurea patera, sella curuli, et scipione eburneo, toga picta et palmata tunica* (Livy, xxx. 15).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
4437	58·7	*Æ* ·8	Similar.	Similar; the front panel of the chariot is ornamented with figure of Victory; the side one with palmette design. **[Pl. lxii. 20.]** (Devonshire Coll.)
4438	59·2	*Æ* ·75	Similar.	Similar; the panels of the chariot in front and at the side are ornamented with figures of Victory; the legend, CAESARI · AVGVSTO is in the exergue.[1] **[Pl. lxiii. 1.]** (Devonshire Coll.)
4439	54·7	*Æ* ·75	Similar.	Similar; the side panel of the chariot is ornamented with palmette design.
			Type VI.	
			Aureus	
4440	122·3	*N* ·75	Head of Augustus l., wearing oak-wreath.	Altar inscribed FORTVN · REDV[2] CAESARI · AVG · S · P · Q · R · (*Fortunae Reduci, Caesari Augusto, senatus populusque romanus*). **[Pl. lxiii. 2.]**
4441	121·8	*N* ·8	Similar; head of Augustus r.	Similar; the altar is inscribed FORT · RED CAES · AVG S · P · Q · R · **[Pl. lxiii. 3.]** (Cracherode Coll.)
			Denarius	
4442	59·4	*Æ* ·75	Similar.	Similar. (Cracherode Coll.)
4443	55·9	*Æ* ·8	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. lxiii. 4.]**
4444	57·8	*Æ* ·8	Similar; head of Augustus l.	Similar. **[Pl. lxiii. 5.]**

[1] Cohen (*Méd. imp.*, vol. i., p. 75, no. 73) mentions a variety with the legend above the chariot.

[2] The denarius with this legend was also struck (Cohen, *Ib.*, vol. i., p. 79, no. 108).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type VII.	
			Aureus[1]	
4445	120·7	*N* ·8	Head of Augustus r., wearing oak-wreath.	CAESAR AVGVSTVS S·P·Q·R arranged above and below Shield inscribed CL·V (*Clypeus virtutis*), and between two laurel-trees. **[Pl. lxiii. 6.]** (Trattle Coll.)
			Denarius	
4446	59·8	*R* ·85	Similar.	Similar; AVCVSTVS for AVGVSTVS **[Pl. lxiii. 7.]**
4447	59·5	*R* ·75	Similar.	Similar.
4448	43·3 (*plated*)	*R* ·75	Similar.	Similar; AVGVSTVS
			Type VIII.	
			Aureus	
4449	120·4	*N* ·8	Head of Augustus r., wearing oak-wreath.[2]	Two laurel-trees; above, CAESAR; below, AVCVSTVS (Montagu Coll.)
			Denarius[3]	
4450	59·3	*R* ·7	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. lxiii. 8.]** (Devonshire Coll.)

[1] Varieties of the aureus and denarius of this type have the head of Augustus to left (Cohen, *Méd. imp.*, vol. i., p. 70, nos. 52, 53). The gold piece was formerly in the Cabinet des Médailles, Paris. This type occurs also on denarii attributed to Gaul (circ. B.C. 16).

[2] Cohen (*Ib.*, vol. i., p. 70, no. 46) describes this gold coin with the head of Augustus to left. It was formerly in the Cabinet des Médailles, Paris.

[3] Denarii of this type, but of different style and fabric, are classed by Count de Salis to Gaul (*circ.* B.C. 16).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse.	Reverse
			Circ. B.C. 17; A.U.C. 737[1]	
			AVGVSTVS: CAESAR AVGVSTVS	
			Type I.	
			Denarius	
4451	49·4	Æ ·8	Head of Augustus l., bare.	AVGVSTVS (across the field). Above, Sol soaring r., holding with both hands a veil, which floats above his head; below, a capricorn r., holding rudder and globe. [Pl. lxiii. 9.] (Devonshire Coll.)

[1] The events commemorated by the types of the coins assigned to this year are:—1. The birth or conception of Augustus; 2. The surrender of the Roman standards and captives by the Parthians; 3. The public vows to Augustus; 4. His improvement and embellishment of the public roads; 5. The celebration of the *Ludi Saeculares*; and, 6. The adoption of Caius Caesar by Augustus. Of these the only contemporary events which actually occurred in B.C. 17 were the last two.

The coin on which Count de Salis appears to have based the classification of the issues attributed to this year is the aureus which records the celebration of the *Ludi Saeculares*, which occurred in B.C. 17. The portrait on this coin is precisely similar to those on all the other aurei of the year, and it is also similar to those on the aurei attributed to B.C. 27-25, and the half-aurei of B.C. 24-20 (see above, nos. 4373, 4377, 4379-4381). It is in somewhat high relief, is turned to the right, and is not laureate. This return to a portrait similar to one used nearly ten years before is difficult to explain. It might be suggested that the coins classed by Count de Salis to B.C. 27-25 are of a later date; but in that case there would be no pieces which could be attributed to those years. A slight change of portrait was noticeable on the coins of B.C. 18 (see above p. 30). The denarii show an occasional variation in the portrait, which is in somewhat lower relief, and sometimes turned to the left. Augustus is styled either "Caesar Augustus," as in the preceding year, or "Augustus" only.

The capricorn as the horoscopic symbol of the conception or birth of Augustus has already been referred to (see above, p. 19); but in Type I. of this year's coinage it is represented in connection with the sun, denoting its rising. In Types II. and III. we have further references to the surrender of the standards by the Parthians. The denarius of Type II. is practically a repetition of the aureus and denarius of Type II. attributed to B.C. 19 (see above p. 26). It differs somewhat in the portrait of Augustus and in the details of the figure of Mars on the reverse. On Type III. the date TR . POT . VI . (i.e. B.C. 18, as Augustus first received the *tribunitia potestas* in B.C. 23, which was annually renewed), probably relates to the erection of the triumphal arch on the reverse, which may have taken place in that year. Augustus was consul for the eleventh time in B.C. 23. The coins of this Type refer also to the surrender of the Roman captives by the Parthians. These were all liberated with the exception of a small number, who "through shame had committed suicide or remained concealed in the country" (Dion Cassius, liv. 8). The *vota publica* to Augustus, commemorated on Types IV. and V., are usually supposed to refer to those which were offered by the Senate and the people on his departure for Gaul in B.C. 16 to oppose the irruptions of the Germans and some border tribes (Von Sallet, *Zeit. f. Num.*, 1882, p. 175), but if these coins are to be assigned to B.C. 17 the type would be retrospective, and in that case it may relate to his return to Rome in B.C. 19. These *vota* may also refer to the somewhat frequent and dangerous attacks of sickness from which Augustus had suffered in recent years, notably in Spain in B.C. 24 during his campaign against the Cantabri (*Graves et periculosas valetudines per omnem vitam aliquot expertus est: praecipue Cantabria domita*; Suetonius, *Augustus*, 81).

When Augustus took upon himself the general control of the affairs of the State he found the public roads in a very bad condition, not only outside the city and in the provinces, but also in Rome itself. Hitherto these had been in charge of six officers who were styled *quatuorviri viis in urbe purgandis* and *duoviri viis extra urbem purgandis*, and were included in the body of magistrates known as the *vigintisexviri*. This body Augustus reduced to twenty members (*vigintiviri*), abolishing the *duoviri viis extra urbem purgandis* and the *quatuorviri iuri dicundo*, but retaining the *quatuorviri viis in urbe purgandis*, now called *curatores viarum*, who had charge of all roads in Italy and in the provinces (Bouché-Leclercq, *Man. des Inst. rom.*, p. 80).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type II.	
			Denarius	
4452	50·3	*AR* ·8	Head of Augustus r., bare.	Mars helmeted, his chlamys tied round his waist, standing front, holding an *aquila* in r. hand, and a *signum cohortis* directed over his shoulder in l.; at sides, SIGNIS RECEPTIS **[Pl. lxiii. 10.]** (Devonshire Coll.)
			Type III.	
			Aureus	
4453	120·5	*AV* ·8	Head of Augustus r., bare; around, S·P·Q·R·IMP·CAESARI·AVG·COS·XI·TR·POT·VI· (*Senatus populusque romanus, Imperatori Caesari Augusto, consule undecimum, tribunitia potestate sextum*).	CIVIB·ET·SIGN·MILIT·A·PART·RECVP·(*Civibus et signis militariis a Parthicis recuperatis*) around Triumphal arch of three portals; above the central one is a quadriga facing, with figure of Augustus; over the l. portal stands a Parthian soldier offering to Augustus a *signum cohortis*; and over the right one another Parthian offering with r. hand an *aquila*, and holding in l. a bow. **[Pl. lxiii. 11.]** (Cracherode Coll.)

Augustus himself accepted the post of superintendent of the roads in the neighbourhood of Rome, and personally directed the improvements of the Via Flaminia so far as Ariminum, where and also on the bridge over the Tiber he erected statues and triumphal arches in his own honour (Dion Cassius, liii. 22; Suetonius, *Augustus*, 30). It is to these new regulations that the gold and silver coins of Types VI.-VIII. relate, but more especially to the improvements carried out in Rome itself, and to the embellishment of the city with buildings and arches; the latter being connected with the triumphs of Augustus.

We learn from the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, and also from an inscription found recently on the left bank of the Tiber (Mommsen, *Eph. Epig.*, vol. viii., pp. 225 f.), that the celebration of the *Ludi Saeculares* by Augustus, as recorded on coins of Type IX., took place during the consulship of C. Furnius and C. Junius Silanus, B.C. 17, and that they lasted for three days and three nights, June 1-3, beginning on the eve of June 1. Dion Cassius (liv. 18) says that this was their fifth celebration, and it was on this occasion that Horace composed his *Carmen Saeculare*. During the Republic these games were called *Ludi Terentini*, but there is considerable uncertainty not only as to their origin but as to the number of occasions on which they had been celebrated previous to the time of Augustus. The games in B.C. 17 were under the direction of the college of the *quindecimviri sacris faciundis*, of which Augustus and M. Agrippa were members (*Pro conlegio xvvirorum magister conlegii collega M. Agrippa ludos saeculares C. Furnio C. Silano cos. feci*; Mommsen, *Res gestae*, p. 91). Augustus was therefore president of the games, and he had as his chief colleague Agrippa, who on several occasions had held the office of consul with him, and in B.C. 18 was also invested with the tribunitian power for five years. The reverse type of the coins commemorating the celebration of these games shows Augustus sacrificing at an altar, on the other side of which is a priest wearing a long tunic and a pointed helmet. This was the dress of the Salian priests, who were instituted for

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Denarius	
4454	56·1	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar; legend reading RECVΓER for RECVΓ **[Pl. lxiii. 12.]**
4455	55·8	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar; legend at end differently divided; Γ E R above arch.[1]
			Type IV.	
			Denarius	
4456	52·3	Æ ·75	Head of Augustus r., bare.	Within oak-wreath, legend in four lines, IOVI VOT· SVSC ΓRO·SAL· CAES· AVG S·Γ·Q·R· (*Iovi vota suscepta pro salute Caesaris Augusti senatus populusque romanus*). **[Pl. lxiii. 13.]**
			Type V.	
			Denarius	
4457	56·0	Æ ·8	Head of Augustus r., bare; around, S·Γ·Q·R·IMΓ· CAESARI (*Senatus populusque romanus Imperatori Caesari*).	Mars standing towards l., head turned to r., his mantle over his l. arm; he holds in r. hand, standard (*vexillum*), and in l., parazonium; across the field in four lines, VOT·Γ·SVSC· ΓRO· SAL·ET RED·I·O·M· SA CR· (*Vota publica suscepta pro salute et reditu Iovi Optimo Maximo sacrata*). **[Pl. lxiii. 14.]** (Cracherode Coll.)

the service of Mars and for the guardianship of the sacred shields. As the altar at which special offerings were made at the *Ludi Terentini*, and later at the *Ludi Saeculares*, was in a volcanic cleft, called Terentum, in the Campus Martius, it may be supposed that the Salian priests took an active part in the ceremonial. By order of the Senate in B.C. 29 the name of Augustus was inserted in the *Carmen Saliare* (Mommsen, *Res gestae*, p. 44). It was also in B.C. 17 that Augustus adopted the two sons of Agrippa, Caius and Lucius, whose mother was his daughter Julia (Dion Cassius, liv. 18). At the time of their adoption Caius was only three years old, and Lucius had been born but a few days. We have an interesting record of this event in the aureus and denarius of Type X. The candelabrum (or incense altar) on the reverse was probably specially made on this occasion, and set up in one of the temples. The dedication of candelabra in bronze and marble to divinities was not unusual.

[1] A variety reads RECVΓ for RECVΓER, and another has the head of Augustus to left instead of to right (Cohen, *Méd. imp.*, vol. i., p. 75, nos. 83, 85).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type V. var.[1]	
			Aureus	
4458	121·1	*N* ·8	Head of Augustus r., bare; around, S·P·Q·R·CAESARI AVGVSTO	Similar; Mars looks to l., and the inscription encircles the design, and is not across the field.[2] **[Pl. lxiii. 15.]**
			Denarius	
4459	58·2 *pierced*	*R* ·75	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. lxiii. 16.]** (Cracherode Coll.)
4460	41·7	*R* ·7	Similar.	Similar.
4461	59·0	*R* ·8	Similar.	Similar; legend, VOT·P·SVSC·PRO·SALVT·ET·RED·I·O·M·SACR **[Pl. lxiii. 17.]** (Devonshire Coll.)
			Type VI.	
			Aureus	
4462	120·8	*N* ·8	Head of Augustus r., bare; around, S·P·Q·R·IMP CAESARI	QVOD·VIAE·MVN·SVNT (*Quod viae munitae sunt*) around Triumphal arch of two portals placed on a viaduct of small arches; the arch is surmounted by a biga of elephants to r. in which stands Augustus crowned by Victory.[3] **[Pl. lxiii. 18.]** (Wigan Coll.)

[1] A variety of the aureus and denarius of this type shows Mars looking back to right (Cohen, *Méd. imp.*, vol. i., p. 106, nos. 320, 321). Another denarius has the head of Augustus to left, and yet another with the obverse legend S.P.Q.R.IMP.CAESARI (Cohen, *Ib.*, vol. i., nos. 326, 327).

[2] Owing to a slight injury the Museum coin has been plugged at the foot of the standard.

[3] This triumphal arch relates generally to the victories of Augustus or his generals in the East; but more especially to those in Africa between B.C. 34-19, during which period the Fasti record no less than five triumphs in that portion of the Roman empire.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type VI. var.	
			Aureus[1]	
		N ·8	Similar.	Similar; the biga of elephants surmounts a triumphal arch of one portal, flanked on either side by a basilica; no viaduct is shown below the arch.
			[Cohen, *Méd. imp.*, vol. i., p. 94, no. 230.]	
			Type VII.[2]	
			Denarius	
4463	42·8	*R* ·75	Head of Augustus r., bare; around, S·P·Q·R·CAESARI AVGVSTO	QVOD·VIAE·MVNSVNT around Triumphal arch of two portals placed on a viaduct of small arches; similar to no. 4462, but ornamented at each side with a rostrum; the arch is surmounted by a quadriga of horses to r., in which stands Augustus crowned by Victory.[2] **[Pl. lxiii. 19.]**
4464	59·2	*R* ·8	Similar; head of Augustus l.	Similar. **[Pl. lxiii. 20.]**

[1] This aureus is described and figured after Cohen (*loc. cit.*), where it is stated that it was in the possession of M. Rollin. The legend on the obverse reads CAESAR for CAESARI; and that on the reverse is either blundered or incorrectly reproduced. MM. Rollin having disposed of the coin are unable to supply any particulars of it; but when in their possession they believed it to be genuine.

[2] The triumphal arch shown on the reverse no doubt records the battle of Actium. The aureus of this type was also struck, and a variety of the denarius exists with the quadriga on the arch to left (Cohen, *Méd. imp.*, vol. i., p. 95, nos. 232, 234).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type VIII.	
			Denarius	
4465	53·0	*AR* ·7	Head of Augustus l., bare; around, S·P·Q·R·IMP·CAESARI	Two triumphal arches on a viaduct; each arch is surmounted by an equestrian figure and a military trophy; in the field between the arches in four lines, the legend, QVOD·VIAE·MVN·SVNT· **[Pl. lxiv. 1.]** (Devonshire Coll.)
4466	35·0 (*clipped*)	*AR* ·7	Similar.	Similar.
			Type IX.	
			Aureus[1]	
4467	119·6	*AV* ·85	Head of Augustus r., bare; around, CAESAR AVG VSTVS	An altar inscribed LVDI SAECVL(*Ludi saeculares*); on the l. stands a veiled togate figure (Augustus?) sacrificing, his hand stretched out to the altar; on the r. is another figure (a priest), wearing long dress and pointed helmet, holding caduceus; above the altar, IMP; all within a laurel-wreath. **[Pl. lxiv. 2.]**
			Denarius[2]	
	55·5	*AR* ·7	Similar.	Similar.

[1] This rare aureus is described and figured by Riccio (*Catalogo*, p. 119, no. 386, pl. ii., no. 2). Cohen (*Méd. imp.* vol. i., p. 29, no. 112) quotes it from the Riccio collection. The specimen in the National Collection was purchased of MM. Rollin in 1871, and seems to be the piece which belonged to Riccio.

[2] The illustration of this denarius is from the specimen in the Royal Collection at Copenhagen. It is described but not figured by Cohen (*Méd. imp.*, vol. i, p. 89, no. 188). Dr. C. Jörgensen, Curator of the Cabinet of Coins, Copenhagen, says that there are faint traces of the inscription IMP on the reverse. Boutkowski (*Dict. num.*, p. 383, no. 865 *bis*) mentions that only three specimens are known; but he does not state where they are to be found.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type X.	
			Aureus	
4468	122·8	*AV* ·8	Young head of Caius Caesar r., bare; below, CAESAR; all within oak-wreath.	A large candelabrum (or incense altar), ornamented with rams' heads and surmounted by a crescent, within a wreath composed of flowers, paterae, and bucrania; across the field, AVG VST[1] **[Pl. lxiv. 3.]** (Dupré and Wigan Coll.)
			Denarius	
4469	58·6	*AR* ·7	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. lxiv. 4.]**
4470	57·1	*AR* ·75	Similar.	Similar. (Cracherode Coll.)

[1] This rare aureus, which was presented to the British Museum by Mr. Edward Wigan, and which he had purchased of M. Prosper Dupré, was found at Ambenay in 1834 (*Num. Chron.*, 1865, p. 26).

PERIOD XVI.

Circ. B.C. 16—3; A.U.C. 738—751

With this Period we reach the last stage of the coinage of the Roman mint to be dealt with in this work. It is the Period which witnessed the revival of the moneyers' names on the coins and their final exclusion. There was also a definite re-issue of a bronze currency based on a new system, which remained in force for nearly two-and-a-half centuries. Some uncertainty exists as to when this temporary re-appearance of the moneyers' names first occurred. Babelon (*Mon. rép. rom., Introd.*, p. xxxvi.; and *Traité des Mon. grec. et rom.*, pp. 853, 854) is of opinion that the old institution of the triumvirate was revived by Augustus in B.C. 20, and that gold and silver coins were struck in their names till B.C. 15, when they were discontinued to make way for a bronze coinage exclusively, which extended down to B.C. 4, after which date the moneyers' names disappear altogether. Mommsen (*Hist. mon. rom.*, t. iii., p. 8) held practically the same view, and having attributed to B.C. 15 the coinages of M. Sanquinius and P. Licinius Stolo, which are of gold, silver, and bronze, and which he considered to be the latest aurei and denarii with moneyers' names, concluded that from that time Augustus deprived the Senate of its right of striking in gold and silver, and entrusted to that body the authority over the bronze money only. In the previous pages of this Catalogue (see above, p. 2), however, it has been shown that if the evidence of the types is any criterion, the practical authority over the gold and silver coinages had been invested by the Senate in Augustus at a much earlier date, and possibly so far back as B.C. 36. Moreover, in assigning the issues of M. Sanquinius and P. Licinius Stolo to B.C. 15, Mommsen does not appear to have noticed, or to have been aware, that as some of the bronze coins of these moneyers give Augustus the title of *Pontifex Maximus*, they could not have been issued before B.C. 12 (see below, pp. 80, 82). Mommsen was also of opinion that the bronze issues with moneyers' names followed in date those of gold and silver. Count de Salis, on the other hand, whilst also attributing the first issue of the new bronze money to B.C. 15, thought that the moneyers' names did not reappear at all till B.C. 16, which was the seventh and eighth tribunitian year of Augustus, as recorded on the coins of L. Vinicius, L. Mescinius Rufus, and C. Antistius Vetus. Count de Salis also did not consider that the gold and silver money ceased when that of bronze was resumed, but that the issues of the different metals were intermittent. It may also be reasonably assumed that when Augustus revived the custom of placing the moneyers' names on the coins, all money issued from the Roman mint would bear their signatures. If we accept this view it is possible to construct a regular triumvirate of moneyers year by year from B.C. 16—3, and, as it has already been shown, it is possible to fill up the period from B.C. 20—17 with a considerable

series of gold and silver coins which could only have been struck during that interval.

In the absence of any records or historical evidence it is difficult to account for this return to a former usage of the mint at Rome, but it is not improbable that when Augustus left for Gaul in B.C. 16, where the Roman soldiery had suffered several disastrous defeats, he contemplated that his absence would extend over a considerable period, and that, in order to ensure a regular issue of money from the mint, he ordered the moneyers to resume the practice of placing their names on the coins as a guarantee to the public against being supplied with money of impure metal or of light weight, reserving for himself a quasi right over the gold and silver coinages, but vesting the issue of the bronze in the Senate. It may also have been done with the intention, as on previous occasions, of showing the people that he was willing at any time to surrender those marks of sovereignty with which they of their own free will had from time to time invested him. After an absence of four years Augustus returned to Rome, but no change was made, and the new regulations remained apparently in force till B.C. 3, after which date the moneyers' names disappear, never to be restored to the Roman coinage so long as the empire lasted. On February 5, B.C. 2, Augustus was proclaimed *Pater Patriae*, and from that time this title appears on most of his gold and silver coins, but as it is never met with in conjunction with the names of moneyers we have almost absolute evidence of the date when this further change took place. This exclusion also defines the limit of this Catalogue. In order to include all the issues of the moneyers we have been compelled to cross the border line of the Republic and the Empire, and to extend our description of the coins for some years into the reign of Augustus.

DENOMINATIONS AND TYPES.—The coinage now consists of gold, silver, bronze, and copper. In gold there is the aureus; in silver, the denarius; in bronze, the sestertius and the dupondius; and in copper, the as and the quadrans. There is no instance of the issue of the half-aureus in gold, or of the quinarius and sestertius in silver.

Before discussing the new coinage in bronze and copper we will refer briefly to the types of the gold and silver money. The restoration of the moneyers' names was accompanied by a slight modification in the nature of the types of the gold and silver coins, though in the main they are imperial, i.e. they relate to Augustus as in the preceding years. On all Augustus is styled "Augustus," "Caesar Augustus," "Imperator Caesar Augustus," "Augustus Divi f.," "Caesar Divi f.," or simply "Imperator Caesar." The types from B.C. 16—12 are of a mixed character, mostly relating to Augustus, but some refer to events in the history of the moneyers' families. Those of Augustus deal almost exclusively with events which occurred before B.C. 16; such as the improvement of the public roads and streets, the erection of statues and arches inside and outside the city, the civic wreath granted to him by the Senate, as also the golden triumphal chariot and the golden "shield of valour," the conquests in the East, the restoration of the standards by the Parthians and the celebration of the *Ludi Saeculares*. The events relating to the moneyers' families are few in number. On coins of C. Antistius Vetus is recorded the treaty between the Romans and

the Gabini; on those of P. Petronius Turpilianus allusions are made to the origin of the family, and to the death of Tarpeia; on those of L. Aquillius Florus to the conquests of Mn. Aquillius Florus in Asia and Sicily, &c. From B.C. 8—6 (after which date to B.C. 3 no gold or silver coins are assigned to the Roman mint) the types refer, with possibly one exception (see p. 98), to Augustus only or to events in which he more or less participated.

The new coinage of baser metal which was introduced in B.C. 15 was of yellow copper, i.e. brass (ὀρείχαλκος = *orichalcum*), from which were struck the sestertius and the dupondius; and of copper, of which we have the as and the quadrans. Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*, xxxiv. 2, 4) in speaking of the mines at Corduba in Spain, says:—(*Aes Cordubense*) *a Liviano cadmeam maxume sorbet et orichalci bonitatem imitatur in sestertiis dupondiariisque*; and the *Lex Julia* against peculation, which is to be attributed to Augustus and not to Julius Caesar, enjoined that the moneyers were not to introduce any alloy in the copper money—*Ne quis in . . . aes publicum quid indat neve immisceat . . . quo id peius fiat* (Mommsen, *Hist. mon. rom.*, t. iii., p. 37, notes 2, 3). From analyses made of the coins of this Period it has been shown (*Num. Chron.*, 1904, p. 244) that the metal from which the sestertius and the dupondius were struck consists of approximately 76·5 per cent. copper and 23·5 per cent. zinc; whilst that of the *as* and the quadrans contains 98·9 per cent. copper, i.e. practically copper only. It is therefore evident that the sestertius and the dupondius are of orichalcum or yellow copper, and that the as and the quadrans are of copper only. As the *as* is of about the same weight as the dupondius, orichalcum in currency must have been rated at double the value of copper. The weight of the *as* was about 220 grs., which would give us a semuncial standard, the same as was introduced in B.C. 88, so that in this respect there was no change. The smallest denomination has been usually identified as a semis, but as it never exceeds in weight the quarter of the as, there can be no doubt of its being a quadrans. Had it been a semis, by analogy with the larger denominations, it would presumably have been of orichalcum, not, as it is, of copper.

In the article in the *Numismatic Chronicle* above referred to, which dealt with all the bronze coinages of the Roman standard struck in the second half of the first century B.C. at Rome and in the provinces, it was shown (p. 244) that the bronze money instituted by Antony in the East *circ.* B.C. 39, and by Octavius in Gaul *circ.* B.C. 38, was of orichalcum, so that in adopting that metal for some of the new coins at the Roman mint, the Senate, with whom rested the authority of striking these coins, was only extending a system previously existing in the provinces.

Care was taken in introducing this new coinage to make a difference in the type of each denomination, so that no confusion could arise as to its current value. This was absolutely necessary in the case of the dupondius and the as, since their weights were practically equal. The sestertius has for obverse type a representation of the wreath of oak, which the Senate had decreed to Augustus in B.C. 27, flanked by two laurel-branches (probably denoting the laurel-trees which were planted on either side of the portico of his house), and the legend OB CIVIS SERVATOS. On the reverse is the name of the moneyer with his official title, A · A · A · F · F (*Auro, argento, aere, flando, feriundo*), arranged around the inscription S · C, denoting that the issue of bronze money

was under the control of the Senate. The dupondius has the same type of reverse, but on the obverse is the name of Augustus with the inscription *Tribunitia potestate*, abbreviated, within a wreath. The *as* has on the obverse the head of Augustus, bare, turned to the right or to the left; the reverse being similar to those of the sestertius and the dupondius. The quadrans shows more variation than any of the other denominations. The early issues supply three types for the obverse, viz., two right hands holding a caduceus, a simpulum and a lituus, or a cornucopiae. The usual reverse type is similar to that of the other denominations, but when the cornucopiae occurs, the letters S · C are transferred to the obverse, and the field of the reverse is occupied by a coin-anvil, ornamented with a wreath. Towards the end of the period, in B.C. 4, the coin-anvil forms the only reverse type, and the letters S · C that of the obverse; and in B.C. 3 these types are transposed. In B.C. 5 a new obverse type was introduced for the sestertius and the dupondius, being the head of Augustus, but in order that these coins should not be confused with the as it is laureate, and behind stands Victory holding a cornucopiae. Two of the moneyers who introduced this new type, M. Salvius Otho and P. Lurius Agrippa, struck also the dupondius of the old type. With one exception, that of Q. Aelius Lamia (see below, p. 86), the moneyers, who struck the sestertius, the dupondius, and the as, did not issue the quadrans, and *vice versâ*, and, with the exception of M. Sanquinius, and P. Licinius Stolo (see below, pp. 78-82), those who struck gold and silver coins did not issue bronze or copper. Lastly, most of the moneyers who struck silver coins issued also those of gold.

The moneyers' names vary a good deal in their form of representation, so that we meet with either the *praenomen*, *nomen*, and *cognomen*, or the *praenomen* and *nomen*, or the *praenomen* and *cognomen*. These are sometimes accompanied by the patronymic initials. On the quadrans, in the case of joint-issues, the *nomen* or *cognomen* only is given. This was due to want of space.

CLASSIFICATION.—As the types relating to Augustus record events which occurred before B.C. 16, and as those of the moneyers commemorate events of still earlier dates, they do not assist us in the classification, or help us in ascertaining the sequence of the moneyers. Practically the only coins from which some evidence of chronology can be obtained are those of L. Vinicius, L. Mescinius Rufus, and C. Antistius Vetus (see pp. 49-56), as they commemorate the seventh and eighth *tribunitia potestas* (B.C. 16) of Augustus. During this Period the provincial issues and the finds of coins, the latter on account of the small number which have been recorded, afford but slight evidence for classification. The only province issuing gold and silver coins of Roman standard and types at this time was Gaul, and the types of these as a rule do not refer to contemporary events. For the sequence of the issues we have therefore to depend mainly on the internal evidence of the coins themselves, viz., their fabric, the similarity in character of the types, and, in the case of the bronze money, the forms of the moneyers' names. From such evidence Count de Salis has constructed a triumvirate of the mint for each year from B.C. 16—3, with the exception that in the last two years, B.C. 4—3, the number of moneyers was increased to four, thus forming a quatuorvirate, but they still call themselves *triumviri*. In the classification of the bronze and copper coins

some assistance is derived from the titles borne by Augustus. As he did not accept the office of *Pontifex Maximus* till B.C. 12, after the death of Lepidus, any coins with this title cannot be placed before that year. The recent discovery of some *asses* giving that title has necessitated in a few instances slight modifications in the order of the moneyers as proposed by Count de Salis, but these modifications have not materially affected the general classification of the series. The proposed order of the moneyers is somewhat conjectural, but it seems in the main to be supported by the types, fabric, and denominations.

In grouping the moneyers who issued bronze and copper coins, considerable assistance is afforded by the additional evidence of joint-issues. In the case of the quadrans, with one exception in B.C. 4 (see below, pp. 110, 111), the issue is always a joint one; the name of each moneyer, either his *nomen* or *cognomen*, being given on the coin. It is in one instance only that we meet with a joint-issue in connection with the bronze coins of higher denominations. This is in B.C. 9, when Cn. Calpurnius Piso, L. Naevius Surdinus, and C. Plotius Rufus struck separately the sestertius, the dupondius, and the as; but jointly the as only, which bears the names of all three members of the triumvirate (see below, pp. 89-93). Further particulars relating to the grouping and to the sequence of the moneyers in each year are given with the descriptions of the coins, where the question is dealt with in more detail.

There are only two hoards of silver coins, of which particulars have been furnished, which bear on the classification of the issues of this Period. These were discovered at Palazzo Canavese, near Ivrea (Prov. di Torino), and at Terranova Pausania, in the "Baica" region near Canna Aglia, Sardinia.

The *Palazzo Canavese* hoard was unearthed in the spring of 1884 by a peasant, who quickly disposed of most of it. The coins were contained in the usual earthenware vase. The find was a large one, and is said to have weighed over 10 kilograms = 25 lbs. troy. Of this mass 160 specimens were offered by the peasant to the Museo di Palazzo Canavese, and were examined and described by Prof. Serafino Ricci in the *Riv. Ital.*, 1897, pp. 179 f. The earliest pieces were of the first and second half of the second century B.C., and amongst them were denarii of Tampilus (see vol. i., p. 71), C. Scribonius (*ib.*, p. 98), Pinarius Nata (*ib.*, p. 101), and C. Terentius Lucanus (*ib.*, p. 103). From that date down to nearly the end of the first century B.C., the coins are sparsely but evenly distributed, representing, in all, 59 gentes or 89 issues. The latest coin in the hoard of the Roman mint is that of P. Petronius Turpilianus (B.C. 14), and he is the only moneyer of Augustus who was represented in it. Of the later provincial issues there were coins of Augustus with *obv.*, head of Augustus laureate; *rev.*, two trees (*Caesar Augustus*; Cohen, *Méd. imp.*, vol. i., p. 70, no. 47), struck in Gaul *circ.* B.C. 16; and another with *obv.*, head of Augustus; *rev.*, tiara, two quivers and bow (*Armenia capta*; *ib.*, vol. i., p. 64, no. 11), struck in the East *circ.* B.C. 20. It is quite possible that there were later coins of the moneyers of Augustus in the hoard, but as those of that time were all in the finest state of preservation, the finder was able to dispose of them very quickly. From the evidence which we possess it would therefore appear that this hoard could not have been buried before B.C. 14, but possibly a little later.

The *Terranova Pausania* hoard was discovered by a shepherd in January, 1904. The coins had been in a pot which was turned up in ploughing and broken. The place where the coins were found was the site of the ancient town of Olbia. The hoard consisted of 871 silver coins of the time of the Republic and early Empire. They were examined and classified by Signor Antonio Taramelli, and a list, with analyses, was published by him in the *Scavi*, 1904, pp. 158 f. This was one of the most representative of the finds which have been analysed apparently in their entirety. The earliest pieces dated from the middle of the third century B.C., and were denarii of the Dioscuri type, with Victory in a biga, and others with magistrates' symbols; but, proportionately, those of the first century B.C. were naturally the most numerous and in the finest condition. The worn state of the earlier pieces showed that they had been long in circulation, and proved that the hoard was not a "numismatic collection," but one formed of coins still in circulation at the time of its burial. The latest pieces of the Roman mint were of L. Vinicius and L. Mescinius Rufus (B.C. 16), P. Petronius Turpilianus (B.C. 14), Q. Rustius (B.C. 12), and Cossus Cornelius Lentulus and L. Caninius Gallus (B.C. 6), all moneyers of Augustus. As all the provincial issues had for some time previously ceased, with the exception of those of Gaul, it need only be mentioned that the latest coin of that province was the denarius of Augustus with *obv.*, head bare, *Augustus Divi f.*; *rev.*, bull butting to left, *Imp. x* (Cohen, *Méd. imp.*, vol. i., p. 84, no. 140), struck *circ.* B.C. 14—12. Signor Taramelli remarks on the large number of coins of Antony present, more especially those of the legions. There was also a silver coin of Juba I. of Mauretania, but as it was struck between B.C. 60—46, it is not of any chronological importance. From these particulars the burial of the Terranova Pausania hoard must have occurred at the end of the first century B.C., and as it contained specimens of the issues of two of the last moneyers of Augustus, Cossus Cornelius Lentulus and L. Caninius Gallus (B.C. 6), who struck silver coins, and none of Augustus with the title of *Pater Patriae* (B.C. 2), its concealment must have occurred at some time between those two dates.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Circ. B.C. 16; A.U.C. 738[1]	
			Moneyers	
			L. Vinicius L. f.; L. Mescinius Rufus; C. Antistius Vetus	
			L . VINICIVS L . F	
			(LUCIUS VINICIUS LUCII FILIUS[2])	
			Type I.	
			Denarius	
4471	62·2	*Æ* ·85	Head of Augustus r., bare; around, AVGVSTVS TR · ΠOT · VII (*Tribunitia potestate septimum*).	A cippus, on which is inscribed in six lines, S · Π · Q · R IMΠ · CAE QVOD · V M · S · EX EA · Π · Q · IS AD · A · DE (*Senatus populusque romanus, Imperatori Caesari, quod viae munitae sunt ex eâ pecuniâ quam is ad aerarium detulit*); around, L · VINICIVS · L · F · III · VIR [Pl. lxiv. 5.]
4472	59·2	*Æ* ·75	Similar; TR · ΠOT · VIII (*Tribunitia potestate octavum*).	Similar. [Pl. lxiv. 6.] (Cracherode Coll.)
4473	57·0	*Æ* ·75	Similar.	Similar. (de Salis Coll.)

[1] The moneyers who held office in B.C. 16 were L. Vinicius L. f., L. Mescinius Rufus, and C. Antistius Vetus. The date of their appointment is apparent from the legends on their coins, which show they were struck in the eighth tribunitian year of Augustus, which began on the 27th June, B.C. 16, and ended on the 26th June following. Some of the coins of L. Vinicius are dated in the seventh tribunitian year of Augustus, showing that they were issued before the 27th June, B.C. 16. All three moneyers strike in silver, but gold coins are only known of L. Mescinius and C. Antistius. The types all relate to Augustus with, perhaps, one exception, that of C. Antistius, recording the ancient treaty between the Romans and the Gabini (see p. 56).

[2] This moneyer was probably a son of L. Vinicius, who was consul suffectus B.C. 33, and had held the post of moneyer *circ.* B.C. 53 (see vol. i., p. 412). The only record of the moneyer of B.C. 16 appears to be his coins, the types of which relate to the improvement and administration of the public roads by Augustus.

Type I. shows the cippus, which was erected to commemorate these acts of Augustus. It tells us that Augustus himself contributed largely to the expenses of these improvements. On the *Monumentum Ancyranum* Augustus relates, *Quater pecuniâ meâ iuvi aerarium.* Mommsen (*Res gestae*, p. 66) mentions two occasions on which Augustus contributed to the public funds from his own treasury; in B.C. 28, on the celebration of the games in honour of the victory at Actium, and in B.C. 16, on the restoration of the public roads. Dion Cassius (liv. 30) states that in B.C. 12, when the provinces of Asia were visited by severe earthquakes, Augustus himself paid to the public treasury the annual tribute which was due from those districts. The fourth occasion does not appear to be recorded. The equestrian statue on Type II. probably illustrates one of

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type II.	
			Denarius	
4474	62·0	Æ ·75	Equestrian statue of Augustus r., before the walls of a city, the gateway of which is shown; the pedestal of the statue is inscribed in three lines, S·Ꝑ·Q·R IMꝐ CAES (*Senatus populusque romanus Imperatori Caesari*).	A cippus, with inscription, and the moneyer's name as on no. 4471. **[Pl. lxiv. 7.]**
4475	60·9	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar. (Cracherode Coll.)
4476	56·8	Æ ·7	Similar.	Similar. (Blacas Coll.)
			Type III.	
			Denarius	
4477	60·5	Æ ·7	Head of Augustus r., bare.	Triumphal arch between two porticos; above the arch is a quadriga facing, in which stands Augustus, holding olive-branch and sceptre; the pedestal is inscribed in two lines, S·Ꝑ·Q·R IMꝐ·CAES; each of the porticos is surmounted by an armed figure holding a bow; in the exergue, L·VINICIVS **[Pl. lxiv. 8.]** (Cracherode Coll.)
4478	50·6	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar. (Nott)

those erected to Augustus outside the city near the Porta Flaminia; and on Type III. is represented one of the arches erected on the same road. O. Richter (*Jahrb. d. Arch. Inst.*, iv., 1889, p. 158) thinks that this is a representation of the arch erected by the Senate to Augustus on his return to Rome in B.C. 29 after the Egyptian campaign, but Borghesi (*Œuvres compl.*, t. ii., p. 382) and Rossini (*Gli archi antichi romani*, p. 3) identify it as the arch of Rimini. Dion Cassius (liii. 22) relates that "Augustus entrusted to various senators the duty of repairing the roads at their own expense, but in the case of the Via Flaminia, as it was necessary to make it practicable for the passage of an army, he himself undertook the task. The road was repaired, and statues supported by triumphal arches were raised in honour of the monarch, not only on the bridge over the Tiber, but also at Ariminum."

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			L. MESCINIVS RVFVS (LUCIUS MESCINIUS RUFUS[1]) Type I. **Denarius**	
4479	60.2	Æ ·75	Head of Augustus r., laureate.	Mars, helmeted, standing towards l. on a pedestal, holding spear and parazonium; the pedestal is inscribed in three lines, SPQR VPRRE CAES (*Senatus populusque romanus, vota pro reditu Caesaris*); around, L. MESCINIVS RVFVS [Pl. lxiv. 9.] (Cracherode Coll.)

[1] L. Mescinius Rufus is the only member of his family of whom we have coins. He held office in the eighth tribunitian year of Augustus, B.C. 16; his colleagues being L. Vinicius and C. Antistius Vetus. He struck in gold as well as in silver. He is usually identified with L. Mescinius Rufus, who was quaestor for Cicero in Cilicia B.C. 51, took no part in the civil war, but after the death of Julius Caesar served under Cassius Longinus, by whom he was sent against Tarsus (Babelon, vol. ii., p. 219). As the above coins were struck in B.C. 16, it is impossible to identify the moneyer as this member of the Mescinia gens, but he may have been his son.

The types of his coins commemorate:—1. The public vows of the Senate and the Roman people to Augustus for his health and safe return; 2. Those for his success in the restoration and preservation of order in all parts of the State; and, 3. The celebration of the *Ludi Saeculares*, which had taken place in the previous year. The public vows for the health and safe return of Augustus recorded on Type I. may have been those offered on his departure for Gaul in B.C. 16 or on some previous occasion; and those to Jupiter Optimus Maximus on Type II. may refer to Augustus's illness in B.C. 24, when he was in the midst of the reorganization of the Roman constitution, not only at home, but also in connection with the provinces. This suggestion appears to be supported by the circumstance that the dedicatory inscription is placed within a wreath, probably representing the civic wreath which had been accorded to Augustus by the Senate. The *Ludi Saeculares* recorded on Type III. had been celebrated in the previous year (see above, pp. 37, 41). Suetonius (*Augustus*, 23) relates that on the defeat of Varus Augustus vowed to celebrate the great games in honour of Jupiter, *si rempublicam in meliorem statum vertisset*. The *suffimenta* consisted of offerings, by way of atonement and purification, of resin, sulphur, and bitumen, substances which were used for the composition of torches and which were distributed to the people by the quindecimviri three days before the celebration of the saecular games. The inscription found on the bank of the Tiber already referred to (see p. 37; and *Eph. Epig.*, vol. viii., pp. 225 f. and 310 f.), tells us that in B.C. 17 this distribution was first ordered to take place on the fifth of the kalends of June (28 May), but for the convenience of the public the time was later extended from the seventh to the fifth kalends (26-28 May). It took place before the temples of Jupiter Optimus Maximus and Jupiter Tonans on the Capitol; of Apollo on the Palatine; and of Diana on the Aventine. This inscription also notifies the fact that on this occasion the number of members of the college of the quindecimviri was increased to twenty-one, the emperor having the power to add to their number (Dion Cassius, li. 20). Their names are all given, and foremost are those of Augustus and Agrippa. Though the college was numerically increased on this occasion it retained its usual title of *quindecimviri sacris faciundis*, as recorded on denarii of Type IV. which also refer to the celebration of the *Ludi Saeculares*.

Varieties of Type I. read RVFVS.III.VIR (Bahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1897, p. 22) and P RED for PR RE (Babelon, vol. ii., p. 222, no. 6). These varieties are only caused by the interchange of reverse dies.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type I. var. *a*	
			Denarius	
4480	54·0	Æ ·75	Similar; around head of Augustus, [CAESAR] AVG VSTVS · TR · POT (same die as the next coin and no. 4488).	Similar; moneyer's name, L · MESCINIVS RVFVS · III · VIR **[Pl. lxiv. 10.]**
			Type I. var. *b*	
			Denarius	
4481	60·7	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar; the pedestal is inscribed in three lines, S · P · Q · R · V · P · S · PR · S · ET RED · AVG (*Senatus populusque romanus vota publica suscepta pro salute et reditu Augusti*); around, L · MESCINIVS RVFVS · III · VIR **[Pl. lxiv. 11.]** (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.)
			Type I. var. *c*	
			Denarius	
4482	62·0	Æ ·75	Bust facing, bare, of Augustus placed on a shield, and surrounded by a laurel-wreath; the shield outside the wreath is inscribed, S · C · OB · R · P · CVM · SALVT · IMP · CAES · AVGVS · CONS[1] (*Senatus consulto, ob rempublicam cum salute Imperatoris Caesaris Augusti conservatam*).	Similar. **[Pl. lxiv. 12.]** (Sir G. Musgrave Coll.)

[1] This legend on the specimen in the National Collection is only in part legible; the coin being imperfectly struck. Varieties appear to read CAESAR AVG and CAESAR AVGVS on the obverse and PRO . S on the reverse (Boutkowski, *Dict. Num.*, pp. 377, 378; Babelon, vol. ii., p. 220, no. 2).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type II.	
			Denarius	
4483	61·3	Ar ·75	Within oak-wreath, inscription in seven lines, I·O·M·S·P·Q·R·V·S·PR·S·IMP·CAE QVOD·PER·EV·R·P·IN·AMP AT·Q·TRAV S·E· (*Iovi Optimo Maximo, senatus populusque romanus vota suscepta pro salute Imperatoris Caesaris, quod per eum respublica in ampliore atque tranquilliore statu est*).	A cippus, inscribed in five lines, IMP CAES AVGV COMM CONS (*Imperatori Caesari Augusto, communi consensu*); at the sides, S·C· (*Senatus consulto*); around, L·MESCINIVS RVFVS·III·VIR[1] (Pembroke Coll.)
4484	55·0	Ar ·7	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. lxiv. 13.]**
4485	51·5	Ar ·75	Similar.	Similar. (Nott)
4486	51·3	Ar ·75	Similar.	Similar; countermark on l. of cippus, FAV
			Type III.	
			Aureus	
4487	123·6	AV ·8	Head of Augustus r., laureate; around, IMP·CAESAR TR·POT·IIX (*Tribunitia potestate octavum*).	Augustus, togate, seated l. on an estrade inscribed LVD·S (*Ludi saeculares*); before him stand two togate figures, to one of whom he is handing *suffimenta*, which he has taken from a basket at his feet; in the exergue, AVG·SVF·P (*Augustus suffimenta populo [dedit]*); around, L·MES CINIVS **[Pl. lxiv. 14.]** (Dupré and Wigan Coll.)

[1] Comm. Fr. Gnecchi (*Riv. Ital.*, 1900, p. 154) describes a variety in his collection with the cognomen RVFVS omitted; and Bahrfeldt (*Num. Zeit.*, 1897, p. 22) mentions a hybrid with the head of Augustus without legend on the obverse.

No.	*Weight*	*Metal and Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
			Type IV.	
			Denarius	
4488	53·5	*AR* ·75	Head of Augustus r., laureate; around, CAE SAR AVGVSTVS · TR · POT[1] (same die as nos. 4480, 4481).	A cippus, inscribed in five lines, IMP CAES AVG LVD SAEC (*Imperator Caesar Augustus ludos saeculares* [*fecit*]); across the field at sides of the cippus, XV S · F (*Quindecimviri sacris faciundis*)[2]; around, L · MES CININS RVFVS III · VIR **[Pl. lxiv. 15.]**

C. ANTISTIVS VETVS

(CAIUS ANTISTIUS VETUS[3])

			Type I.	
			Aureus	
	126·0	*AV* ·8	Bust of Victory r., draped, hair drawn back, and tied behind in a knot: around, C · ANTISTI · VETVS III · VIR	A priest standing l., sacrificing at a lighted and garlanded altar; on the other side of which is a victimarius holding with l. hand a bull by the horn and in r. the sacrificial knife (*culter*); around, PRO VALETVDINE CAESARIS; in the exergue, S · P · Q · R (*Senatus populusque romanus*).

[Collection of Sir John Evans.]

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[1] On the specimen of this denarius figured by Cohen (*Méd. imp.*, vol. i., p. 128, no. 461), the legend on the obverse runs downwards and not upwards.

[2] The names of those who formed the college of the quindecimviri, and whose number was specially increased to twenty-one on this occasion, are given in the inscription mentioned above (see p. 51; and *Eph. Epig.*, vol. viii., pp. 240, 241). Those of Augustus and Agrippa head the list.

[3] This moneyer was probably a grandson of C. Antistius Vetus, propraetor in Further Spain B.C. 61, and a son of C. Antistius Vetus, who was a tribune of the plebs B.C. 57 and who commanded in Syria for Julius Caesar B.C. 45; and was consul suffectus B.C. 30. The moneyer was a triumvir of the mint in B.C. 16, as some of his coins are dated in the eighth tribunitian year of Augustus, and he had as his colleagues in office, L. Vinicius and L. Mescinius Rufus. He may have been the consul of B.C. 6 with D. Laelius Balbus. As it is said that he lived to

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type II.	
			Denarius	
4489	60·7	AR ·7	Head of Augustus r., bare; around, IMP · CAESAR · AVGVS · TR · POT · IIX (*Tribunitia potestate octavum*).	Apollo of Actium, laureate, wearing long robe, standing l. on a platform, and sacrificing at a lighted garlanded altar, he holds lyre in l. hand; the platform is ornamented with anchors and prows; in the field and below, APOLLINI ACTIO; around, C · ANTISTI VETVS IIIVIR[1] [Pl. lxiv. 16.] (Campana Coll.)

see both his sons consuls, he could not have died before A.D. 28. This moneyer cannot therefore be identified with the consul suffectus of the same name in B.C. 30 (Babelon, vol. i., p. 150). Like L. Mescinius Rufus he struck gold as well as silver coins. The types of some were copied by another member of the family, C. Antistius Reginus, who filled the office of moneyer a few years later, *circ.* B.C. 8. Babelon (vol. i., p. 149) has, however, assigned the coins of the latter to a somewhat earlier date, *circ.* B.C. 18.

The types of the coins of C. Antistius Vetus relate chiefly to events connected with the life of Augustus, but in one instance (Type IV.) he appears to have adopted the custom of former moneyers in recording an event personal to his own family. Type I. seems to refer generally to the sacrifices which were ordered by the Senate for the restoration or preservation of the health of Augustus, who, on several occasions, had been seized with alarming sickness. As this coin was issued in B.C. 16, the type may, however, have special reference to Augustus's departure for Gaul in that year. Only two specimens of this rare aureus are known; one in the Vienna collection; the other in that of Sir John Evans. By kind permission of Sir John Evans the illustration is given of his specimen. Type II. commemorates the sacrifices to Apollo of Actium in his temple on the Palatine, which was built by Augustus. The scene on the reverse is similar to that on a tetradrachm of Parium, where Apollo Aktaios is shown sacrificing at an altar and resting his hand on his lyre, which is placed on the omphalos (Overbeck, *Griech. Kunst-myth.*, vol. iii., bk. 5, pl. iv., no. 18). On the reverse of Type III. are shown the various emblems symbolical of the priestly offices held by Augustus, whilst that of the obverse illustrates the claim of the Julia gens to be descended from Venus. In the case of Type IV., though the portrait and name of Augustus are given on the obverse, the reverse records the famous treaty between Rome and Gabii, an ancient city of Latium, from which the Antistia gens derived its origin, and where Antestius Petra, an ancestor of the moneyer, was murdered by Sextus Tarquinius, who, by treachery, betrayed Gabii into the hands of his father, Tarquinius Superbus. The treaty between the Romans and the Gabini, concluded on this occasion, was amongst the most ancient monuments preserved in Rome. Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ant. rom.*, iv., lviii.) relates that, "There is now to be seen at Rome, in the temple of Jupiter Fidius, a monument of this treaty, which is a wooden shield covered with the hide of the ox that was sacrificed when that treaty was confirmed by oaths. Upon the shield are inscribed in ancient characters the terms of the covenant there entered into." It is evidently one of those treaties alluded to by Horace (*Epist.*, ii., i. 24):—

"foedera regum
Cum Gabiis aut cum rigidis aequata Sabinis."

On the conclusion of a treaty amongst the Latins and the Sabines it was customary to sacrifice a pig, and the scene had previously been represented on coins of the Roman republic. Virgil (*Aen.*, viii. 638 f.) refers evidently to this usage:—

"Post idem, inter se posito certamine, reges
Armati Jovis ante aram, paterasque tenentes
Stabant, et caesa jungebant foedera porca."

The type of the coin and the account given by Dionysius are somewhat at variance; one showing the sacrifice of a pig, the other mentioning the sacrifice of an ox. It is, however, possible that in the Augustan age there may have been at Rome two slightly different versions relating to this treaty (Babelon, vol. i., p. 151).

[1] A variety in the Haeberlin collection reads ANTIST (Bahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1900, p. 11).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type III.	
			Denarius	
4490	56·5	Æ ·75	Bust of Venus r., diademed, draped, and wearing earring and necklace; around, C · ANTISTIVS VETVS · III · VIR	Sacrificial implements; simpulum and lituus above tripod and patera; across the field in three lines, IMP · CAESAR AVG[V] COS XI[1] **[Pl. lxiv. 17.]** (Townley Coll.)
4491	54·0	Æ ·7	Similar.	Similar. (Nott)
			Type IV.	
			Denarius	
4492	58·1	Æ ·75	Head of Augustus r., bare; around, IMP · CAESAR AVGVS · TR · POT · VIII	Two priests, veiled, holding a pig by the legs over a lighted and garlanded altar; in the field and around, FOE DVS PR QVM GABINIS (*Foedus populi romani qum Gabinis*); C · ANTIST · VETVS **[Pl. lxiv. 18.]** (Campana Coll.)
4493	47·8	Æ ·7	Similar.	Similar. (Sir G. Musgrave Coll.)
			Type IV. var.[2]	
			Denarius	
	54·8	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar; the legend which reads CVM for QVM is entirely in the circumference of the coin, no part being disposed over the field.

[Babelon, vol. i., p. 151, no. 20.]

[1] Augustus was elected consul for the eleventh time in B.C. 23, having held that office for eight consecutive years. After B.C. 23 he declined to resume the consulship, and, in consequence, he did not again hold it till B.C. 5. It was on account of his refusing his re-election that the Senate invested him with pro-consular power throughout the empire, and also with the *tribunitia potestas*. Babelon (vol. i., p. 153, no. 24) figures a variety of this type reading AVG, and in the Berlin, Gotha and Schott (Vienna) collections others read AVGVS (Bahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1896, p. 26).

[2] Comm. Fr. Gnecchi (*Riv. Ital.*, 1895, p. 12) describes a variety of this type in his

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Circ. B.C. 15; A.U.C. 739[1]	
			Moneyers	
			C. ASINIUS C. F. GALLUS; C. CASSIUS C. F. CELER; C. GALLIUS C. F. LUPERCUS	
			C . ASINIVS C . F . GALLVS	
			(CAIUS ASINIUS CAII FILIUS GALLUS)	
			Sestertius	
4494	387·2	Æ 1·35	An oak-wreath between two laurel-branches; above, within, and below wreath, OB CIVIS SERVATOS	C·ASINIVS·C·F·GALLVS·IIIVIR·A·A·A·F·F· (*Triumvir aere, argento, auro, flando, feriundo*). In the centre, S·C (*Senatus consulto*). [Pl. lxv. 1.]

collection, which has AVG . for AVGVS ., and the moneyer's name, C . ANTIST . VETVS III. VIR. Bahrfeldt (*Num. Zeit.*, 1896, p. 25) mentions another specimen, *plated*, in the Moustier collection.

[1] It is to this year that Count de Salis has attributed the revival of the bronze currency at the Roman mint, which, with the exception of that issued in B.C. 45 and 44 (see vol. i., pp. 538, 539, 541), had been in abeyance since B.C. 82 (see vol. i., pp. 317, 359). The earliest moneyers who had charge of this new coinage appear to have been C. Asinius C. f. Gallus, C. Cassius C. f. Celer, and C. Gallius C. f. Lupercus. It has already been mentioned (see above, p. 47), that when the three moneyers issued a joint-coinage the composition of the triumvirate is beyond question, but when each struck separately, which more frequently occurred, then the grouping of them to a particular year becomes somewhat conjectural; but even in such cases we are assisted by changes in the types, by similarity of fabric, and often by the forms in which their names are given. In the case of the moneyers attributed to B.C. 15 they all struck three denominations, the sestertius, the dupondius, and the as; but each one gave his patronymic initial only on the first. The fabric of their coins also is very similar. The types of these coins are the same in the case of each moneyer, and they remain so in subsequent issues till about B.C. 5 (see below, p. 105). The type of the reverse is always the moneyer's name accompanied by the letters S . C ., but that of the obverse varies with each denomination. On the sestertius there are the oak-wreath and the laurel-branches, referring to the civic wreath which had been presented by the Senate to Augustus in B.C. 27, and the laurel-trees which were placed on either side of the portico of his house. On the dupondius the wreath only is depicted, and on the as the head of Augustus. Each denomination has therefore a distinct obverse type (see above, pp. 45, 46).

The identification of the three moneyers whose coins are given to this year is somewhat uncertain. Caius Asinius C. f. Gallus has been identified as the son of C. Asinius Pollio, the friend of Julius Caesar and Octavius, who was consul in B.C. 40. The son was himself consul in B.C. 8 with C. Marcius Censorinus, and governor of Asia during B.C. 1 and A.D. 1 (Waddington, *Mélanges de numismatique*, 1867, pp. 145-147). He married Vipsania, the repudiated wife of Tiberius, whose hatred he in consequence incurred. In A.D. 30 Tiberius invited Asinius to a banquet at Capreae, and at the same time induced the Senate to sentence him to death, but Tiberius demanded his release only to procure his imprisonment in a dungeon, where he lingered for three years, his death being due to starvation. As Asinius lived to A.D. 33 he must have been consul at a very early age. His identification with the moneyer is therefore just possible. He is the only member of his family of whom we possess coins struck at the Roman mint.

In the legends the tall I and T in *Civis* and *Augustus* are epigraphical peculiarities of this period. In publishing an inscribed tessera in the Perugia Museum Sig. Giovanni Schmidt (*Bull. dell' Inst. di corr. arch.*, 1879, p. 169) says, "in tutti e due i lati le lettere I e T sono più lunghe delle altre lettere." In inscriptions from the time of Sulla a tall I is found taking the place to some extent of the more ancient EI, which had been used to denote the long vowel, but in the case of the letter T it very often rises above the others for reasons of space (Egbert, *Latin Inscriptions*, pp. 60, 65).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Dupondius	
4495	203·3	Æ 1·1	Within oak-wreath and in three lines, AVGVSTVS TRIBVNIC POTEST	C · ASINIVS · GALLVS · III VIR · A · A · A · F · F · In the centre, S · C
4496	210·0	Æ 1·1	Similar; legend reading TRIBVNI for TRIBVNIC	Similar.[1] [Pl. lxv. 2.]
			As	
4497	183·7	Æ 1·25	Head of Augustus r., bare; around, CAESAR AVG VSTVS TRIBVNIC · POTEST ·	Similar. [Pl. lxv. 3.] (Blacas Coll.)
4498	179·3	Æ 1·15	Similar.	Similar. (Stewart Coll., 1847)
4499	170·8	Æ 1·15	Similar.	Similar.
4500	147·6	Æ 1·15	Similar.	Similar; countermarked, CAE (CAESAR).
			C . CASSIVS C . F . CELER[2]	
			(CAIUS CASSIUS CAII FILIUS CELER)	
			Sestertius	
4501	418·4	Æ 1·35	An oak-wreath between two laurel-branches; above, within, and below wreath, OB CIVIS SER VATOS	C · CASSIVS · C · F · CELER · IIIVIR · A · A · A · F · F (see no. 4494). In the centre, S · C [Pl. lxv. 4.]
4502	376·5	Æ 1·45	Similar.	Similar; countermarked with palm-branch between two coin-dies (?). (Rev. G. J. Chester)

[1] A variety of the dupondius in the Turin collection is without the cognomen Gallus (see Fabretti, *Raccolta numis.*, 1876, p. 64, no. 1071; Bahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1896, p. 49).

[2] Caius Cassius Celer appears only to be known as a moneyer of Augustus. Like his colleagues, C. Asinius Gallus and C. Gallius Lupercus, he struck the sestertius, the dupondius, and the as, omitting the patronymic initials on the last two denominations.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Dupondius	
4503	188·4	Æ 1·05	Within oak-wreath and in three lines, AVGVSTVS TRIBVNIC ΡOTEST	C · CASSIVS · CELER · III · VIR · A · A · A · F · F · In the centre, S · C
4504	180·6	Æ 1·1	Similar.	Similar.
4505	127·8	Æ 1·0	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. lxv. 5.]**
			As	
4506	212·7 (*worn and tooled*)	Æ 1·3	Head of Augustus r., bare; around, CAESAR · AVG VSTVS · TRIBVNIC · ΡOTEST.[1]	Similar. (Rev. G. J. Chester)
4507	172·0	Æ 1·1	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. lxv. 6.]** (Stewart Coll., 1847)
			C . GALLIVS C . F . LVΡERCVS (CAIUS GALLIUS CAII FILIUS LUPERCUS[2])	
			Sestertius	
4508	428·0	Æ 1·4	An oak-wreath between two laurel-branches; above, within, and below wreath, OB CIVIS SER VATOS	C · GALLIVS · C · F · LVΡER CVS · IIIVIR · A · A · A · F · F · (see no. 4494). In the centre, S · C · **[Pl. lxv. 7.]**

[1] An example of the as in the Bignami collection, now in the Capitoline Museum, reads AVGVSTS TRIBVNI (Bahrfeldt, *Nym. Zeit.*, 1896, p. 84).

[2] The identification of this moneyer is also uncertain. The Gallia gens is not known to history before the last century of the republic. There was a C. Gallius who, according to Valerius Maximus (vi. 1, 13) was caught in an act of adultery by Sempronius Musca, and scourged to death. As he lived in the reign of Augustus it is not impossible that he may be the same person as the moneyer. The cognomen Lupercus was borne by members of the Gallia and Mummia gentes. Lupercus was an ancient divinity of Italy who was worshipped by shepherds as the protector of their flocks against wolves, and in whose honour the festival called the *Lupercalia* was celebrated. C. Gallius Lupercus appears to have had as colleagues at the mint, C. Asinius Gallus and C. Cassius Celer, and, like them, he struck the sestertius, the dupondius, and the as, omitting the patronymic initials on the last two denominations. This is the only member of the Gallia gens of whom we have coins.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Dupondius	
4509	203·8	Æ 1·1	Within oak-wreath and in three lines, AVGVSTVS TRIBVNIC POTEST	C · GALLIVS · LVPERCVS · IIIVIR · A · A · A · F · F · In the centre, S · C [Pl. lxv. 8.]
			As	
4510	155·3	Æ 1·1	Head of Augustus r., bare; around, CAESAR AVG VSTVS TRIBVNIC · PO TEST ·	Similar. [Pl. lxv. 9.]
4511	161·0	Æ 1·05	Similar.	*Incuse of obverse.*

Circ. B.C. 14; A.U.C. 740

Moneyers

P. PETRONIUS TURPILIANUS; L. AQUILLIUS FLORUS; M. DURMIUS[1]

P . PETRON . TVRPILIANVS

(PUBLIUS PETRONIUS TURPILIANUS)

Type I.

Aureus

4512	124·3	*N* ·75	Head of Liber r., wearing wreath of ivy; hair collected into a knot, and falling down his neck, and on l. shoulder; around, TVRPILIANVS III·VIR	Within oak-wreath and in two lines, AVGVSTO OB · C · S (*Ob cives servatos*). [Pl. lxvi. 1.] (Nott)

[1] The triumvirate of the mint whose coins are assigned to this year comprises the names of Publius Petronius Turpilianus, Lucius Aquillius Florus, and Marcus Durmius. The grouping of these moneyers is confirmed by the similarity of the types of their coins, by fabric and style, and by other analogies of their issues. Babelon (vol. ii., p. 293) has added to this trio the name of Lucius Caninius Gallus, and would thus construct a quatuorvirate for this year. In describing the coins of this last moneyer under date B.C. 6 (see below, pp. 101, 103), we shall give reasons for assigning his term of office to a somewhat later date.

The types of the coins of these three moneyers are of two series or classes: those which are personal and relate to the histories of their families; and those which illustrate events in the life of Augustus. When the obverse type is personal to the moneyer, that of the reverse

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type II.	
			Aureus	
	123·7	*N* ·8	Bust of Feronia r., diademed and draped, wearing necklace; below, FERON; around, · TVRP ILIANVS III · VIR ·	Similar.

[Babelon, vol. ii., p. 295, no. 2.]

is connected with Augustus, and *vice versâ*. The reverse types which depict events in the life of Augustus are mostly common to all three moneyers. They are:—1. The civic crown which was presented to him by the Senate, and which was placed above the portico of his house, and the laurel-trees which were ordered to be planted on each side of it (see above, p. 18); 2. The triumphal chariot, a reference to the numerous triumphs which had been accorded to him by the Senate, most of which he had declined (see above, pp. 30, 32); 3. The biga of elephants, a record of his conquests in the East (see above, p. 39); 4. The conquest of Armenia in B.C. 20; and 5. The restoration of the standards by the Parthians (see above, p. 25). The reverse types which are personal to the moneyers vary with each issue. The obverse types consist either of the head of Augustus or of some deity connected with the traditions of the moneyers' families. An exception to this general rule occurs in the case of the aureus of L. Aquillius Florus with the triskelis, which is a record of the victories of Mn. Aquillius in Sicily (see p. 67, no. 4542).

Of Publius Petronius Turpilianus nothing is known beyond that he was a moneyer under Augustus. He is the only member of his family of whom we have coins, which were the latest in point of date in the Palazzo Canavese hoard (see above, p. 47, and Tables of Finds). The Petronia gens, which laid claim to great antiquity, was of Sabine origin. An ancestor of the moneyer, Petronius Sabinus, who is said to have lived in the reign of Tarquinius Superbus, is stated to have obtained from M. Tullius or M. Aetilius, as Dionysius calls him (*Rom. Ant.*, iv. 62), the Sibylline books in order to take a copy of them. It is in this last circumstance, the Sabine origin of the family, and in the history of one of its members, that we shall find a probable explanation of the personal types of the coins of P. Petronius Turpilianus. These are the heads of Liber and Feronia, Tarpeia and the shields, the crescent and star, the lyre, the pegasus, the siren, the young satyr, and Pan. The god Liber and the goddess Libera were ancient Italian divinities who presided over the cultivation of the vine and the fertility of the fields. This apparently gave rise to the combination of their worship with that of Ceres. A temple to these three divinities was vowed by the dictator Aulus Postumius in B.C. 495, after consulting the copy of the Sibylline books which Petronius Sabinus is said to have made. In consequence the Petronia gens prided itself on having contributed to this special cult. This temple was afterwards restored by Augustus, and dedicated by Tiberius. Feronia, a goddess of renown in Latium and Central Italy, originally belonged to the Sabines, who introduced her worship to the Romans. In her capacity as the goddess of the fields, the markets, and commerce and traffic, she was connected with Libera to whom offerings were made at the sanctuary of Feronia at Capena, where the games called *Ludi Capenates* were celebrated in honour of Feronia-Libera (see (G. B. de Bossi, *Ann. dell' Inst. di corr. arch.*, 1883, pp. 253 f.; Babelon, vol. ii., p. 293). She had also a famous shrine at Trebula Mutusca, which was the centre of a great fair or market held on the feast days of the goddess, so that on the whole her attributes seem to be those of a deity of fertility and plenty (W. Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, p. 253). The history of Tarpeia and her death at the hands of the Sabines relate to the origin of the Petronia gens, and it is not improbable that in the crescent and star we have an allusion to the introduction of the worship of Diana into Rome by the Sabines, who built a temple to her on the Aventine. In explanation of the other types Cavedoni (*Bull. arch. nap.*, 1857, pp. 105 f.) suggests that the lyre, pegasus, the siren, the young satyr, and Pan refer to the great dramatist, Sextus Turpilius, the charm, grace, and character of whose numerous comedies earned for him the title of *Novella Sirena*.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type III.	
			Aureus	
4513	114·2	*N* ·8	Bust of Feronia r., draped, wearing diadem ornamented with pomegranate buds (?) and necklace; below, FERO; around, TVRPILIANVS · III · VIR[1]	An oak-wreath between two laurel-branches; within wreath, O · C · S (*Ob cives servatos*); above, CAESAR; below, AVG VSTVS **[Pl. lxvi. 2.]**
			Type IV.	
			Denarius	
	54·8	*R* ·8	Head of Liber r., wearing wreath of ivy, &c., similar to no. 4512; around, P · PETRON · TVRPILIAN · III · VIR	Triumphal quadriga r., horses walking; above, CAESAR · AVGVSTVS; below, S · C (*Senatus consulto*).

[Babelon, vol. ii., p. 297, no. 8.]

			Type V.	
			Denarius	
4514	59·4	*R* ·8	Head of Liber r., wearing wreath of ivy, &c., similar to no. 4512; around, P · PETRON · TVRPILIAN · III · VIR[2]	Augustus holding laurel-branch and sceptre in chariot l., drawn by two elephants; above, AVG VSTVS; below, CAESAR **[Pl. lxvi. 3.]**

[1] Riccio (*Mon. fam. rom.*, p. 166, no. 13; pl. xxxvi., no. 13) describes and figures a variety of this aureus with the obverse type, head of Liber as on no. 4512, and the legend, P . PETRON . TVRPILLIAN . III . VIR

The aureus figured by Riccio (*Catalogo*, pl. ii., no. 12) and by Babelon (vol. ii., p. 295, no. 3) with this obverse, and with the reverse O . C . S within an oak-wreath, beneath which AVGVSTVS, is probably only an imperfectly struck specimen of this type (Bahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1897, pp. 31-32).

[2] A variety in the Gotha collection has the moneyer's name, TVRPILIANVS . III . VIR . (Bahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1897, p. 34).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type VI.	
			Denarius	
4515	61·3	Æ ·8	Bust of Feronia r., draped, wearing diadem ornamented with pomegranate buds (?) and necklace, similar to no. 4513; below, FERO; around, TVR ΡILIANVS · III · VIR[1]	Similar. **[Pl. lxvi. 4.]**
4516	61·5	Æ ·8	Similar; moneyer's name, Ρ · ΡETRON · TVRΡILI AN · III · VIR	Similar. (Nott)
			Type VII.	
			Denarius	
4517	61·1	Æ ·75	Head of Liber r., wearing wreath of ivy, &c., similar to no. 4512; around, TVRΡILIANVS · III · VIR	An Armenian kneeling r. on r. knee, his hands extended in attitude of submission; he wears tiara, and is draped to the feet; around, CAE SAR · DIVI · F · ARME · CAΡT (*Armenia capta*). **[Pl. lxvi. 5.]** (Nott)
4518	61·3	Æ ·8	Similar; moneyer's name, Ρ · ΡETRON · TVRΡILI AN · III · VIR	Similar. **[Pl. lxvi. 6.]** (Nott)
4519	59·3	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar.
			Type VIII.	
			Denarius	
4520	62·5	Æ ·75	Bust of Feronia r., draped, wearing diadem ornamented with pomegranate buds (?) and necklace, similar to no. 4513; below, FERO; around, TVRΡILIANVS · III · VIR[2]	Similar. **[Pl. lxvi. 7.]**

[1] A variety in the Paris collection has FERON and the moneyer's name beginning on the left (Babelon, vol. ii., p. 296, no. 5).

[2] A variety reads FERON for FERO (Babelon, vol. ii., p. 298, no. 12).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type IX.	
			Denarius	
4521	61·4	Æ ·8	Head of Liber r., wearing wreath of ivy, &c., similar to no. 4512; around, TVRPILIANVS III VIR[1]	A Parthian warrior with bare head, kneeling r. on r. knee, in attitude of submission, and holding standard in r. hand, his l. extended; he wears *braccae* and cloak of skin; around, CAESAR AVGVSTVS SIGN·RECE (*Signis receptis*). **[Pl. lxvi. 8.]**
4522	60·0	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar. (Blacas Coll.)
4523	55·5	Æ ·75	Similar; legend, TVRPILI ANVS · III · VIR · differently placed.	Similar. (de Salis Coll.)
			Type X.	
			Denarius	
4524	58·8	Æ ·85	Bust of Feronia r., draped, wearing diadem ornamented with pomegranate buds (?) and necklace, similar to no. 4513; below, FERO; around, TVRPILIANVS III · VIR[2]	Similar. **[Pl. lxvi. 9.]** (Nott)
4525	61·5	Æ ·75	Similar; reading FERON, and moneyer's name beginning on l.	Similar. (Cracherode Coll.)
4526	61·0	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar. (Cracherode Coll.)
4527	59·4	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. lxvi. 10.]**
4528	55·7	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar. (Stewart Coll., 1841)

[1] Count de Salis notes that a variety has the legend P. PETRON. TVRPILIAN. III. VIR, but he does not say where a specimen of the coin is to be found. Bahrfeldt (*Num. Zeit.*, 1897, p. 37) mentions a hybrid in the Vienna collection with the obverse as no. 4521, and with the reverse type of the denarius of Julius Caesar, Aeneas holding palladium and bearing Anchises on his shoulder (Babelon, vol. ii., p. 11, no. 10).

[2] Babelon (vol. ii., p. 298, no. 11) figures a variety with the legend FERO. P. PETRON. TVRPILIAN. III. VIR commencing below the bust of Feronia and continuous.

There is a hybrid in the Haeberlin collection consisting of the obverse of no. 4525, and of the reverse of the denarius of L. Caninius Gallus (see below, p. 105, no. 4678), and another in the Berlin collection with the reverse of the denarius of Octavius, on which he is shown seated and holding a Victory, as p. 16, no. 4362 (Bahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1897, p. 36). Both these coins are plated.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type XI.	
			Denarius	
4529	61·0	Æ ·85	Head of Augustus r., bare; around, CAESAR AVG VSTVS	Tarpeia facing, buried to the waist in shields; her hands raised; around, TVRPILIANVS III · VIR
4530	57·4	Æ ·9	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. lxvi. 11.]** (Cracherode Coll.)
4531	57·2	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar.
			Type XII.	
			Denarius	
4532	58·8	Æ ·8	Similar.	Crescent; above which, star;[1] around, TVR PILIANVS · III · VIR · **[Pl. lxvi. 12.]** (Nott)
4533	57·0	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar.
4534	53·0	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar.
			Type XIII.	
			Aureus[2]	
4535	120·2	Æ ·8	Head of Augustus r., wearing wreath of oak; around, CAESAR AVG VSTVS	Lyre; the body of which is formed of a tortoise-shell; around, TVRPI LIANVS · III · VIR · **[Pl. lxvi. 13.]** (Thomas Coll., 1844)

[1] Borghesi (*Œuvres compl.*, vol. ii., p. 79) connects this type with the title of *particeps siderum*, which was given to the kings of Parthia, who called themselves *fratres soli et lunae*. We prefer the explanation given above, which would connect the type with the worship of Diana (see above, p. 61).

[2] A variety of this aureus has the moneyer's name reading P . PETRON . TVRPILIAN . III . VIR . Specimens of it are in the Paris collection and in that of Comm. Fr. Gnecchi (Bahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1900, pp. 69, 70).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type XIV.	
			Denarius	
4536	63·7	AR ·75	Head of Augustus r., bare; around, CAESAR AVGVS TVS	Pegasus walking r.;[1] around, P · PETRON · TVRPILIAN · III · VIR (Cracherode Coll.)
4537	62·6	AR ·8	Similar.	Similar. (de Salis Coll.)
4538	59·2	AR ·8	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. lxvi. 14.]** (Blacas Coll.)
4539	58·8	AR ·8	Similar.	Similar. (Nott)
			Type XV.	
			Denarius	
4540	56·8	AR ·75	Similar.	Siren standing l., holding trumpet in each hand; around, P · PETRON · TVRPILIAN · III · VIR · **[Pl. lxvi. 15.]** (Nott)
4541	56·5	AR ·7	Similar; countermarks on face, ⅂⅃ and circle.	Similar. (Blacas Coll.)
			Type XVI.	
			Denarius	
	59·2	AR ·75	Similar; no countermarks.	Young satyr seated r. on ground, his l. hand supporting his chin; between his legs, which are crossed, two flutes; around, P · PETRON · TVRPILIAN · III · VIR ·[2]

[Cf. Babelon, vol. ii., p. 300, no. 17.]

[1] There is a hybrid in the Berlin collection, and another was in the Jarry collection, consisting of this reverse, and having for obverse type the helmeted head of Mars as on the denarius of Octavius (see above, p. 17, no. 4368; Bahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1897, pp. 36, 37).

[2] The illustration of this type is, by permission, taken from the specimen in the Haeberlin collection.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type XVII.	
			Denarius	
		R ·8	Similar.	Pan standing l., holding syrinx in r. hand and pedum in l.; around, P · PETRON TVRPIL IAN · III · VIR ·

[Babelon, vol. ii., p. 300, no. 18.]

L. AQVILLIVS FLORVS

(LUCIUS AQUILLIUS FLORUS[1])

Type I.

Aureus

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
4542	123·0	*N* ·8	Triskelis with winged head of Medusa in centre; around, L · AQVILLIVS · FLORVS · III · VIR	An oak-wreath between two laurel-branches; within wreath, O · C · S · (*Ob cives servatos*); above, CAESAR; below, AVGVS TVS **[Pl. lxvi. 16.]**

[1] Lucius Aquillius Florus, whose history is but little known, is not improbably the person of the same name who was quaestor in Achaia during the reign of Augustus, and of whom a stele was found in the Acropolis at Athens, with the inscription L . AQVILLIO C . F . POM . FLORO TVRCIANO GALLO . . . . . QVAESTOR . IMP . CAESAR AVG . (*Bull. dell' Inst. di corr. arch. di Roma*, 1855, p. xxiv.). He was descended from the moneyer, Manius Aquillius, who held office *circ.* B.C. 90 (see coins of ITALY of that date, and Babelon, vol. i., p. 211) and of the later one of the same name, whose coins are attributed to the Roman mint *circ.* B.C. 72 (see vol. i., p. 416). He adopted the types of their coins for some of his own. Like those of his colleagues at the mint, P. Petronius Turpilianus and M. Durmius, the types of the coins of L. Aquillius Florus are of two classes: one recording events in the history of members of his own family, the other in that of Augustus, and similarly, when the obverse type is personal to the moneyer the reverse relates to Augustus, and *vice versâ*. The events connected with Augustus are the same as are illustrated on the money of P. Petronius Turpilianus (see above, p. 61), with an additional type relating to the conquest of Armenia in B.C. 20, and representing a standing figure of Armenia (see below, p. 69, no. 4548). The types recording these events are common to all three moneyers of this year. The types personal to the moneyer are the head of Sol, the bust of Virtus, the consul Mn. Aquillius raising the fainting figure of Sicily, the triskelis and the open-expanded flower. The first three types are copied from the coins of the moneyer's ancestors, both of whom, as we have seen, bore the name of Mn. Aquillius. That of the head of Sol is an allusion to the successes in Asia (B.C. 129) of the consul Mn. Aquillius over Aristonicus, the son of Eumenes of Pergamum, and those

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type II.	
			Denarius	
4543	57·9	*R* ·75	Head of Sol r., radiate; around, L·AQVILLIVS·FLORVS·III·VIR	Triumphal quadriga r., horses walking; in the car is a flower (*lily*);[1] above, CAESAR AVGVS TVS; below, S·C (*Senatus consulto*). **[Pl. lxvi. 17.]**
4544	55·0	*R* ·75	Similar.	Similar; in the car are three flowers (?)[2] and the legend CAESAR AVGVS TVS·S·C is continuous.
			Type III.	
			Denarius[3]	
4545	60·3	*R* ·75	Bust of Virtus r., draped, wearing crested helmet ornamented at side with feather; around, L·AQ VILLIVS·FLORVS·III·VIR	Augustus holding laurel-branch and sceptre in chariot l., drawn by two elephants; above, AVG VSTVS; below, CAESAR **[Pl. lxvi. 18.]** (Nott)
4546	56·8	*R* ·75	Similar.	Similar. (Nott)

of the bust of Virtus and the warrior raising a kneeling figure, to the successes in Sicily of the latter's son, who was consul B.C. 101. The triskelis with head of Medusa refers also to this last event, and the expanded flower is a rebus or punning allusion to the name of Florus. It may be noticed that, as in the case of P. Petronius Turpilianus, the head of Augustus on the aureus wears an oak-wreath, but on the denarii it is always bare.

Of the very rare aureus with the triskelis on the obverse specimens are in the Vienna and Gotha collections and in that of the Museo Archeologico in Florence. Morelli (*Fam. rom. num.* t. i. *in g. Aquillia*, no. 11) illustrates another aureus recording the same event as the one described. It has on the obverse the helmeted bust of Virtus r., and L. AQVILLIVS. FLORVS. III. VIR. (as no. 4545), and on the reverse a double wreath between two laurel-branches; within the wreaths in three lines, OB CIVIS SER; above, CAESAR; below, AVGVS TVS (see also Cohen, *Mon. rép. rom.*, pl. vi., no. 6). It is not known where this coin now is.

[1] Babelon (vol. i., p. 214) suggests that the flower placed in the chariot may be an allusion to the name of *Florus*. It may, however, be observed that the same flower and the same chariot are shown on the coins of Durmius (see p. 72, no. 4559). Borghesi (*Œuvres compl.*, t. ii., pp. 263 f.) recognised in the object a branch of laurel, the symbol of the votive games or *Augustalia* celebrated in honour of the return of Augustus after his victories in the East. Morelli (*Fam. rom. num.*, t. ii., p. 34) explained the empty chariot as an allusion to the refusal of Augustus in B.C. 20 to accept a triumph after the restoration of the standards by the Parthians, and the flower, the iris, as a symbol of Augustus's noble descent. The obverse type, head of Sol, is copied from coins of Mn. Aquillius, struck *circ.* B.C. 90, and attributed by Count de Salis to local issue (see Babelon, vol. i., p. 212, no. 1).

[2] This piece may be an ancient forgery. It is not plated.

[3] The obverse type is copied from denarii of Mn. Aquillius Mn. f. Mn. n., who was a moneyer at the Roman mint *circ.* B.C. 72 (see vol. i., p. 416), whilst the reverse occurs on coins of P. Petronius Turpilianus and M. Durmius, colleagues of L. Aquillius Florus.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
				Type IV.
				Denarius
4547	62·4	Æ ·75	Similar.	An Armenian kneeling r. on r. knee, his hands extended in attitude of submission; he wears tiara and is draped to the feet; around, CAE SAR · DIVI · F · ARME · CAPT · (*Armenia capta*). [Pl. lxvi. 19.] (Nott)
				Type V.
				Denarius
4548	51·0	Æ ·8	Similar.	An Armenian standing facing, wearing tiara and cloak, and loose *braccae*; he grasps with each hand his cloak; across the field and in three lines, CAE SAR·DIVI·F ARM INIA CAP TA[1] [Pl. lxvi. 20.]

[1] There has been a great deal of discussion about this very rare coin, the reverse type of which is taken from an earlier piece of Augustus, struck in B.C. 20, and bearing the legend CAESAR DIVI F. ARMEN. CAPT. IMP. VIII. This last coin, which is classed by Count de Salis to the East, shows an Armenian standing facing, holding a spear in his right hand and a bow in his left (Cohen, *Méd. imp.*, vol. i., p. 71, no. 59). The different views expressed and the various descriptions given by Borghesi, Cavedoni, Riccio, Cohen, and others, have been briefly and lucidly summarised by Bahrfeldt (*Num. Zeit.*, 1896, pp. 46-48). From his account it would appear that the reverse types of the coins of Augustus and L. Aquillius Florus have been confused, and the attributes, the spear and bow, shown on the former have also been given on the latter. Cohen (*Mon. rép. rom.*, p. 42, no 3) states that the Armenian on the coin of Aquillius holds a spear and a shield and that a specimen was in his collection. In the illustration which he supplies (*op. cit.*, pl. vi., no. 3) the figure is represented without the spear and shield, so that the illustration and the description do not agree. The illustration is, however, correct. Cohen adds that the specimen in his possession was plated, and that he procured it at the sale of Sir George Musgrave's collection, which occurred in London in 1856. In the catalogue (Lot 35) it is stated that the coin was from the St. Croix collection. The specimen now in the British Museum was recently purchased of MM. Rollin and Feuardent. Bahrfeldt (*loc. cit.*) says that he does not know where the coin mentioned by Cohen now is, as it cannot be in the cabinet at Paris, since Babelon (vol. i., p. 216, no. 7) illustrates a plated specimen in the Turin collection.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type VI.	
			Denarius[1]	
4549	61·7	Æ ·75	Head of Sol r., radiate, similar to no. 4543; around, L·AQVILLIVS·FLORVS·III·VIR	A Parthian warrior with bare head, kneeling r. on r. knee in attitude of submission, and holding standard in r. hand, his l. extended; he wears *braccae* and cloak of skin; around, CAESAR·AVGVS TVS·SIGN·RECE (*Signis receptis*). **[Pl. lxvii. 1.]** (Abdy Coll., 1841)
4550	56·4	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar.
4551	52·6	Æ ·75	Similar; countermark before head, F	Similar. (Townley Coll.)
			Type VII.	
			Aureus[2]	
4552	122·4	Æ ·8	Head of Augustus r., wearing oak-wreath; around, CAESAR AVGVSTVS	An open expanded flower showing petals, stamens, and pistil; around, L·AQVILLIVS·FLORVS·III·VIR· **[Pl. lxvii. 2.]** (Blacas Coll.)

[1] Babelon (vol. i., p. 217, no. 10) and Cohen (*Mon rép. rom.*, p. 44, no. 15) both describe after Morelli (*Fam. rom. num.*, t. i., *in g. Aquillia*, no. 12) a variety of this type having on the obverse the head of Augustus to r. bare, before AVGVSTVS; and on the reverse a Parthian warrior kneeling and presenting a standard, around L.AQVILLIVS.FLORVS.III.VIR. Morelli (*Imp. rom. num.*, t. i., p. 333) says that he took the illustration from Hub. Goltzius, in *Aug. Tab.* xxxvii., no. 12, and he describes the obverse as having the head of Augustus bare, turned to the left (*i.e.* right), and around CAESAR AVGVSTVS and not AVGVSTVS only. The existence of this coin is not known, and as it changes the usual order of the legends on the coins of L. Aquillius Florus and makes both the obverse and reverse types allude to Augustus, the accuracy of Morelli's description and illustration may be questioned. Babelon draws attention to the similarity of this coin as represented by Morelli to that of L. Caninius Gallus of similar type (see below, p. 105, no. 4678), and it may have been on this evidence that he was of opinion that L. Caninius Gallus was a colleague of L. Aquillius Florus at the mint (*ib.* vol. i., p. 214).

A variety of no. 4549 has for obverse type the bust of Virtus, as on no. 4545 (Babelon, vol. i., p. 216, no. 8). This variety may only be the result of an interchange of dies.

[2] The aureus or denarius described by Babelon (vol. i., p. 217, no. 11) after Vaillant and Morelli is doubtful, as no specimen is known to exist in any public or private collection. It has on the obverse the head of Augustus to r. bare; around, CAESAR AVGVSTVS; and on the reverse a scorpion; around, L.AQVILLIVS.FLORVS.III.VIR. Vaillant (*Num. fam. rom.*, t. i., p. 135, tab. xxii. 9) describes the coin as a denarius, but Morelli (*Fam. rom. num.*, t. i., *in g. Aquillia*, no. 10) gives it as of gold. If the coin does or did exist it would be of silver, as on the gold coins of this year the head of Augustus always wears a wreath of oak. Vaillant suggests that the reverse type may refer to the elevation of Mithradates II. to the throne of Commagene by Augustus, in B.C. 20, as the scorpion was the symbol of Commagene, and is found on later coins of that district. This interpretation, however, would make both the obverse and reverse types apply to Augustus, which was not usual with the money of L. Aquillius Florus or his colleagues.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type VII. var.	
			Denarius	
4553	57·7	AR ·85	Similar; head of Augustus bare.	Similar. **[Pl. lxvii. 3.]** (Nott)
4554	57·5	AR ·8	Similar.	Similar.
4555	54·9	AR ·75	Similar.	Similar.
			Type VIII.	
			Denarius	
4556	58·8	AR ·8	Similar.	The consul, Manius Aquillius, with head bare, and bearing shield on l. arm, standing towards l., looking back, and raising with r. hand a kneeling female figure, Sicilia, who is half-naked, and is sinking to the ground; around, L·AQ VILLIVS·FLORVS·III·VIR; in exergue, SICIL (de Salis Coll.)
4557	58·0	AR ·75	Similar.	Similar.[1] **[Pl. lxvii. 4.]**
			M. DVRMIVS (MARCUS DURMIUS[2])	
			Type I.	
			Aureus	
4558	124·4	AV ·7	Head of Honos r., hair in ringlets; on either side of neck, star of six points with pellets between the points; behind, HONORI; before, M·DVRMIVS III·VIR.	Within oak-wreath and in two lines, AVGVSTO OB·C·S (*Ob cives servatos*). **[Pl. lxvii. 5.]**

[1] This type was countermarked by Vespasian (Bahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1896, p. 46). The reverse is a copy of coins of Mn. Aquillius struck at the Roman mint *circ.* B.C. 72 (see vol. i., p. 416).

[2] Marcus Durmius is only known from his coins, and he is the only member of his family who appears to have held office at the mint. The types of his coins are similar to those of his

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type II.	
			Denarius	
4559	61·3	AR ·75	Similar; no stars at sides of neck of Honos.	Triumphal quadriga r., horses walking; in the car is a flower (*lily*); above, CAESAR AVGVSTVS; below, S·C (*Senatus consulto*). **[Pl. lxvii. 6.]** (Nott)
			Type III.	
			Denarius	
4560	65·6	AR ·75	Similar.	Augustus holding laurel-branch and sceptre in chariot l., drawn by two elephants; above, AVG VSTVS; below, CAESAR (Townley Coll.)
4561	53·7	AR ·75	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. lxvii. 7.]** (de Salis Coll.)
4562	51·5	AR ·75	Similar.	Similar. (Woodhouse Coll.)

colleagues, P. Petronius Turpilianus and L. Aquillius Florus. They record the same events in the life of Augustus, viz., the presentation of the civic crown by the Senate, his triumphs, his conquests in the East, and the surrender of the standards by the Parthians; whilst others relate to the history of the moneyer's family, viz., the head of Honos, the bust of Hercules, the crab and the butterfly, the pierced wild-boar, the lion devouring a stag, the man-headed bull crowned by Victory, and Victory. The types are arranged in the same order as those of the other issues of the year, viz., when that of the obverse relates to the moneyer or his family, that of the reverse is connected with Augustus, and *vice versâ*. The reverse types relating to Augustus are common to all three moneyers of this year. The head of Honos was probably suggested by that of Virtus on the money of L. Aquillius Florus, as the cult of these two divinities was associated at Rome. Besides having separate temples in Rome, they had a joint one on the Capitol, which was consecrated in their honour by C. Marius, after his victory over the Cimbri and the Teutones (see vol. i., p. 415). Augustus instituted a joint annual festival in their honour, which took place on the 29th May (Dion Cassius, liv. 18; Preller, *Röm. Myth.*, vol. ii., p. 250). We know so little of the Durmia gens that it is not possible to connect this type more directly with the moneyer; nor can a suggestion be offered with regard to the bust of Hercules. No very satisfactory explanation has been given of the other reverse types, but as the crab holding a mussel in its claws is found on ancient coins of Cumae (see p. 73, note 3), the pierced boar on those of Paestum and Capua, the lion devouring the stag on those of Velia, and the man-headed bull on those of Neapolis, Cavedoni (*Memorie di Modena*, vol. xviii., p. 245 f.) has suggested that the Durmia gens originally came from Campania. Victory holding a wreath and a palm-branch occurs also on Romano-Campanian coins; but is of course common elsewhere.

There seems to be only two specimens known of the aureus (no. 4558), the one above described, and another in the Brera collection, Milan (Bahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1900, p. 45). Cohen (*Mon. rép. rom.*, pl. xvii., no. 4), figures a specimen of this coin without the stars on the obverse. On p. 127 he says: "Je n'ai jamais eu l'occasion de voir cette médaille. Sur le dessin de Morell on voit deux étoiles; l'empreinte en electrotypie de l'exemplaire du catalogue de M. Riccio, qui a servi à faire mon dessin n'en a pas." Cohen was in error, for in the figure of the coin given by Riccio (*Catalogo*, tav. i., no. 15), there are traces of the star behind the neck of Honos.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type IV.	
			Denarius[1]	
4563	58·2	*R* ·8	Similar.	A Parthian warrior with bare head, kneeling r. on ground on r. knee in attitude of submission, and holding standard in r. hand, his l. extended; he wears *braccae* and cloak of skin; around, CAESAR AVGVSTVS SIGN·RECE· (*Signis receptis*). **[Pl. lxvii. 8.]** (Nott)
4564	56·0	*R* ·7	Similar; face of Honos countermarked with crescent.	Similar; no ground represented.
			Type V.	
			Denarius[2]	
4565	56·0	*R* ·75	Bust of young Hercules r., diademed, wearing lion's skin; club on his shoulder; around, M·DVRMIVS·III·VIR	Similar; the Parthian warrior kneels on ground. **[Pl. lxvii. 9.]**
			Type VI.	
			Aureus	
4566	122·1	*N* ·75	Head of Augustus r., wearing oak-wreath; around, CAESAR AVGVSTVS	A crab holding in its claws a butterfly;[3] above, M·DVRMIVS; below, III·VIR **[Pl. lxvii. 10.]** (Cracherode Coll.)

[1] Count de Salis notes the existence of a denarius of M. Durmius with this obverse type, but with the reverse an Armenian kneeling in attitude of submission, &c., and the legend, CAESAR·DIVI·F·ARME·CAPT, as Type VII. of P. Petronius Turpilianus and Type IV. of L. Aquillius Florus; but he does not say where the coin exists. No specimen appears to be published.

[2] This coin, which is of very coarse work, may be an ancient forgery. Bahrfeldt (*Num. Zeit.*, 1886, pp. 4-6) mentions three specimens of it; one in the Lawrence collection, New York, and two others in the Paris and Berlin cabinets. The British Museum specimen was recently purchased of MM. Rollin and Feuardent. The aureus of this type mentioned by Babelon (vol. i., p. 469) as being in the Lawrence collection does not exist (Bahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1896, p. 110).

[3] The mere association of this type with that of coins of Cumae (see p. 72, note) does not seem fully to meet the case, as in this instance the crab holds a butterfly. It may be a *type parlant*, as the flower on coins of L. Aquillius Florus. Eckhel (*Doct. num. vet.*, t. v., p. 204) suggests that it illustrates the adage frequently expressed by Augustus, *festina lente*, *dux enim providus praestat temerario* (Suetonius, *Augustus*, 25), as exemplified by the cautious advance of the crab and the rash swiftness of the butterfly.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type VII.	
			Denarius	
4567	58·2	Æ ·8	Head of Augustus r., bare; around, CAESAR AVGVS TVS	A wild boar r., pierced by a spear; above, M·DVR MIVS; below, III·VIR **[Pl. lxvii. 11.]** (Cracherode Coll.)
4568	56·4	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar. (Nott)
			Type VIII.	
			Denarius	
4569	62·6	Æ ·75	Similar.	Lion l. devouring stag, which tries to escape; above, M·DVRMIVS; below, III·VIR **[Pl. lxvii. 12.]** (Nott)
4570	57·5	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar.
4571	60·5	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar; the legend, M·DVRMIVS III·VIR, is continuous.[1] **[Pl. lxvii. 13.]** (Cracherode Coll.)
			Type IX.	
			Denarius	
4572	42·8 (*worn*)	Æ ·75	Similar.	Bull with human face walking r., and crowned by Victory flying above; around, [M·DVRMIVS] III·VIR **[Pl. lxvii. 14.]** (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.)

[1] There is a hybrid, plated, consisting of this reverse and of the obverse of the denarius of L. Julius Bursio, with bust of Genius (see vol. i., p. 324, no. 2485; and Bahrfeldt, *Zeit. f. Num.*, 1877, p. 37).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type X.	
			Denarius[1]	
4573	46·2	℞ ·7 (*plated*)	Similar.	Victory walking r., bearing wreath in extended r. hand, and palm-branch over her shoulder in l.; around, [M·] DVRMIVS III·VIR **[Pl. lxvii. 15.]** (Boyd Coll.)

Circ. B.C. 13; A.U.C. 741

Moneyers

ᑭVLCHER: TAVRVS: REGVLVS

([CLODIUS] PULCHER; [STATILIUS] TAURUS; [LIVINEIUS] REGULUS[2])

			Quadrans	
			Type I.	
4574	45·3	Æ ·7	Two right hands joined, holding caduceus; around, ᑭVLCHER · TAVRVS · REGVLVS ·	III·VIR·A·A·A·F·F· (*Triumviri aere, argento, auro, flando, feriundo*). In the centre, S·C (*Senatus consulto*). **[Pl. lxvii. 16.]** (Cracherode Coll.)

[1] This type appears to be unpublished.

[2] Of these three moneyers, who formed a triumvirate of the mint, nothing certain is known beyond what we learn from their coins. Their date of office is also somewhat uncertain, but it seems probable that it was before B.C. 12.

It is impossible from amongst the numerous members of the Claudia gens to distinguish the particular one who struck these coins.

Babelon (vol. ii., p. 468), has identified the moneyer Taurus with T. Statilius Taurus, one of the most distinguished generals of Augustus, who had the command of Antony's fleet which operated against Sextus Pompey in B.C. 36. For his numerous successes he received the honour of a triumph in B.C. 34; commanded the land forces at the battle of Actium, and was consul in B.C. 26; and when Augustus went to Gaul in B.C. 16 he was appointed a *praefectus Urbi*, with the government of Rome and Italy. On account of the date to which these coins must be assigned, this identification is impossible; but the moneyer may have been a son of the general, and not improbably either the consul of A.D. 11 or 16. He is the only member of his family of whom we possess coins.

Regulus may have been a son or grandson of L. Livineius Regulus, who was a quatuorvir of the mint, *circ.* B.C. 39, and also a praetor (see vol. i., p. 578).

The only denomination struck by this triumvirate is the quadrans. According to Count de Salis's classification, it is the first issue of that coin after the revival of the bronze currency. This denomination is usually considered to be a semis; but as it is of nearly pure copper, like the *as*, and is a quarter its weight, it must be identified as a quadrans (see above, p. 45). As to the types of these coins, the two joined hands and the caduceus may

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type II.	
4575	52·4	Æ ·7	Simpulum and lituus; around, ΓVLCHER · TAVRVS · REGVLVS ·	Similar. (Cracherode Coll.)
4576	51·6	Æ ·7	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. lxvii. 17.]
			Type III.	
4577	52·1	Æ ·7	Cornucopiae between S C (*Senatus consulto*); around, ΓVLCHER · TAVRVS · REGVLVS ·	Circular coin-anvil, ornamented with wreath; around, III · VIR · A · A · A · F · F · [Pl. lxvii. 18.]
4578	49·5	Æ ·7	Similar.	Similar.

Circ. B.C. 12; A.U.C. 742

Moneyers

Q. RUSTIUS; M. SANQUINIUS Q. F.; P. LICINIUS STOLO[1]

Q . RVSTIVS

(QUINTUS RUSTIUS)

Aureus

4579	125·8	Æ ·8	Heads, face to face, of Fortuna Victrix, helmeted, and Fortuna Felix, wearing diadem; below, FORTVNÆ; above, Q · RVSTIVS	Victory, draped, her wings extended, gently descending, and placing with r. hand a shield, inscribed S · C (*Senatus consulto*), on a cippus; around, CAESARI AVGVSTO [Pl. lxviii. 1.] (Wigan Coll.)

relate to the good feeling which existed between Augustus and the State, and the prosperity of the country which was one of the results; the simpulum and lituus to the priestly offices held by Augustus; the cornucopiae probably to some special largess or distribution of corn; and the coin-anvil to the office of the moneyers. All these types recur on a subsequent issue of the quadrans in B.C. 10 (see below, p. 88), but after that date the only obverse and reverse types used are the coin-anvil and the letters S . C (see below, pp. 110-115).

On the above issue the order of the moneyers' names does not change, and it is the same with the quadrantes struck in B.C. 10; but in B.C. 3, when we meet with another union of moneyers, each one strikes a series, on which his name is placed first. This occasions numerous transmutations of the names.

[1] The moneyers whose coins are assigned to this year are Quintus Rustius, Marcus Sanquinius, and Publius Licinius Stolo. This combination of moneyers is in the main borne

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Denarius	
4580	64·5	*AR* ·75	Busts conjoined r. of Fortuna Victrix, helmeted, and Fortuna Felix, wearing diadem, holding between them a patera; the busts are placed on a base terminating in rams' heads; around, FORTVNÆ ANTIAT (*Fortunae Antiates*) and Q·RVSTIVS·	A highly-decorated altar, inscribed in front, FOR·RE (*Fortunae Reduci*); around, CAESARI AVG VSTO; below, EX·S·C (*Ex senatus consulto*). (Stewart Coll., 1841)
4581	59·4	*AR* ·8	Similar.	Similar. (Cracherode Coll.)
4582	59·0	*AR* ·8	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. lxviii. 2.]

out by the similarity of the types, all of which relate to Augustus and not to the history of their families, and of the denominations of their coins. M. Sanquinius struck in gold, silver, and bronze, and possibly also P. Licinius Stolo (see below, pp. 80, 81), but of Q. Rustius at present only gold and silver coins are known. It is, however, quite possible that at some future date bronze coins of Q. Rustius may also be found. These are the only moneyers of Augustus who struck bronze coins as well as those in other metals (see above, p. 46). It may have been for that reason that Babelon (*Introd.*, p. xv.) and others have considered them to be the earliest examples of the revived bronze currency, and have therefore assigned their issue to *circ.* B.C. 15. Assuming that these three moneyers formed a triumvirate of the mint, their term of office could not have occurred till after B.C. 13, as M. Sanquinius and P. Licinius Stolo struck the as, on which Augustus is given the title of Pontifex Maximus, an honour which he did not accept till B.C. 12 (see above, p. 47).

Quintus Rustius, who is only known from his coins, was a descendant, probably a grandson, of Lucius Rustius, who was appointed a special moneyer *circ.* B.C. 76 (see vol. i., p. 398). The types of the coins of Q. Rustius, both of gold and silver, relate to Augustus. It was to the goddess Fortuna that Augustus attributed his successes and preservation, and also his recovery from his frequent illnesses. Her principal temple was at Antium, where she was worshipped under two aspects, as *Fortuna Victrix* and *Fortuna Felix*, hence receiving the name of *Fortunae Antiates*. It is to her that Horace dedicated one of his finest odes:

O diva, gratum quae regis Antium (*Carmen*, i. 35, 1).

and it is also to her that the poet entrusts the protection of Augustus on his departure for Gaul,

Serves iturum Caesarem in ultimos
Orbis Britannos . . . . . .

(*ib.*, i. 35, 29, 30.)

In B.C. 41, when Augustus was at war with L. Antonius, he laid the treasures of the temple of Fortuna at Antium under contribution. This city was the favourite resort of Augustus, and it was there that he received information that the Senate had conferred on him the title of "Pater Patriae." The rams' heads, which ornament the ends of the plinths below the busts, seem to be connected with the moneyer, as on the earlier coins struck by L. Rustius the reverse type is a ram. This animal was evidently the special symbol of the Rustia gens (see vol. i., p. 398). On the reverse of the aureus the shield held by Victory represents the golden shield of Valour, *Clypeus Virtutis*, which was presented to Augustus by the Senate, and which has already been so frequently illustrated (see above, p. 21), and the altar on the denarius is that which was erected to Augustus on his return from Syria in B.C. 19, near the Porta Capena (see above, pp. 30, 34). The legends, S.C., and EX S.C. therefore do not relate to any special order which the moneyer may have received from the Senate respecting the issue of these coins (Babelon, vol. ii., p. 411), but to the decrees conferring these honours on Augustus.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			M . SANQVINIVS Q . F .	
			(MARCUS SANQUINIUS QUINTI FILIUS[1])	
			Aureus	
4583	121·7	*N* ·8	Young deified head of Julius Caesar r., laureate, and surmounted by a comet; around, M · SAN QVINIVS · III · VIR	Draped figure standing l., wearing helmet ornamented with two long feathers, and holding a winged caduceus in r. hand, and a shield decorated with a star in l.; around, AVGVST · DIVI · F · LVDOS · SAE (*Augustus Divi filius ludos saeculares [fecit]*). **[Pl. lxviii. 3.]** (Wigan Coll.)

[1] This moneyer is also only known from his coins, and there is no mention in ancient authors of any member of his family earlier than Sanquinius Maximus, who lived during the reigns of Tiberius, Caligula, and Claudius, and who may have been a son of the moneyer. As already mentioned, with the possible exception of P. Licinius Stolo (see p. 77), M. Sanquinius is the only moneyer of this period of whom we have money in gold, silver, and bronze.

The types of his coins are in honour of Julius Caesar and Augustus. They also commemorate the celebration of the *Ludi Saeculares*, which had taken place in B.C. 17 (see above, p. 41). The deification of Julius Caesar did not occur till the 5th of the calends of December, B.C. 42; but the comet which heralded his apotheosis appeared shortly after his death (see p. 29). This portrait of Caesar is interesting as it shows that rejuvenation accompanied deification. The figure on the reverse is uncertain. It has been identified as that of a Salian priest, of a Fetialis, of Minerva, or of a herald of the games. Eckhel (*Doct. num. vet.*, t. v., p. 300) in discussing this figure says that it cannot be of one of the Salian priests, as the *ancilia*, of which they had charge, were of a different form to that which it here holds; and, besides, the saecular games were under the care of the *Quindecimviri sacris faciundis*. Nor can it be one of the Fetiales, as the members of that college had nothing to do with the preparation of these games. He therefore suggests that it may represent a herald announcing to the people the solemnising of the games. In evidence he cites Suetonius (*Claudius*, 21), who relates that when Claudius desired to celebrate the saecular games he sent out heralds: *Quare vox praeconis irrisa est, invitantis more solenni ad ludos* (see Dressel, *Eph. Epig.*, vol. iii., p. 314). Herodian also relates that on a similar occasion Severus sent heralds through the city and through Italy. Another identification seems possible, viz., that the figure may be of Roma, who holds the caduceus as typical of the prosperity of the state under Augustan rule. The peculiar adornment of the helmet, *i.e.*, with two feathers, was not unusual at this and earlier times. A similar figure is seen on bronze coins of Domitian, which were issued at the time of the celebration of the saecular games; but in that instance it holds a sceptre or baton (see Cohen, *Mon. imp. rom.*, vol. i., no. 72, p. 476). These figures differ from that on the aureus of Augustus struck on the occasion of the celebration of these games in B.C. 17 (see above, p. 41, no. 4467), in which instance a Salian priest (?) is shown wearing a conical-shaped helmet, which was the special head-dress of his office (see Dressel, *loc. cit.*). A variety of the aureus formerly in the Montagu collection (*Sale Cat.*, no. 34) reads SAEC for SAE.

The combination of the heads of Julius Caesar and Augustus on the denarius needs no explanation; but the *as*, which gives to Augustus the title of Pontifex Maximus, is important for fixing the date when Sanquinius and the other moneyers who were associated with him were officers of the mint. Though the office of Pontifex Maximus had been offered to Augustus by the Senate on more than one occasion, he would not accept it so long as Lepidus, on whom it had

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Denarius	
			Type I.	
4584	61·8	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar; DIVI for DIVI [Pl. lxviii. 4.] (de Salis Coll.)
			Type II.	
4585	62·6	Æ ·75	Similar.	Head of Augustus r., bare; around, AVGVSTVS DIVI·F [Pl. lxviii. 5.] (Cracherode Coll.)
4586	58·5	Æ ·7	Similar.	Similar. (Nott)
4587	56·5	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar.
			Sestertius	
4588	366·0	Æ 1·45	An oak-wreath between two laurel-branches; above, within, and below which, OB CIVIS SER VATOS	M·SANQVINIVS Q·F· III·VIR·A·A·A·F·F· (*Triumvir aere, argento, auro, flando, feriundo*). In the centre, S·C (*Senatus consulto*).
4589	314·8	Æ 1·4	Similar.	Similar; moneyer's name, M·SAIQVINIVS for M·SANQVINIVS [Pl. lxviii. 6.]
			Dupondius	
4590	195·0 (*tooled*)	Æ 1·15	Within oak-wreath, and in three lines, AVGVSTVS TRIBVNIC POTEST[1]	Similar; moneyer's name, M·SANQVINIVS Q·F· III·VIR·A·A·A·F·F· [Pl. lxviii. 7.]
4591	178·5	Æ 1·1	Similar.	Similar.

been conferred in B.C. 44, was living. Lepidus died in B.C. 13; but Augustus does not appear to have accepted the chief pontificate till the 6th March of the following year, during the consulship of P. Sulpicius and C. Valgius (Mommsen, *Res gestae*, p. 45; Suetonius, *Augustus*, 31). The coins of M. Sanquinius and P. Licinius Stolo were no doubt issued to commemorate this event. The types of the bronze coins are the same as those used in B.C. 15. On the as the head of Augustus is always turned to the left.

[1] Varieties of the dupondius in the Bignami collection, now in the Capitoline Museum, read AVGVS TRIBV POT; AVGVST TRIBV POTES, and AVGVSTVS TRIBVNICI POTEST (Bahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1897, p. 69).

No.	*Weight*	*Metal and Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
			As	
	122·3	Æ 1·0	Head of Augustus l., bare; around, CAESAR AVGVS TVS·ΡONT·MAX·TRI BVNIC·ΡOT	Similar.

[Babelon, vol. ii., p. 419, no. 6.]

P. LICINIVS STOLO

(PUBLIUS LICINIUS STOLO[1])

Denarius

Type I.

4592	60·7	Æ ·8	Head of Augustus r., bare; around, AVGVSTVS TR·ΡOT	Flamen's cap (*apex*) between two shields (*ancilia*); above, Ρ·STO LO; below, III·VIR **[Pl. lxviii. 8.]**
4593	58·8	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar. (Nott)

[1] The cognomen Stolo was first given to C. Licinius Calvus, who was consul in B.C. 364 and 361, on account, it is said, of the care which he bestowed in digging up the shoots which sprang from the roots of his vines. Nothing is known of his descendants, of whom the moneyer was probably one. Like M. Sanquinius, P. Licinius Stolo struck the as, on which Augustus is styled Pontifex Maximus, so that he could not have held office before B.C. 12.

The reverse type of the denarii, the apex and the sacred shields (*ancilia*), may relate to the office and duties of the Salian priests, and also to the circumstance that in B.C. 29 the Senate ordered that the name of Augustus should be included in the *Carmen Saliare*. At the great festival of the Salii, held in the month of March, these shields were paraded through the streets of Rome, and it is possible that Augustus in his capacity of Pontifex Maximus took part in the procession, and for that reason he is represented on horseback holding a patera denoting his priestly office. It may have been to commemorate such an occasion in B.C. 12 that these coins were struck. The bronze coins of P. Licinius Stolo are of the same denominations and types as those of his colleague M. Sanquinius.

We may here mention an aureus bearing the name of P. Licinius Stolo which was recently offered for purchase to the National Collection, but of which at present it only possesses a plaster-cast impression. No opportunity has been afforded to examine the coin itself, but as it

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type II.	
4594	60·7	Æ ·75	Augustus, laureate, on horseback, r., holding patera in r. hand; horse walking; around, AVG VSTVS TR·POT	Similar. **[Pl. lxviii. 9.]** (Nott)
			Sestertius	
4595	364·7	Æ 1·45	An oak-wreath between two laurel-branches; above, within, and below wreath, OB CIVIS SERVATOS	P·LICINIVS·STOLO·III VIR·A·A·A·F·F· (*Triumvir aere, argento, auro, flando, feriundo*). In the centre, S·C (*Senatus consulto*). (Cracherode Coll.)
4596	328·0	Æ 1·35	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. lxviii. 10.]**
			Dupondius	
4597	204·7	Æ 1·1	Within oak-wreath, and in in three lines, AVGVSTVS TRIBVNIC POTEST[1]	P·STOLO·III·VIR· A·A·A·F·F· In the centre, S·C **[Pl. lxviii. 11 rev.]** (Cracherode Coll.)

is of importance chronologically an illustration of it is given with the following description:—

obv., Female head (Ceres) r., wearing diadem, wreath of corn, and earring in shape of cross; her hair is collected into a knot behind, and falls in locks down her neck; around, P. LICIN. STOLO III. VIR; *rev.*, Pontifical emblems, apex, securis (sacrificial axe), "aspergillum" (sprinkler) and simpulum between two laurel-branches; above, CAESAR; below, AVGVSTVS.

This reverse type is evidently intended to commemorate the appointment of Augustus as Pontifex Maximus, and the decree of the Senate that laurel-trees should be placed on either side of the portico of his house. The head of Ceres, however, on the obverse does not find a parallel on any of the other coins attributed to this year. In style and treatment it shows some analogy to those of Pietas, which are to be seen on coins issued by Julius Caesar in B.C. 49 (see vol. i., p. 505), and by L. Hostilius Saserna in B.C. 48 (see vol. i., p. 512). The reverse type appears to be adopted from the reverse of the denarius struck by Julius Caesar in Gaul *circ.* B.C. 50—49, which has on the obverse his name and the elephant (Babelon, vol. ii., p. 10, no. 9); the laurel-branches being an addition which would make the type specially applicable to Augustus. The fact that these types are adopted from coins of an earlier date, does not in our opinion prove anything against the genuineness of this aureus, as at the time that it would have been struck the moneyers showed but little inventive power in their designs, and on several occasions were content to copy or adapt those of their predecessors. From this coin, if genuine, it would therefore appear that P. Licinius Stolo, like his colleague M. Sanquinius, issued coins in all three metals, gold, silver, and bronze.

[1] Varieties of the dupondius in the Bignami collection, now in the Capitoline Museum, read

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			As[1]	
	156·7	Æ 1·05	Head of Augustus r., bare; around, CAESAR AVG VST PONTIFEX MAX TRIBVNIC POT	Similar.

[Bahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1897, p. 4.]

Circ. B.C. 11; A.U.C. 743

Moneyers

C. MARCIUS L. F. CENSORINUS; T. QUINCTIUS T. F. CRISPINUS SULPICIANUS; TI. SEMPRONIUS GRACCUS[2]

C. MARCI. L. F. CENSORINVS

(CAIUS MARCIUS LUCII FILIUS CENSORINUS[3])

Sestertius

4598	428·5	Æ 1·45	An oak-wreath between two laurel-branches; above, within, and below wreath, OB CIVIS SERVATOS	C · MARCI · L · F · CENSOR IN · AVG · III · VIR · A · A · A · F · F · (*Augur, triumvir aere, argento, auro, flando, feriundo*). In the centre, S · C (*Senatus consulto*). **[Pl. lxviii. 12.]**

AVGVST TRBV POTEST or AVGVSTVS TRIBVN POTS (Bahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1897, p. 4). Another variety with the obverse legend as on no. 4597 gives the moneyer's gentile name P. LICINIVS. STOLO (Babelon, vol. ii., p. 139, no. 31).

[1] The only specimen known of this denomination was in the Bignami collection, and is now in the Capitoline Museum (Bahrfeldt, *loc. cit.*). As already mentioned, this coin is important for fixing the approximate date of P. Licinius Stolo's year of office as a moneyer.

[2] The three moneyers who are assigned to this year each issued a separate coinage in bronze, consisting of the sestertius, the dupondius, and the as. As the last denomination struck by these moneyers appears to give in each instance to Augustus the title of Pontifex Maximus, this triumvirate must have held office after B.C. 13 (see above, p. 47). Babelon (vol. ii., p. 198) has associated A. Licinius Nerva, Sex. Nonianus Gallus, and Maianius Gallus with C. Marcius Censorinus, who would constitute a quatuorvirate of the mint. The as in the Paris collection attributed to Maianius Gallus, which is figured by Babelon (vol. ii., p. 168, no. 7), and which gives to Augustus the title of Pontifex Maximus, is much tooled, and the moneyer's name has evidently been altered by engraving. As no other specimen of this coin appears to be known, and as it is so doubtful, it has not been included in our descriptions. The types of the money of this year are the same as those of the previous year and of B.C. 15. In the forms of the legends there is a certain similarity between the issues of C. Marcius Censorinus and T. Quinctius Sulpicianus, each one occasionally omitting his gentile name. The similarity of these three issues seems to justify the conclusion that these moneyers formed a triumvirate.

[3] Caius Marcius Censorinus was probably the son of L. Marcius Censorinus, a strong

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Dupondius	
4599	187·0	Æ 1·05	Within oak-wreath, and in three lines, AVGVSTVS TRIBVNIC ΡOTEST	C · CENSORINVS L · F · AVG · IIIVIR · A · A · A · F · F ·[1] In the centre, S · C **[Pl. lxviii. 13.]**
4600	245·0	Æ 1·5	Similar.	Similar. (Mounted in a broad border.) (Bank Coll.)
			As[2]	
		Æ	Head of Augustus l., bare; around, CAESAR AVG VST · ΡONT · MAX · TRIBVNIC · ΡOT	Similar. [Depoletti Cat., no. 2932.]

T . QVINCTIVS T . F . CRISΡINVS SVLΡICIANVS

(TITUS QUINCTIUS TITI FILIUS CRISPINUS SULPICIANUS[3])

			Sestertius	
4601	259·4	Æ 1·25	An oak-wreath between two laurel-branches; above, within, and below wreath, OB CIVIS SERVATOS	T · QVINCTIVS CRISΡI NVS [SVLΡI · IIIVIR ·] A · A · A · F · F · (see no. 4598). In the centre, S · C (*Senatus consulto*).

partisan of Mark Antony, who procured for him the consulship in B.C. 39. From his coins it would appear that the moneyer had been appointed augur before he held office at the mint, which was very exceptional with ordinary holders of that last office. He was consul in B.C. 8, and subsequently governor of Syria. He died in Asia in B.C. 2. Velleius Paterculus (ii. 102) calls him *vir demerendis hominibus genitus*.

[1] A variety of the dupondius omits the patronymic initials in the legend on the reverse (Babelon, vol. ii., p. 199, no. 32).

[2] It is not known where the as described in the sale catalogue of the Depoletti collection now is. In consequence it has not been possible to supply an illustration of it, or to give its weight and size. The coin is of importance, as it gives to Augustus the title of Pontifex Maximus.

[3] This moneyer is only known from his coins. He was evidently, as his name indicates,

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
4602	396·3	Æ 1·5	Similar.	Similar; moneyer's name, T · QVINCTIVS CRISP IN SVLPIC IIIVIR, &c. [Pl. lxix. 1.] (Cracherode Coll.)
4603	299·7	Æ 1·45	Similar.	Similar; moneyer's name, T·QVINCTI·CRISPIN· SVLP·IIIVIR·, &c.[1]

Dupondius

4604	138·5	Æ ·95	Within oak-wreath, and in three lines, AVGVSTVS TRIBVNIC POTEST	T·QVINCTIVS·CRISPIN VS·IIIVIR·A·A·A· F·F· In the centre, S·C [Pl. lxix. 2.]
4605	120·5 (*worn*)	Æ 1·05	Similar.	Similar. (Blacas Coll.)
4606	142·8	Æ 1·05	Similar.	Similar; moneyer's name, T·QVINCTIVS·CRISPI NV·A·A·A·F·F·[2] [Pl. lxix. 3.]
4607	168·3	Æ 1·1	Similar.	Similar; moneyer's name, T·CRISPINVS·SVLPIC IANVS IIIVIR·, &c. [Pl. lxix. 4.]
4608	196·5	Æ 1·2	Similar.	Similar; moneyer's name, T·CRISPINVS·SVLPIC IAN·III·VIR·,[3] &c.
4609	164·5	Æ 1·15	Similar.	Similar; moneyer's name, T·CRISPINVS·III·VIR·, &c.
4610	147·5	Æ 1·05	Similar.	Similar.

a member of the Sulpicia gens, and Babelon (vol. ii., p. 394) suggests that he may have been the adopted son of T. Quinctius T. f. Pennus Capitolinus Crispinus, who was consul B.C. 8. His coins, which are of bronze only, are of the usual types and of the three denominations, the sestertius, the dupondius, and the as. He varies considerably the abbreviations of his name, both on the sestertius and the dupondius, especially in the case of the latter, and, like C. Marcius Censorinus, he sometimes omits his gentile name.

[1] Another variety omits the gentile name, and reads T. CRISPINVS T. F. SVLPICIAN., &c. (Babelon, vol. ii., p. 396, no. 10).

[2] On this coin the moneyer's title III. VIR is omitted.

[3] A variety in the Bignami collection, now in the Capitoline Museum, reads on the obverse, PONTI for POTEST, and SVLPIC for SVLPICIAN (Bahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1897, p. 64).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			As[1]	
	95·0	Æ 1·0	Head of Augustus l., bare; around, [CAESAR AVG VSTVS PONT · MAX · TRIB · POT]	T · CRISPINVS · · · · · R · A · A · A · F · F · In the centre, S · C

[Babelon, vol. ii., p. 397, no. 14.]

TI . SEMPRONIVS GRACCVS

(TIBERIUS SEMPRONIUS GRACCUS[2])

Sestertius

4611	375·8	Æ 1·1	An oak-wreath between two laurel-branches; above, within, and below wreath, OB CIVIS SERVATOS	TI · SEMPRONIVS · GRACCVS · III · VIR · A · A · A · F · F · (see no. 4598). In the centre, S · C (*Senatus consulto*). **[Pl. lxix. 5.]**

[1] The illustration of this coin is taken from the specimen in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. The inscription on the obverse is entirely erased, but it may be presumed that it is similar to those on the *asses* of C. Marcius Censorinus and Ti. Sempronius Graccus, giving Augustus the title of Pontifex Maximus. Babelon (*loc. cit.*) describes it without PONT. MAX. Only a portion of the legend on the reverse can be seen.

[2] This moneyer may have been a son of Ti. Sempronius Graccus, who, when quaestor designatus, struck coins *circ.* B.C. 37 (see vol. i., p. 593). He is usually identified with the paramour of Julia, the daughter of Augustus, whilst she was the wife of M. Agrippa. He continued his connection with her till after her marriage with Tiberius. On Julia's banishment Ti. Sempronius Graccus was also banished to Cercina, an island off the African coast, where he lived till the accession of Tiberius, who had him put to death in A.D. 14.

His coinage, like those of his colleagues, C. Marcius Censorinus and T. Quinctius Crispinus Sulpicianus, is of bronze, and consists of the sestertius, the dupondius, and the as, the last giving to Augustus the title of Pontifex Maximus. Unlike them, however, he does not vary the spelling of his name. Babelon (vol. ii., p. 436) thinks that his colleagues at the mint were T. Quinctius Crispinus Sulpicianus and C. Plotius Rufus, but the last was the colleague of Cn. Calpurnius Piso and L. Naevius Surdinus, as they struck a joint-coinage as well as each a separate one (see below, p. 92).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Dupondius[1]	
4612	271·3	Æ 1·15	Within oak-wreath, and in three lines, AVGVSTVS TRIBVNIC POTEST	Similar. [Pl. lxix. 6.]
			As	
	155·5	Æ 1·0	Head of Augustus l., bare; around, CAESAR · AVG VST · PONT · MAX · [TRIBVNIC · POT ·]	Similar.

[Bahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1897, p. 71.]

Circ. B.C. 10; A.U.C. 744[2]

Moneyers

Q. Aelius L. f. Lamia; Silius; Annius

Q . AELIVS L . F . LAMIA

(QUINTUS AELIUS LUCII FILIUS LAMIA)

			Sestertius	
4613	339·5	Æ 1·45	An oak-wreath between two laurel-branches; above, within, and below wreath, OB CIVIS SERVATOS	Q · AELIVS · L · F · LAMIA · IIIVIR · A · A · A · F · F · (*Triumvir aere, argento, auro, flando, feriundo*). In the centre, S · C (*Senatus consulto*). [Pl. lxix. 7 rev.]

[1] A variety of the dupondius, formerly in the Bignami collection, and now in the Capitoline Museum, has the legends AVGVST TRIBVN POTES and M. SEMPRONI, &c. (Bahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1897, p. 71). The name of the moneyer is evidently blundered or altered by tooling. The as above described is also in the Capitoline Museum, and came from the Borghesi and Bignami collections (Bahrfeldt, *loc. cit.*). It appears to be unique.

[2] The coinage attributed to this year is of bronze only, and differs from any other issue of this Period. It consists of two series: a joint-issue of the triumvirate, which comprised Q. Aelius Lamia, Silius, and Annius; and a separate one of the first moneyer only. The joint-issue consists of the quadrans only, but the separate one of Q. Aelius Lamia comprises the sestertius, the dupondius, and the as of the usual types. In all other instances during this Period when the quadrans was struck, the issue consisted of that denomination only (see

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Dupondius	
4614	209·8	Æ 1·15	Within oak-wreath, and in three lines, AVGVSTVS TRIBVNIC ΡOTEST[1]	Similar; moneyer's name, Q · AELIVS LAMIA · IIIVIR · A · A · A · F · F · [Pl. lxix. 8.] (Blacas Coll.)
4615	200·5	Æ 1·1	Similar.	Similar.
4616	78·5 (*worn*)	Æ ·95	Similar.	Similar.
			As[2]	
	79·0	Æ 1·0	Head of Augustus l., bare; around, [CAESAR AVG VST] ΡONTIF · MAX · [TRIB · ΡOT]	Similar.

[Bahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1896, p. 14.]

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above, p. 46). It seems impossible even to conjecture what caused this departure from what was evidently the general custom. As the *as* of Q. Aelius Lamia gives Augustus the title of Pontifex Maximus, this triumvirate must have held office after B.C. 13.

Of the moneyers of this year we know little or nothing beyond what can be learnt from their coins. Quintus Aelius L. f. Lamia has been identified as the brother of L. Aelius Lamia, the friend of Cicero, who took part in the suppression of the Catilinarian conspiracy, and was banished in B.C. 58, but subsequently espoused the cause of the party of Caesar. He was aedile in B.C. 45, and praetor in B.C. 43. As this identification would show that the moneyer was well advanced in age by B.C. 10, it seems much more probable that he was a son of L. Aelius Lamia, the friend of Horace, who was consul A.D. 3, and lived to A.D. 33, having been a *praefectus Urbi* in the preceding year. Of his colleagues, Silius and Annius, whose gentile names only are given, even less can be said. It has been suggested (Babelon, vol. ii., p. 461) that the former may be the C. Silius P. f. P. n. who was consul A.D. 13, and was appointed at the end of his year of office legate in Upper Germany. He served under Germanicus in his campaigns in Germany, and later on in A.D. 21 defeated Julius Sacrovir, who had excited an insurrection in Gaul. Accused of extortion and treason in A.D. 24, he anticipated his condemnation by a voluntary death. We are unable to suggest any identification of the third moneyer, Annius, as his coins do not supply his praenomen or cognomen.

[1] A variety in the Bignami collection, now in the Capitoline Museum, reads TRIBVNI for TRIBVNIC (Bahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1896, p. 14), and another in the Hunter collection, ΡOTES · for ΡOTEST ·

[2] This as is probably unique. It also is in the Capitoline Museum, and came from the Bignami collection (Bahrfeldt, *loc. cit.*).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Joint-Coinage	
			LAMIA : SILIVS : ANNIVS	
			(QUINTUS AELIUS LUCII FILIUS LAMIA; CAIUS (?) SILIUS; ANNIUS)	
			Quadrans[1]	
			Type I.	
4617	45·8	Æ ·7	Two right hands joined, holding caduceus; around, LAMIA · SILI VS · ANNIVS ·	III · VIR · A · A · A · F · F · (*Triumviri aere, argento, auro, flando, feriundo*). In the centre, S · C (*Senatus consulto*). **[Pl. lxix. 9.]** (Cracherode Coll.)
			Type II.	
4618	47·2	Æ ·65	Simpulum and lituus; around, LAMIA · SILI VS · ANNIVS ·	Similar. **[Pl. lxix. 10.]** (Cracherode Coll.)
			Type III.	
4619	51·5	Æ ·65	Cornucopiae between S · C (*Senatus consulto*); around, LAMIA · SILI VS · ANNIVS ·	Circular coin-anvil, ornamented with wreath; around, III · VIR · A · A · A · F · F · **[Pl. lxix. 11.]**
4620	42·5	Æ ·65	Similar.	Similar. (Cracherode Coll.)

[1] The types of the quadrans are precisely the same as those of similar coins of Pulcher, Taurus, and Regulus, attributed to B.C. 13 (see above, pp. 75, 76). The names of the moneyers preserve always the same order, and are not interchanged, as in the case of similar coins of a later period, see below, pp. 112-115.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Circ. B.C. 9; A.U.C. 745	
			Moneyers	
			CN. CALPURNIUS PISO CN. F.; L. NAEVIUS SURDINUS; C. PLOTIUS RUFUS[1]	
			CN . ΠISO CN . F	
			(CNAEUS [CALPURNIUS] PISO CNAEI FILIUS[2])	
			Sestertius	
4621	353·4	Æ 1·4	An oak-wreath between two laurel-branches; above, within, and below wreath, OB CIVIS SERVATOS	CN · ΠISO · CN · F · III · VIR · A · A · A · F · F · (*Triumvir aere, argento, auro, flando, feriundo*). In the centre, S · C (*Senatus consulto*). [Pl. lxx. 1 rev.[3]]
			Dupondius	
4622	197·7	Æ 1·05	Within oak-wreath, and in three lines, AVGVSTVS TRIBVNIC ΠOTEST[4]	Similar. [Pl. lxx. 2.]
4623	184·5	Æ 1·0	Similar.	Similar.

[1] These three moneyers formed a triumvirate of the mint, for besides each issuing a separate coinage, consisting of the sestertius, the dupondius, and the as, they had a joint one on which all their names appear, but of which only the as is known. The usual types were used for each denomination, an exception being made in the case of Cn. Piso, who supplied an additional one for the as, showing on the reverse the head of Numa Pompilius, the reputed ancestor of the Calpurnia gens, who traced their descent from his son Calpus. This reverse type was also adopted for the joint-issue. The actual date of office of these moneyers is somewhat uncertain; but though none of the bronze coins gives Augustus the title of Pontifex Maximus, yet it seems probable that they were issued after B.C. 13.

[2] This moneyer was probably a son of Cnaeus Calpurnius Piso, who was consul B.C. 7, having Tiberius, the future emperor, as his colleague. Babelon (vol. i., p. 305), mistaking the date of the consulship as A.D. 7, has identified the moneyer with the consul himself.

[3] In the plate the obverse given to no. 1 belongs to the reverse of no. 4.

[4] Bahrfeldt (*Num. Zeit.*, 1896, p. 77) describes a variety formerly in the Bignami collection, now in the Capitoline Museum, reading TRIBVNICI for TRIBVNIC. He also describes a specimen in the Vienna cabinet reading on the obverse, AVGVST TRIBVN ΠOTES, and on the reverse, CN . ΠISO . III . VIR . A . A . A . F . F ., the patronymic initials being omitted.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			As	
			Type I.	
4624	174·8	Æ 1·05	Head of Augustus r., bare; around, CAESAR · AVGVSTVS · TRIBVNIC · POTEST ·	Similar.
4625	163·5	Æ 1·1	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. lxx. 3.]**
			Type II.[1]	
	187·6	Æ 1·3	Head of Augustus r., bare; around, CAESAR AVG VST · TRI · · · ·	Head of Numa Pompilius r., with long beard, diademed; around, CN · PISO · FRV · F · III · VIR · A · · · · (*Triumvir aere* · · · · ·)

[Babelon, vol. i., p. 306, no. 37.]

L. NAEVIVS SVRDINVS

(LUCIUS NAEVIUS SURDINUS[2])

Sestertius

4626	411·7	Æ 1·4	An oak-wreath between two laurel-branches; above, within, and below wreath, OB CIVIS SERVATOS	L · NAEVIVS · SVRDINVS · III · VIR · A · A · A · F · F.[3] (see no. 4621). In the centre, S · C (*Senatus consulto*). **[Pl. lxx. 4.][4]**
4627	377·5	Æ 1·4	Similar.	Similar.

[1] This unique coin is in the Paris collection. Babelon (*loc. cit.*) describes it as a *grand bronze* (i.e. sestertius), but the weight, 187·6 grs. (12·14 grammes), and the obverse type show that it is an *as*; the flan being slightly larger than usual. This was a not unusual occurrence at this time. The coin is so much worn that the obverse legend is somewhat uncertain.

[2] Of this moneyer nothing appears to be known beyond that he was a triumvir of the mint having Cn. Calpurnius Piso and C. Plotius Rufus as colleagues. His separate issue consists of the sestertius, the dupondius, and the as of the usual types.

[3] A variety in the Capitoline Museum, from the Bignami collection, has the moneyer's name on the reverse, reading outwards and not inwards (Bahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1897, p. 24).

[4] On the plate the obverse given to no. 1 belongs to the reverse of no. 4.

No.	*Weight*	*Metal and Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
			Dupondius	
4628	198·5	Æ 1·05	Within oak-wreath, and in three lines, AVGVSTVS TRIBVNIC POTEST	L · SVRDINVS · III · VIR · A · A · A · F · F · In the centre, S · C **[Pl. lxx. 5.]**
4629	173·1	Æ 1·0	Similar.	Similar. (Cracherode Coll.)
			As	
4630	194·7	Æ 1·2	Head of Augustus r., bare; around, CAESAR · AVG VSTVS TRIBVNIC · PO TEST	L · NAEVIVS · SVRDINVS · III · VIR · A · A · A · F · F · In the centre, S · C
4631	173·0	Æ 1·1	Similar.	Similar; moneyer's name, L · SVRDINVS · III · VIR · A · A · A · F · F · **[Pl. lxx. 6.]**
4632	170·0	Æ 1·1	Similar.	Similar.
4633	139·7	Æ 1·05	Similar.	Similar. (Stewart Coll., 1847.)
			C . PLOTIVS RVFVS (CAIUS PLOTIUS RUFUS[1])	
			Sestertius	
4634	388·0	Æ 1·3	An oak-wreath between two laurel-branches; above, within, and below wreath, OB CIVIS SERVATOS	C · PLOTIVS · RVFVS · III · VIR · A · A · A · F · F · (see no. 4621). In the centre, S · C (*Senatus consulto*).
4635	384·8	Æ 1·4	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. lxx. 7.]** (Cracherode Coll.)
4636	395·5	Æ 1·4	Similar.	Similar; countermarked in field, M

[1] This moneyer, the colleague of Cn. Calpurnius Piso and L. Naevius Surdinus, has been identified with Plotius Rufus who was one of the conspirators against the life of Augustus (Suetonius, *Augustus*, 19); but as this conspiracy took place soon after the battle of Actium, this identification is impossible. C. Plotius Rufus, like his colleagues, struck the sestertius, the dupondius, and the *as*, as a separate issue. These are of the usual types.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Dupondius	
4637	173·2	Æ 1·1	Within oak-wreath and in three lines, AVGVSTVS TRIBVNIC POTEST	Similar. [Pl. lxx. 8.]
4638	99·2	Æ ·95	Similar; the order of the legend is varied and it is blundered, POTIST TRI BИC AVGOTV[1]	Similar.
			As	
4639	158·9	Æ 1·15	Head of Augustus r., bare; around, CAESAR · AVG VSTVS · TRIBVNIC · PO TEST ·	Similar.
4640	156·6	Æ 1·2	Similar (*double-struck*).	Similar; moneyer's name, C · PLOTIVS · RVFVS · III · V · A · A · A · F · F ·
4641	175·3	Æ 1·55	Similar; POTES for PO TEST	Similar; moneyer's name, C PLOTIVS · RVFAS (*sic*) · III · VIR · A · A · A · F · F · [Pl. lxx. 9.]
4642	122·7	Æ 1·05	Similar.	Similar; moneyer's name, C · PLOTIVS · RVFVS · III · VR (*sic*) · A · A · A · F · F ·
			Joint-Coinage	
			CN . PISO : L . SVRDIN : C . PLOT . RVF (CNAEUS [CALPURNIUS] PISO; LUCIUS [NAEVIUS] SURDINUS; CAIUS PLOTIUS RUFUS[2])	
			As	
	195·2	Æ 1·1	Head of Augustus r., *laureate*; around, CAE SAR · DIVI · F · AVGVST	Head of Numa Pompilius r., with long beard, diademed; around, CN · PISO · L · SVR DIN · C · PLOT · RVF · [3]

[Babelon, vol. i., p. 306, no. 36.]

[1] This coin appears to be an ancient forgery.

[2] The only coin issued in the joint-names of these three moneyers appears to have been the as. Their names are interchanged, so there may have been three varieties of this issue, but only two are at present known. These coins are excessively rare.

[3] This unique coin in the Berlin Museum was formerly in the Bunbury collection, which

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
	142·5	Æ 1·0	Similar.	Similar; moneyers' names, CN · PISO · C · PLOT · L · SVRDIN.[1]

[Berlin Collection.]

Circ. B.C. 8; A.U.C. 746.

Moneyers

C. Marius C. f. Tromentina; C. Sulpicius Platorinus; C. Antistius Reginus

C. MARIVS C.F. TRO

(CAIUS MARIUS CAII FILIUS TROMENTINA[2])

Aureus

	N ·8	Head of Augustus r., bare; before, CAESAR AVGVS TVS; behind, simpulum and lituus.	Augustus (as founder) ploughing with yoke of oxen before the walls of a city; above, C·MARIVS; in exergue, TRO·IIIVIR

[Babelon, vol. ii., p. 206, no. 14.]

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was sold in London in 1895. It is much tooled, and the wreath on the head of Augustus is probably a modern addition. Behind the head, the imprint of an eagle, the crest of the Este family, shows that the coin had been in that collection.

[1] Babelon's reading of the legend on this coin as C.PLOT.RVF. is not correct (vol. ii., p. 91, no. 294). A variety of this as, formerly in the possession of Dr. F. Hirsch, of Munich (*Katalog*, xi., 1904, Taf. xi., no. 741), reads on the reverse, CN.PISO.C.PLOTIVS.L. SVRDIN.

[2] The absence of any records of the moneyers whose issues are assigned to this year, beyond what are supplied by their coins, and by any reference in their types to contemporary events, renders it somewhat difficult to fix their date of office. Similarity of style and fabric, and of the general character of the types, makes it very probable that they were colleagues at the mint. On similar grounds of style and fabric, these issues group themselves with those of Cossus Cornelius Lentulus and L. Caninius Gallus, which were the latest pieces present in the Terranova hoard (see Tables of Finds), and which may be considered as the

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Denarius	
			Type I.	
4643	58·7	AR ·8	Head of Augustus r., bare; before, AVGVSTVS; behind, lituus.	Augustus, as Pontifex Maximus, veiled, standing l., and holding a simpulum in his r. hand; around, C·MARIVS C·F·TRO·III·VIR [Pl. lxxi. 1.] (Nott)
			Type II.	
4644	59·7	AR ·75	Similar.	Quadriga r., horses galloping; in chariot, long palm-branch; above, C·MARIVS·C·F·; below, TRO·III·VIR [Pl. lxxi. 2.] (Cracherode Coll.)
4645	58·7	AR ·75	Similar.	Similar. (Nott)

last coins in gold and silver issued at the Roman mint bearing moneyers' names (see below, pp. 101, 103). These particulars therefore supply us with the approximate dates for the coinages attributed by Count de Salis to B.C. 8 and B.C. 6.

Nothing appears to be known of Caius Marius Tromentina beyond that he was a triumvir of the mint. The abbreviation TRO was generally interpreted *Trogus*, as suggested by Eckhel (*Doct. num. vet.*, t. v., p. 250), Ti. Quinctius Trogus having been a moneyer at an earlier date (see Babelon, vol. ii., p. 393; and Coinage of Italy, *s. a.* B.C. 91), but Borghesi (*Œuvres compl.*, vol. i., pp. 155, 156) proposed to read *Tromentina*, and this reading has been accepted by the Baron de Witte and others (Mommsen, *Hist. mon. rom.*, t. iii., p. 456).

The obverse type of the coins of C. Marius is always the portrait of Augustus, and those of the reverse relate directly or indirectly to his life and history. That of the aureus refers to the many colonies founded by Augustus, more specially in connection with the foundation of the colony of Augusta Emerita in B.C. 23, which became the capital of Lusitania (see Babelon, vol. i., pp. 321, 322, nos. 24-27). The type cannot relate to Rome itself as Augustus does not appear to have extended the *pomerium* of the city (Mommsen, *Staatsrecht.*, vol. ii., p. 1072, 3rd ed., 1887). The only specimen recorded of this coin was in the Paris collection. It disappeared in the theft of 1831. The legend TRO.IIIIVIR on the reverse is clearly an error for TRO.IIIVIR. Type I. of the denarius may be a memorial of his acceptance of the office of Pontifex Maximus in B.C. 12. In Type II. we have a record of his numerous victories. Type III. may relate to the *Ludi Saeculares* which were celebrated in B.C. 17, and over which Augustus and Agrippa jointly presided (see above, p. 37). Type IV. records the adoption by Augustus in B.C. 17 of his grandsons, Caius and Lucius Caesar, children of his daughter Julia and of Agrippa, and Type V. is in honour of Julia herself as Diana, who, in her earlier days, was noted for her many virtues, her modesty, and her learning. Eckhel (*Doct. num. vet.*, t. vi., p. 102), who saw in Type I. a reference to Augustus's accession to the office of Pontifex Maximus, has attributed the coinage of C. Marius to B.C. 12, but Babelon (vol. ii., pp. 82, 204) thought that the types which represent Augustus as offering a sacrifice relate generally to his dignities as augur and pontifex, and, therefore, following Fr. Lenormant (*La Mon. dans l'Ant.*, vol. iii., pp. 177, 178), he puts the date of C. Marius as a moneyer at *circ.* B.C. 17.

Cohen (*Méd. imp.*, vol. i., p. 128, no. 459) gives the following description of another aureus of C. Marius Tromentina, as being in the D'Ennery collection: *obv.* Head of Diana to right; *rev.* C.MARIVS TRO.III.VIR. Pontiff ploughing with two oxen to right. This coin appears to be of doubtful authenticity.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type III.	
4646	59·5	Æ ·8	Similar.	Augustus and Agrippa togate, standing facing, each holding volumen in l. hand; at the side of each is a small altar; Augustus wears a laurel-wreath, and Agrippa a combined mural and rostral crown;[1] around, C · MARIVS C · F · TRO ·; in exergue, III · VIR [Pl. lxxi. 3.]
			Type III. var.	
4647	57·0	Æ ·8	Head of Augustus r., bare; around, AVGVSTVS DIVI · F; the whole within oak-wreath.[2]	Similar. [Pl. lxxi. 4.]
			Type IV.	
4648	53·2	Æ ·75	Similar.	Heads of Julia, daughter of Augustus, and her two sons, Caius and Lucius Caesar to r.; that of Julia is in the centre, and is surmounted by a wreath;[3] below, C · MA RIVS · TRO ·; above, III VIR (Cracherode Coll.)
4649	46·8	Æ ·7	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. lxxi. 5.] (Blacas Coll.)
			Type IV. var.	
4650	34·3	Æ ·6 (*plated*)	Head of Augustus r., bare; before, AVGVSTVS; behind, lituus[4] (similar to no. 4643).	Similar. (Devonshire Coll.)

[1] See note, p. 96, as to this crown, and the circumstances under which it was granted to Agrippa.

[2] This obverse type is also found with the reverse of the denarius of Type I., Augustus as Pontifex Maximus, specimens of which are in the Turin cabinet, and in the collection of Comm. Fr. Gnecchi (Bahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1897, p. 17). These may not be hybrids, as the obverse and reverse types of the denarii of C. Marius were much interchanged.

[3] There is a hybrid consisting of this reverse and of the obverse of the denarius of C. Naevius Balbus (see vol. i., p. 366; Babelon, vol. ii., p. 248, no. 6).

[4] This coin is too much worn to be figured in the plates. Another variety, in the collection of Comm. Fr. Gnecchi, has for obverse type, head of Augustus to r., bare; behind, CAESAR. It is plated and is a hybrid (*Riv. Ital.*, 1889, p. 171, no. 13, pl. iii., no. 6).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type V.	
4651	58·8	AR ·8	Similar; countermark on neck, Ⅎ	Bust of Julia, daughter of Augustus, as Diana, r., with quiver at her shoulders; she wears slight drapery, and her head is bound with a diadem, ornamented with a jewel above the forehead; hair in knot; around, C · MARIVS · TRO III · VIR [Pl. lxxi. 6.] (Sir G. Musgrave Coll.)
4652	55·2	AR ·8	Similar; countermark on neck, S	Similar; bust of Julia, not draped. (Nott)

C. SVLPICIVS ⅂LATORINVS

(CAIUS SULPICIUS PLATORINUS[1])

Aureus

4653	123·6	AV ·8	Head of Augustus r., wearing oak-wreath; around, CAESAR AVGVSTVS	Head of Agrippa r., wearing a combined mural and rostral crown; behind, M · AGRIPPA; below, and on r., ⅂LATOR INVS · III · VIR [Pl. lxxi. 7.] (Dupré and Wigan Coll.)

[1] Nothing appears to be known of this moneyer beyond that he was an officer of the mint. His colleagues were probably C. Marius Tromentina and C. Antistius Reginus (see pp. 93, 98). Babelon (vol. ii., p. 476) suggests that his colleagues were C. Antistius Reginus and Cossus Cornelius Lentulus, but Count de Salis has attributed the coins of the last moneyer to B.C. 6.

The types, both obverse and reverse, of all the coins of C. Sulpicius Platorinus refer to the life-long friendship of Augustus and Agrippa. They are therefore a record of events which had taken place some time previously, as Agrippa died in B.C. 12. The aureus with the head of Agrippa wearing a combined mural and rostral crown is a record of his victories by land and sea, the latter specially in connection with the defeat of Sextus Pompey at Naulochus in B.C. 36; after which Octavius granted various honours to his generals and lieutenants, but to Agrippa he gave a rostral crown in gold, an honour which, Dion Cassius says, had never before nor since been granted to any one. The privilege to wear this naval crown on all such occasions when those who had triumphed wore their laurel crowns was confirmed later by the Senate (Dion Cassius, xlix. 14; Vell. Paterc., ii. 81). Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*, xvi. 3), however, relates that Pompey had granted a similar crown to M. Varro for his victories over the pirates. There is no mention in history when the mural crown was presented to Agrippa. In Type II. of the denarius may be seen a special reference to the joint investment of Augustus and Agrippa with the tribunitian power in B.C. 18, and also to their joint-presidentship of the *Ludi Saeculares* in the following year. The object on the left of the bisellium is not a lance (Bahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1897, p. 80), but an apparitor's staff (see below, pp. 103, 104, coins of L. Caninius Gallus).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Denarius	
			Type I.	
4654	61·2	Æ ·75	Head of Augustus r., bare; around, CAESAR AVG VSTVS	Head of Agrippa r., bare; behind, M · AGRIPPA; below, and on r., PLA TORINVS · III · VIR (Cohen Coll., 1855)
4655	59·4	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar. (Cracherode Coll.)
4656	52·5	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar; countermark on neck, C [Pl. lxxi. 8.] (Bank Coll.)
			Type II.	
4657	61·7	Æ ·7	Similar.	Augustus and Agrippa togate, seated side by side towards l. on a bisellium placed on a platform, which is ornamented with three rostra[1]; on l. of bisellium an apparitor's staff; around, C · SVLPICIVS · PLAT ORIN [Pl. lxxi. 9.] (Devonshire Coll.)
4658	57·5	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar. (Nott)
			Type II. var.	
4659	57·8	Æ ·7	Head of Augustus r., bare; no legend.	Similar. [Pl. lxxi. 10.] (de Salis Coll.)

[1] The rostra commemorate the battle of Naulochus, on which occasion, as it has been noted, Agrippa received the rostral crown.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			C. ANTISTIVS REGINVS	
			(CAIUS ANTISTIUS REGINUS[1])	
			Aureus	
4660	121·0	*N* ·75	Head of Augustus r., wearing oak-wreath; around, CAESAR AVGVSTVS	Two priests, veiled, holding a pig by the legs over a lighted and garlanded altar; in the field and around, FOEDVSꟻ·R·QVM GABINIS· (*Foedus populi romani qum Gabinis*); C·ANTIST·REGIN [Pl. lxxi. 11.] (Wigan Coll.)

[1] This moneyer has been identified with C. Antistius Reginus, who was one of Caesar's legates in Gaul, and a friend of Cicero (*ad Att*., x. 12), and who in B.C. 49 had the command of the coast of the Lower Sea (Babelon, vol. i., p. 149). The attribution of the above coins to nearly the end of the first century B.C. renders this identification impossible. The moneyer, however, may have been a son of the legate.

The types of his coins, which relate to the ancient treaty between the Romans and the Gabini, and to the priestly offices held by Augustus, are only copies of those of another member of the Antistia gens, C. Antistius Vetus, who held the office of a triumvir of the mint *circ.* B.C. 16 (see above, pp. 54 f.). Babelon (vol. i., pp. 149, 150) has attributed the coins of C. Antistius Reginus to B.C. 18, and those of C. Antistius Vetus to B.C. 16. According to Count de Salis's classification, the order of the moneyers should be reversed. The coins of C. Antistius Reginus appear to be of later date, as from style and fabric they cannot be separated by any length of time from those here assigned to B.C. 6. The evidence of finds, though not very strong at this period, supports this classification, since the issues of Cossus Cornelius Cn. f. Lentulus and Lucius Caninius Gallus were probably the latest represented in the Terranova hoard (see Tables of Finds). In selecting an event connected with the history of his family for the subject of the reverse type of his aureus, C. Antistius Reginus made an exception to the general rule which prevailed at this time. There is no record of any event which would connect Augustus with the history of this ancient treaty with the Gabini.

Babelon (vol. i., p. 150, no. 19) describes and figures a quinarius having on the obverse the diademed head of Venus, and behind, the letters S.C (*Senatus consulto*); and on the reverse a male figure standing to l., his left arm extended towards a lituus; in the exergue, REG. This coin was attributed by Cohen (*Mon. rép. rom.*, p. 20, no. 18) to the Antistia gens and to the above moneyer, as he interpreted the legend REG as REGINVS (?). Babelon has questioned this attribution, and he remarks that it might as well be interpreted *Regulus* as *Reginus*. Riccio (*Mon. fam. rom.*, p. 126, no. 7, pl. lx.) appears to have been the first to notice this coin, which he mentions as being in the collection of Antonio Benedetti of Fermo, but he assigns it to L. Livineius Regulus, who was a moneyer *circ.* B.C. 39 (see vol. i., p. 578). Not only is this quinarius of doubtful authenticity (Bahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1896, p. 25), but its attribution to a date so late as the last years of the first century B.C. is impossible, as no quinarii were then struck at the Roman mint, and, besides, all the coins of C. Antistius Reginus have for obverse type the head of Augustus. The letters S.C also show that the coin would belong to a special issue. If the piece is genuine it must be attributed to the early years of the first century B.C., and to a period soon after the revival of the quinarius under the provisions of the Lex Clodia (see vol. i., p. 158). In style and general treatment the head on the obverse may be compared with that of Venus on the denarius of Sulla figured by Babelon (vol. i., p. 412, no. 44), to which date, if genuine, the coin may be assigned.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Denarius	
4661	63·1	Æ ·75	Head of Augustus r., bare; around, CAESAR AVGVSTVS	Sacrificial implements, simpulum and lituus above tripod and patera; around, C·ANTISTIVS·REGINVS III·VIR (Nott)
4662	61·1	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. lxxi. 12.]**

Circ. B.C. 7; A.U.C. 747

Moneyers

A. LICINIUS NERVA SILIANUS; VOLUSUS VALERIUS MESSALLA; SEXTUS NONIUS QUINCTILIANUS[1]

A. LICIN. NERVA SILIAN

(AULUS LICINIUS NERVA SILIANUS[2])

As

4663	166·5	Æ 1·05	Head of Augustus r., bare; around, CAESAR·AVGVST·PONT·MAX·TRIBVNIC·POT·	A·LICIN·NERVA·SILIAN·III·VIR·A·A·A·F·F· (*Triumvir aere, argento, auro, flando, feriundo*). In the centre, S·C (*Senatus consulto*). **[Pl. lxxi. 13.]**
4664	158·2	Æ 1·1	Similar; legend reading P[OTEST] for POT	Similar. (Stewart Coll., 1847)

[1] Similarity of fabric, issue, and denomination renders it very probable that these three moneyers formed a triumvirate of the mint. The only denomination which they struck was the *as*. On the coins of Aulus Nerva Silianus and Volusus Valerius Messalla the same variety of reading POT for POTEST occurs, and, like those of Volusus Valerius Messalla and Sextus Nonius Quinctilianus, the *as* of Aulus Nerva Silianus shows the head of Augustus turned to the left as well as to the right (Bahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1897, p. 5). It is most probable that these varieties existed in each issue. On all the coins Augustus has the title of Pontifex Maximus.

[2] This moneyer was the son of P. Silius Nerva, a distinguished commander under Augustus, and consul B.C. 20 with M. Appuleius. He was adopted by some Licinius Nerva, whose name he took, adding as usual the cognomen Silianus. He was a moneyer under Augustus after the latter's election as Pontifex Maximus, and was consul in A.D. 7. Dion Cassius (lv. 30) calls him Licinius Silanus.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			VOLVSVS VALER . MESSAL	
			(VOLUSUS VALERIUS MESSALLA[1])	
			As	
4665	180·0	Æ 1·05	Head of Augustus r., bare; around, CAESAR AVG VST · PONT · MAX · TRIBVNIC · POT.[2]	VOLVSVS · VALER · MES SAL · III · VIR · A · A · A · F · F · (see no. 4663). In the centre, S · C (*Senatus consulto*). (Stewart Coll., 1847)
4666	164·0	Æ 1·15	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. lxxi. 14.]**
			SEX . NONIVS QVINCTILIAN	
			(SEXTUS NONIUS QUINCTILIANUS[3])	
			As	
4667	184·0	Æ 1·1	Head of Augustus r., bare; around, CAESAR · AVG VST · PONT · MAX · TRIBVNIC · POT ·	SEX · NONIVS · QVINC TILIAN · III · VIR · A · A · A · F · F · (see no. 4663). In the centre, S · C (*Senatus consulto*). **[Pl. lxxi. 15.]**
4668	168·4	Æ 1·0	Similar.	Similar. (Stewart Coll., 1847)
4669	147·8	Æ 1·0	Similar.	Similar.
4670	154·0	Æ 1·15	Similar; head of Augustus l.	Similar. **[Pl. lxxi. 16.]**

[1] Possibly a younger son of Potitus Valerius Messalla, who was one of the *consules suffecti* B.C. 29. He must be distinguished from the moneyer of the same cognomen, who struck coins *circ.* B.C. 3, nor can he be the L. Valerius Potiti f. Messalla Volusus, who was consul B.C. 5, and afterwards proconsul of Asia, where his cruelties drew down on him the anger of Augustus and the condemnation of the Senate. His colleagues at the mint appear to have been Aulus Licinius Nerva Silianus and Sextus Nonius Quinctilianus, and like them he only struck the as. Babelon (vol. ii., pp. 521-523), who assigns this issue to B.C. 12, has associated this moneyer with the Messalla, whose coins, quadrantes, are classed to B.C. 3 (see below, p. 114), and also identifies him with the consul of A.D. 5, but neither of these attributions seems possible. The praenomen Volusus or Volisus was often taken by members of the Valeria gens, and was assumed on account of their reputed ancestor, Volusus or Volisus, who is said to have settled at Rome with Titus Tatius.

[2] A variety reads POTEST as on the *as* of A. Nerva Silianus (no. 4664), and another variety has the head of Augustus turned to the left as on the *as* of Sextus Quinctilianus (Babelon, vol. ii., p. 522, nos. 24, 25).

[3] This moneyer has been identified with the Sextus Nonius Quinctilianus who was consul with M. Furius Camillus in A.D. 8 (Babelon, vol. ii., p. 256). It is evident from the similarity of fabric and denomination that he had as colleagues at the mint, Aulus Licinius Nerva Silianus and Volusus Valerius Messalla. Like the latter, he struck the *as* with the head of Augustus to the left as well as to the right.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Circ. B.C. 6; A.U.C. 748	
			Moneyers	
			COSSUS CORNELIUS CN. F. LENTULUS; L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS; L. CANINIUS GALLUS[1]	
			COSSVS CN . F . LENTVLVS	
			(COSSUS [CORNELIUS] CNAEI FILIUS LENTULUS[2])	
			Denarius	
			Type I.	
4671	57·2	Æ ·75	Head of Augustus r., wearing wreath of oak; before, AVGVSTVS; behind, COS XI	Head of Agrippa r., wearing a combined mural and rostral crown; above, M · AGRIPPA COS · TER; below, COSSVS · LENTVLVS **[Pl. lxxii. 1.]** (Nott)
			Type II.	
4672	60·8	Æ ·75	Head of Augustus r., bare; before, AVGVSTVS	Equestrian statue of Augustus r., helmeted, and bearing trophy; the pedestal of the statue is ornamented with two prows; around, COSSVS CN · F · LENTVLVS (Nott)
4673	51·1	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. lxxii. 2.]**

[1] The association of these three moneyers as a triumvirate of the mint rests, in a measure, on the style and fabric of their coins; on the portrait of Augustus, which is very similar to that on the coins ascribed to B.C. 8; and also on the evidence of finds. The coins of Cossus Cornelius Lentulus and L. Caninius Gallus appear to have been the latest in the Terranova hoard, and they did not exist in any of the finds the burial of which is fixed to a somewhat earlier date. L. Caninius Gallus is the only member of the triumvirate who adds his official title of triumvir to his name. He struck in gold and silver, but of Cossus Cornelius Lentulus and L. Cornelius Lentulus silver coins only are known. According to Count de Salis's classification these are the latest issues in gold and silver which bear moneyers' names.

[2] Babelon (vol. i., p. 430), who has assigned this issue to *circ.* B.C. 18, has identified Cossus Cornelius Lentulus as the son of Cn. Cornelius Cn. f. Lentulus Augur, who was consul in B.C. 14. He is sometimes called Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Cossus. Lentulus was consul in B.C. 1, and in A.D. 6 was sent to Africa, where he defeated the Gaetuli, and for this success received the surname of *Gaetulicus* and the *ornamenta triumphalia*. On the accession of Tiberius in A.D. 14, he accompanied Drusus to Pannonia to quell the mutiny of the legions; is subsequently mentioned as taking part in the senatorial debates; and died in A.D. 25 at a very great age. His son, who bore the same name, was consul in the year of his father's death. From the date given to the above issue it is evident that the moneyer was not the consul of B.C. 1,

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No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			L. LENTVLVS	
			(LUCIUS [CORNELIUS] LENTULUS[1])	
			Denarius	
4674	59·4	*R* ·75	Head of Augustus r., bare; before, AVGVSTVS	Augustus, togate and laureate, standing facing, resting his l. hand on shield inscribed C · V (*Clypeus virtutis*); with r. he places a wreath on the head of the statue of Julius Caesar, facing, holding a Victory in r. hand, and a spear in l.; a star above the head of Julius Caesar; around, L · LENTVLVS · FLAMEN · MARTIALIS [Pl. lxxii. 3.] (Devonshire Coll.)
4675	50·0	*R* ·75	Similar.	Similar.

but it is quite possible that he may have been the consul of A.D. 25. We would therefore assign the coins to the son and not to the father. As the twelfth consulship of Augustus occurred in B.C. 5, this issue must have occurred before that date.

The types of the coins of Cossus Lentulus relate to past events. The heads of Augustus and Agrippa on Type I. of the denarius are evidently copied from the aureus of C. Sulpicius Platorinus struck two years earlier (see above, p. 96), and the reverse of Type II. probably depicts one of the equestrian statues erected to Augustus to commemorate the battle of Actium and his other victories.

There are restorations of both types by Trajan.

[1] This moneyer is usually identified as L. Cornelius L. f. Lentulus, who was flamen martialis, and the son of L. Cornelius Lentulus Niger, who before him had filled the same office. The younger Lentulus defended M. Scaurus in B.C. 54 when accused of extortion, and himself accused A. Gabinius of high treason about the same time. He was a friend of Antony, by whom he was appointed to a province, but made no use of the office (Cicero, *Philipp.*, iii. 10). If the above coins were struck by this member of the Cornelia gens they could not have been issued so late as B.C. 6, as proposed by Count de Salis, nor even in B.C 17, as suggested by Babelon (vol. i., p. 431). The moneyer was therefore probably a son of L. Cornelius L. f. Lentulus, and would be the third member of his family to hold the office of flamen martialis in succession, an appointment which must have preceded his magistracy at the mint. He was presumably related to the previous moneyer, Cossus Cornelius Lentulus, though of another branch of the family.

The reverse type of his coins represents Augustus crowning the bronze statue of Caesar, which he had erected in his honour in the temple of Venus, and above the head of which was placed a star, the symbol of deification (Bernouilli, *Röm. Ikonog.*, vol. i., p. 146; Dion Cassius, xlv. 7; Suetonius, *Caesar*, 88). This seems a more probable explanation than the one given by Babelon (*loc. cit.*), who describes the type as "the *flamen martialis*, L. Cornelius Lentulus in priestly dress, holding a shield on which are inscribed the letters C.V (*Clipeus Virtutis*), and placing a crown in the form of a star on the head of Julius Caesar, who holds a Victory and a spear." Babelon also identifies the statue as that dedicated to Julius Caesar in the temple of Mars Ultor in B.C. 46, and he would invest the flamen martialis with the attributes of Augustus, although the event depicted occurred some years before Augustus received the golden shield of valour. If the solution of this type now suggested is correct, it is doubly interesting; for, besides giving us an actual representation of the bronze statue erected by Augustus to Julius Caesar, it also shows that the dedication did not take place till after the Senate had awarded Augustus the "shield of valour," which was in B.C. 27.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			L . CANINIVS GALLVS	
			(LUCIUS CANINIUS GALLUS[1])	
			Aureus	
4676	123·5	*N* ·75	Head of Augustus r., bare; around, AVGVSTVS DIVI · F	A portico with double door, closed and surmounted by a wreath of oak; on each side, a laurel-tree or branch; above, OB C · S (*Ob cives servatos*); around, L · CANINIVS · GALLVS **[Pl. lxxii. 4.]** (Blacas Coll.)

[1] This moneyer was probably a grandson of L. Caninius Gallus, who was a friend of Pompey and son-in-law of C. Antony, whom shortly before his marriage he had accused of extortion. He was tribune of the plebs B.C. 56, and died in B.C. 44. He took no part in the civil war. Babelon (vol. i., p. 310), who placed this coinage at *circ.* B.C. 20, has identified the moneyer with the son of the above Caninius, who was consul suffectus B.C. 2. If, however, as concluded by Count de Salis, the issue of these coins did not take place till *circ.* B.C. 6, the moneyer must be identified as the latter's son. He is probably the only member of the Caninia gens of whom we have coins (see below, p. 113). Babelon (*loc. cit.*) has associated with him as colleagues at the mint, L. Aquillius Florus, M. Durmius, and P. Petronius Turpilianus, who would thus have formed a quatuorvirate.

All the types, both obverse and reverse, of the coins of L. Caninius Gallus, like those of his colleagues, relate to Augustus in a more or less direct manner. On the aureus we have a very interesting view of the entrance or portico of the house of Augustus on the Palatine, surmounted by the civic wreath which was voted to him by the Senate, and flanked by two laurel-trees or branches. In the *Monumentum Ancyranum* (Mommsen, *Res gestae*, p. 144) Augustus relates, *Quo pro merito meo senatus consulto Augustus appellatus sum et laureis postes aedium mearum vestiti publice coronaque civica super ianuam meam fixa est.* The inscription would imply that laurel-leaves or bands were placed around the door-posts, whereas the coin shows two laurel-branches or trees planted at the sides of the portico (see above, p. 19). Except for this variation the coin is a faithful illustration of the passage in the inscription. Representations of the civic wreath have occurred frequently on earlier issues, and also the laurel-branches.

The bisellium on Type I. of the denarius relates probably to the investiture of Augustus and Agrippa with the tribunitian power for five years in B.C. 18. On the coins of C. Sulpicius Platorinus (see p. 97, no. 4657) there is a similar representation of the bisellium, but on it are seated Augustus and Agrippa. On those of L. Caninius Gallus there are no seated figures, but the legend, TR . POT . (*tribunitia potestate*) is an evident indication of the special reference of this type. In both instances, however, the *scipio* or wand of office of the apparitor is attached to one end of the bisellium.

The legend on the cippus of Type II. has usually been interpreted "Caii Caesaris Augusti," and the monument as one of the many cippi which were erected to Augustus in the public roads or places. It seems, however, not impossible that it may relate to Caius Caesar, the son of Agrippa and Julia, whom Augustus had adopted. In that case the inscription would read in full, "Caio Caesari Augusti (filio)." If this is so, the cippus may commemorate the nomination of Caius Caesar as consul designatus which occurred in B.C. 6 (A.U.C. 748), the year to which this issue has been assigned by Count de Salis.

The kneeling warrior surrendering a standard on Type II. is intended to represent a Gaul, and not a Parthian, as identified by Babelon and others (A. Blanchet, *Congr. inter. de Num., Bruxelles*, 1891, *Mémoires*, pp. 109 f.). In the *Monumentum Ancyranum* (Mommsen, *Res gestae*, p. 124) Augustus refers as follows to this occurrence:—*Signa militaria complura per alios duces amissa devictis hostibus reciperavi ex Hispania et Gallia et a Dalmateis.* On denarii of a similar reverse type struck *circ.* B.C. 14 by the moneyers P. Petronius Turpilianus, L. Aquillius Florus, and M. Durmius (see above, p. 64 *seq.*), and commemorating the surrender of the standards by the Parthians, the kneeling figure wears a cloak and is clothed to the

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Denarius	
			Type I.	
	58·5	*R* ·8	Head of Augustus r., bare; before, AVGVSTVS	A bisellium with the apparitor's staff (*scipio*) on the left; above, AVGVSTVS. TR · POT; around, L · CANINIVS GALLVS · III · VIR

[Babelon, vol. i., p. 311, no. 2.]

Type II.[1]

4677	54·6 (*chipped*)	*R* ·75	Head of Augustus r., bare; before, AVGVSTVS	A cippus, inscribed C · C AVGVSTI (*Caio Caesari Augusti [filio]*); around, [L · CANINIVS · GAL] LVS · III · VIR (Blacas Coll.)

ankles in a tight-fitting garment, *braccae*, and his hair and beard are short and curly. On coins of the above issue the figure is naked, except for a cloak hanging from his shoulders, and his hair and beard are long and straggling. In these particulars it closely resembles the figure seated before a trophy, as shown on coins struck by Julius Caesar in B.C. 49, recording his then recent campaigns in Gaul. The figure on the coins of Caesar has been identified as the Gaulish chief Vercingetorix (see vol. i., p. 506, no. 3959). It seems therefore that this type does not refer to the surrender of the standards by the Parthians, but to those which during various campaigns had been captured in Spain, Gaul, and Dalmatia. M. Blanchet also suggests that as the cognomen of the moneyer is *Gallus*, a type representing this event may have been purposely selected. Babelon, whilst attributing the issues of L. Caninius Gallus, P. Petronius Turpilianus, L. Aquillius Florus, and M. Durmius to the same year, does not appear to have noticed this variation in the type.

[1] The specimen of this coin in the National Museum is so much chipped that it cannot be figured in the plates. The illustration is taken by permission from the specimen in the possession of Herr Franz Trau, of Vienna, the type of which, so far as it can be checked, corresponds precisely with that of the Museum specimen.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type III.	
4678	61·2	Æ ·8	Similar.	A Gaulish warrior kneeling r. on r. knee in attitude of submission, and holding standard in r. hand, his l. extended; he is naked but for a cloak falling from his shoulders; his hair and beard are long; around, L · CANINIVS GALLVS · III · VIR **[Pl. lxxii. 5.]** (Blacas Coll.)
4679	60·5	Æ ·85	Similar.	Similar.
4680	59·1	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar. (Nott)
4681	58·5	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar. (Cracherode Coll.)

Circ. B.C. 5; A.U.C. 749

Moneyers

M. Maecilius Tullus; M. Salvius Otho; P. Lurius Agrippa[1]

M . MAECILIVS TVLLVS

(MARCUS MAECILIUS TULLUS)

Sestertius

4682	381·3	Æ 1·4	Head of Augustus l., laureate; behind, Victory, draped, holding cornucopiae in l. hand, and with her r. touching the fillet of the wreath on the head of the emperor; under his neck, a ball or globe; around, CAESAR · AVGVST · PONT · MAX · TRIBVNIC · POT	M · MAECILIVS · TVLLVS · III · VIR · A · A · A · F · F · (*Triumvir aere, argento, auro, flando, feriundo*). In the centre, S · C (*Senatus consulto*). **[Pl. lxxii. 6.]** (Thomas Coll., 1844)

[1] The similarity of the issues of this group of moneyers, both in the types and denominations, leaves no doubt that they constituted a triumvirate of the mint. They struck only bronze coins, consisting of the sestertius, the dupondius, and the as, and they adopted a new type for

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Dupondius	
4683	159·6	Æ 1·25	Similar; no ball or globe under neck of the emperor.[1]	Similar. **[Pl. lxxii. 7.]**
4684	203·3	Æ 1·25	Similar.	Similar; the centre has been tooled, the letters S · C erased, and a cross of silver inserted in their place.
			As	
4685	156·8	Æ 1·05	Head of Augustus l., bare; around, CAESAR · AVGVST · PONT · MAX · TRIBVNIC · POT	Similar to no. 4682. **[Pl. lxxii. 8.]**
4686	178·2	Æ 1·15	Similar; bare head of Augustus r.[2]	Similar.
4687	166·6	Æ 1·1	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. lxxii. 9.]**
4688	161·2	Æ 1·05	Similar.	Similar.
			M . SALVIVS OTHO (MARCUS SALVIUS OTHO[3])	
			Sestertius	
4689	275·3	Æ 1·4	Head of Augustus l., laureate; behind, Victory, draped, holding cornucopiae in l. hand, and with her r. touching the fillet of the wreath on the head of the emperor; around, CAESAR · AVGVST · PONT · MAX · TRIBVNIC · POT	M · SALVIVS · OTHO · III · VIR · A · A · A · F · F · (see no. 4682). In the centre, S · C (*Senatus consulto*). **[Pl. lxxii. 10.]** (Blacas Coll.)
4690	258·0	Æ 1·3	Similar.	Similar.

the obverses of the first two denominations, viz., the laureate head of Augustus with a Victory behind. Augustus is styled Pontifex Maximus. Two of them, M. Salvius Otho and P. Lurius Agrippa issued also the dupondius of the earlier type. It is possible that M. Maecilius Tullus also struck the dupondius of this type, but, hitherto, no specimen has been recorded. They also all three issued the *as* with the head of Augustus turned to the left as well as to the right. As this new type of the sestertius and the dupondius was not adopted by any of the other moneyers of Augustus, and, as we do not possess any further issues of the bronze money of the larger denominations, we may presume that these triumvirs were the last to strike these coins under the provisions which had been in force since B.C. 16.

Marcus Maecilius Tullus is only known to history from his coins. His associates at the mint, as we have seen, were M. Salvius Otho and P. Lurius Agrippa.

The globe under the neck of Augustus relates to the universality of his rule and victories.

[1] A variety in the Hunter collection has the globe.

[2] The specimen of this type figured by Babelon (vol. ii., p. 160, no. 5) is described by him as a *grand bronze*; but it is certainly a *moyen bronze*, and therefore an as. Babelon does not describe the sestertius.

[3] Marcus Salvius Otho was probably the grandfather of the emperor Otho. Suetonius

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Dupondius[1]	
	124·6	Æ 1·05	Within oak-wreath, and in three lines, AVGVSTVS TRIBVNIC POTEST	Similar.

[Bahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1897, p. 67.[2]]

As

4691	170·5	Æ 1·1	Head of Augustus l., bare; around, CAESAR · AVG VST · PONT · MAX · TRIBVNIC · POT ·	Similar. [Pl. lxxii. 11.]
4692	151·4	Æ 1·1	Similar.	Similar. (Stewart Coll., 1847)
4693	228·5	Æ 1·1	Similar; head of Augustus r.[3]	Similar.

(*Otho*, i.) tells us that the ancestors of the emperor Otho were originally from the town of Ferentum and of an ancient and honourable family, and, indeed, one of the most considerable in Etruria. His grandfather, M. Salvius Otho, whose father was a Roman knight, was made a senator by the favour of Livia, in whose house he had his education. He never rose higher than to the praetorship. On account of the similarity of the types and denominations of his coins there can be no question that his colleagues at the mint were M. Maecilius Tullus and P. Lurius Agrippa; for, like them, he struck the sestertius and the dupondius with the new obverse type, and like P. Lurius Agrippa he issued the dupondius of the old type. On the as the head of Augustus is turned to the left as well as to the right.

There is a variety of the sestertius which, like the similar piece of M. Maecilius Tullus, has a globe or ball below the neck (Gnecchi, *Riv. Ital.*, 1889, p. 174).

[1] Babelon (vol. ii., p. 416, 6) mentions a *moyen bronze*, i.e. dupondius, of the new type struck by M. Salvius Otho, but he does not figure it.

[2] The coin here illustrated is in the Bahrfeldt collection. There is another specimen in the Capitoline Museum, which was formerly in the Bignami collection.

[3] A variety formerly in the Bignami collection, now in the Capitoline Museum, reading TRBV . POT . is figured by Bahrfeldt (*Num. Zeit.*, 1897, p. 67).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
4694	190·3	Æ 1·15	Similar.	Similar. (Stewart Coll., 1847)
4695	183·3	Æ 1·05	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. lxxiii. 1.]
4696	171·9	Æ 1·15	Similar.	Similar. (Cracherode Coll.)
4697	152·7	Æ 1·05	Similar.	Similar.
4698	165·5	Æ 1·15	Similar; counterstruck with IMP AVG	Similar. (Rev. G. J. Chester)

P. LVRIVS AGRIPPA

(PUBLIUS LURIUS AGRIPPA[1])

Dupondius

Type I.

	146·6	Æ 1·2	Head of Augustus l., laureate; behind, Victory, draped, holding cornucopiae in l. hand, and with her r. touching the fillet of the wreath on the head of the emperor; around, CAESAR · AVGVST · PONT · MAX · TRIBVNIC · POT	P · LVRIVS · AGRIPPA · III · VIR · A · A · A · F · F · (see no. 4682). In the centre, S · C (*Senatus consulto*).

[Babelon, vol. ii., p. 154, no. 1.]

[1] The Luria gens is very little known. The moneyer, of whom our only record is his coins, may have been a son of Marcus Lurius, who was praefect of Sardinia in B.C. 40; was expelled from that island by Menas, a lieutenant of Sextus Pompey; and later commanded the right wing of the Caesarian fleet at the battle of Actium. P. Lurius Agrippa is the only member of his

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type II.	
	107·2 (*worn*)	Æ 1·05	Within oak-wreath, and in three lines, AVGVS · TRI BVN · ꟾOTEST	Similar; moneyer's name reading, ꟾ LVRIVS AG Rꟾ III R A A A F F

[Babelon, vol. ii., p. 155, no. 4.[1]]

As

4699	178·6	Æ 1·1	Head of Augustus l., bare; around, CAESAR · AVG VST · ꟾONT · MAX · TRIBVNIC · ꟾOT ·	Similar; moneyer's name, ꟾ · LVRIVS · AGRIꟾꟾA · III · VIR · A · A · A · F · F · (Stewart Coll., 1847)
4700	168·0	Æ 1·15	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. lxxiii. 2.]**
4701	109·0 (*worn*)	Æ 1·0	Similar; countermarked, CAE (CAESAR).	Similar. (Parkes Weber Coll.)
4702	183·5	Æ 1·05	Similar; head of Augustus r.[2]; no countermark.	Similar.
4703	178·5	Æ 1·1	Similar.	Similar.
4704	165·3	Æ 1·05	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. lxxiii. 3.]**
4705	163·0	Æ 1·2	Similar.	Similar. (Blacas Coll.)
4706	149·6	Æ 1·1	Similar.	Similar; countermarked with CAE (CAESAR). (Rev. G. J. Chester)

gens of whom coins are known. He had as colleagues M. Maecilius Tullus and M. Salvius Otho; for, like them, he struck at least the dupondius of the new type, and like M. Salvius Otho, he also struck the dupondius of the old type. On the as the head of Augustus is turned to the left as well as to the right.

[1] Babelon (*loc. cit.*) does not figure this coin, which has the legends blundered. The illustration is from the specimen in the Paris collection.

[2] A variety with the head of Augustus to right, and reading ꟾONTIFEX . MAX . TRIB . ꟾOT, is described by Bahrfeldt (*Num. Zeit.*, 1897, p. 9) as being in the Bignami collection. It is now in the Capitoline Museum.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Circ. B.C. 4; A.U.C. 750[1]	
			Moneyers	
			P. BETILIENUS BASSUS; C. NAEVIUS CAPELLA; C. RUBELLIUS BLANDUS; L. VALERIUS CATULLUS	
			P . BETILIENVS BASSVS	
			(PUBLIUS BETILIENUS BASSUS[2])	
			Quadrans	
4707	50·0	Æ ·65	P · BETILIENVS · BASSVS · In the centre, S · C (*Senatus consulto*).	A circular coin-anvil, ornamented with wreath; around, III · VIR · A · A · A · F · F · (*Triumvir aere, argento, auro, flando, feriundo*). **[Pl. lxxiii. 4.]**
4708	39·0	Æ ·65	Similar.	Similar.
			C . NAEVIVS CAPELLA	
			(CAIUS NAEVIUS CAPELLA[3])	
			Quadrans	
4709	44·6	Æ ·56	C · NAEVIVS · CAPELLA In the centre, S · C (*Senatus consulto*).	A circular coin-anvil, ornamented with wreath; around, III · VIR · A · A · A · F · F · (see no. 4707). **[Pl. lxxiii. 5.]**
4710	41·9	Æ ·6	Similar.	Similar. (Cracherode Coll.)

[1] Similarity of type and fabric leaves no doubt that four moneyers held office at the mint during B.C. 4 instead of the usual number, three. It is possible that during that year one of the moneyers may have died, and his place have been taken by another; but it must be noted that in the next year there is absolute evidence of a quatuorvirate of the mint, as all four members of the college place, at the same time, their names on all the coins, the order of which is interchanged, thus combining a separate with a joint-issue. They, however, still styled themselves triumvirs. The coinage of B.C. 4 differs in one respect, inasmuch as each moneyer has a separate issue. The only denomination struck by all four moneyers is the quadrans, which is of one type only, and differed in this respect from coins of the same denomination previously issued. The type of the coin-anvil for the reverse occurred in former issues (see above, pp. 76, 88), but then always accompanied with a cornucopiae on the obverse, which is now omitted, leaving only the letters S . C. This type is the only one issued for the coinages of the years B.C. 4, 3, showing clearly that it belonged to the end of the series.

[2] Of the moneyer Publius Betilienus Bassus there appears to be no record beyond that of his coinage. Seneca (*de Ira*, iii. 18) speaks of a Betilienus Bassus who was put to death in the reign of Caligula, and it is supposed that he may be the same as the Betillinus Cassius who, Dion Cassius (lix. 25) relates, was executed by command of that emperor. His colleagues at the mint were C. Naevius Capella, C. Rubellius Blandus, and L. Valerius Catullus, and the only denomination issued by him was the quadrans.

[3] This moneyer is also only known from his coins. The cognomen *Capella* in connection with the Naevia gens appears to occur only on coins. Naevius had as colleagues at the mint, P. Betilienus Bassus, C. Rubellius Blandus, and L. Valerius Catullus, and, like them, he struck the quadrans only and of one type.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			C . RVBELLIVS BLANDVS	
			(CAIUS RUBELLIUS BLANDUS[1])	
			Quadrans	
4711	54·2	Æ ·65	C · RVBELLIVS · BLAND VS · In the centre, S · C (*Senatus consulto*).	A circular coin-anvil, ornamented with wreath; around, III · VIR · A · A · A · F · F · (see no. 4707). **[Pl. lxxiii. 6.]** (Cracherode Coll.)
			L . VALERIVS CATVLLVS	
			(LUCIUS VALERIUS CATULLUS[2])	
			Quadrans	
4712	32·9	Æ ·7	L · VALERIVS · CATVLL VS · In the centre, S · C (*Senatus consulto*).	A circular coin-anvil, ornamented with wreath; around, III · VIR · A · A · A · F · F · (see no. 4707). **[Pl. lxxiii. 7.]**

[1] The Rubellia gens appears not to have come into notice till the end of the republic or at the beginning of the empire. Tacitus (*Ann.*, vi. 27, 45) mentions a Rubellius Blandus, who married in A.D. 33 Julia, the daughter of Drusus, the son of the emperor Tiberius, and whose grandfather was a Roman knight of Tibur. There was also in the Senate in A.D. 21 a Rubellius Blandus, a man of consular rank (Tacitus, *Ann.*, iii. 23, 51), who was probably the same as the husband of Julia. The moneyer may have been the father of the husband of Julia. His colleagues at the mint were P. Betilienus Bassus, C. Naevius Capella, and L. Valerius Catullus. Like them he only struck the quadrans.

[2] We have no further record of Lucius Valerius Catullus beyond that he was a moneyer of the Roman mint. Babelon (vol. ii., p. 523) suggests that he may have been a son of the celebrated poet, C. Valerius Catullus, who was born in B.C. 87, and died in his thirtieth year, B.C. 57. This identification is, however, not at all probable, as in B.C. 4, or B.C. 9—4, the date given by Babelon for this issue, the moneyer would have been well over sixty years of age. His colleagues at the mint were P. Betilienus Bassus, C. Naevius Capella, and C. Rubellius Blandus, and the only denomination which he also struck was the quadrans of one type only.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Circ. B.C. 3; A.U.C. 751[1]	
			Moneyers	
			APRONIUS; GALUS; MESSALLA; SISENNA	
			APRONIVS	
			([LUCIUS?] APRONIUS[2])	
			Quadrans	
4713	48·0	Æ ·7	APRONIVS · MESSALLA · III · VIR In the centre, a circular coin-anvil, ornamented with wreath.	GALVS · SISENNA · A · A · A · F · F · (*Aere, argento, auro, flando, feriundo*). In the centre, S · C (*Senatus consulto*). **[Pl. lxxiii. 8.]** (Blacas Coll.)
4714	34·8	Æ ·7	Similar.	Similar; moneyers' names, SISENNA · GALVS
4715	51·1	Æ ·7	Similar; moneyers' names, APRONIVS · SISENNA; the coin-anvil is square.	Similar; moneyers' names, GALVS · MESSALLA

[1] In the coinage of this year we have undoubted evidence of a quatuorvirate of the mint, though the various members still styled themselves *triumviri*. The issue was a joint one, unlike that of the preceding year, and the name of each moneyer is placed on all the coins, but varying in their order, and in such a manner as to demonstrate that each one put his name first on his particular issue. Froehner (*Méd. rom.*, p. 3, note 1) gives 24 combinations of their names. The only denomination struck was the quadrans, which is of similar types to that of the preceding year, but there is a variation in the form of the coin-anvil, which is now transferred to the obverse, and the letters S . C to the reverse. On some it is circular as before; on others it is square, more like the representation of an altar: in both cases it is ornamented with a wreath. On account of the small size of the coins, only the nomen or cognomen of each moneyer is given. In consequence their identification is practically impossible. Two names are placed on the obverse and two on the reverse, and their titles, no doubt for reasons of spacing, are divided between the two sides.

[2] The moneyer Apronius has been identified with L. Apronius, who was consul suffectus in A.D. 8; commanded under Drusus and Germanicus in the war in Germany, A.D. 14—15, and for his services obtained the honour of the *ornamenta triumphalia*. In A.D. 20 he succeeded M. Furius Camillus as proconsul in the government of Africa, and carried on the war against Tacfarinas. Later he returned to Germany as praetor, and lost his life in the war against the Frisii. He had a son, L. Apronius Caesianus, who accompanied his father to Africa in A.D. 20, and who was consul with Caligula in A.D. 39. It is uncertain whether the coins were struck by either of these members of the Apronia gens. Apronius is the only member of the gens of whom we possess coins. His colleagues at the mint were Galus, Messalla, and Sisenna, with whom, as already stated, he issued a joint-coinage consisting of the quadrans only.

Count de Salis considered this joint-coinage to be the latest issued bearing the names of the moneyers. This view is certainly supported by the coins themselves, the types of which vary from any of the preceding issues. In the following year, B.C. 2, Augustus received the title of *Pater Patriae*, which appears on nearly all the coins in gold and silver issued from that date, but it never occurs on those which bear moneyers' names. This circumstance, when taken into consideration with the coinage issued after B.C. 3, appears to provide us with the precise date at which we are to fix the disappearance of the moneyers' names.

It is evident that after the reappearance of the moneyers' names the system on which the mint had been organized was somewhat irregular, and that only in one instance were gold, silver, and bronze coins struck by the same college of moneyers. In these circumstances it may have been found difficult to regulate the supply of the coinage to the demand, and,

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			GALVS	
			(GALUS OR GALLUS[1])	
			Quadrans	
4716	48·6	Æ ·7	GALVS · MESSALLA · III · VIR · In the centre, a square coin-anvil, ornamented with wreath.	APRONIVS · SISENNA · A · A · A · F · F · (see no. 4713). In the centre, S · C (*Senatus consulto*). [Pl. lxxiii. 9.] (Cracherode Coll.)
4717	44·4	Æ ·7	Similar.	Similar; moneyers' names, SISENNA · APRONIVS
4718	41·0	Æ ·7	Similar.	Similar.
4719	46·2	Æ ·7	Similar; moneyers' names, GALVS · SISENNA; the coin-anvil is circular.	Similar; moneyers' names, APRONIVS · MESSALLA
4720	46·5	Æ ·7	Similar.	Similar; moneyers' names, MESSALLA · APRONIVS [Pl. lxxiii. 10.]
4721	44·0	Æ ·65	Similar.	Similar.

in consequence, a return was made to the system which had been adopted at least between the years B.C. 27—17, when all the coins in gold and silver were struck in the name of the emperor only, but with the addition of a regular bronze currency under the direction of the Senate. This line of demarcation between the old and the new systems also establishes the limit of the coins of the Roman mint described in this work.

[1] As the cognomen Galus or Gallus was borne by a large number of families it would be mere conjecture to attempt to identify this moneyer. He may have been connected with L. Caninius Gallus, who was a moneyer three years previously (see above, p. 103). His colleagues at the mint, as shown by the coins, were Apronius, Messalla, and Sisenna, with whom he issued a joint currency consisting of the quadrans only. Babelon has mentioned the coinages of Apronius, Messalla, and Sisenna under their respective families, but he omitted to do so in the case of Galus.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			MESSALLA	
			([VALERIUS] MESSALLA[1])	
			Quadrans	
4722	49·7	Æ ·65	MESSALLA · APRONIVS · III · VIR· In the centre, a circular coin-anvil, ornamented with wreath.	GALVS · SISENNA · A · A · A · F · F · (see no. 4713). In the centre, S · C (*Senatus consulto*). **[Pl. lxxiii. 11.]** (Cracherode Coll.)
4723	53·4	Æ ·65	Similar.	Similar; moneyers' names, SISENNA · GALVS **[Pl. lxxiii. 12.]**
4724	52·6	Æ ·65	Similar.	Similar. (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.)
4725	51·8	Æ ·7	Similar; moneyers' names, MESSALLA · GALVS	Similar; moneyers' names, APRONIVS · SISENNA
4726	46·0	Æ ·7	Similar; the coin-anvil is square.	Similar.
4727	48·7	Æ ·65	Similar; the coin-anvil is circular.	Similar; moneyers' names, SISENNA · APRONIVS **[Pl. lxxiii. 13.]** (Boyne Coll., 1843.)
4728	58·5	Æ ·7	Similar; moneyers' names, MESSALLA · SISENNA	Similar; moneyers' names, GALVS · APRONIVS

[1] We have no means of identifying this moneyer, but he may have been connected with Volusus Valerius Messalla, who was also a moneyer, and whose coins are attributed to *circ.* B.C. 7 (see above, p. 100). Babelon (vol. ii., pp. 522, 523) has attributed these quadrantes to Volusus Valerius Messalla, but as at that time the same moneyer did not strike the as and the quadrans together, the two series must be assigned to different issues. It is not impossible that the moneyer of B.C. 7 was reappointed in B.C. 3. Messalla's colleagues at the mint, as already mentioned, were Apronius, Galus, and Sisenna, and like them he struck only the quadrans.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			SISENNA	
			([CORNELIUS] SISENNA[1])	
			Quadrans	
4729	51·0	Æ ·7	SISENNA · APRONIVS · III · VIR · In the centre, a square coin-anvil, ornamented with wreath.	GALVS · MESSALLA · A · A · A · F · F · (see no. 4713). In the centre, S · C (*Senatus consulto*). **[Pl. lxxiii. 14.]**
4730	45·2	Æ ·65	Similar; the coin-anvil is circular.	Similar.
4731	48·4	Æ ·65	Similar; the coin-anvil is square.	Similar; moneyers' names, MESSALLA · GALVS
4732	48·2	Æ ·65	Similar; moneyers' names, SISENNA · GALVS; the coin-anvil is circular.	Similar; moneyers' names, MESSALLA·APRONIVS
4733	51·7	Æ ·65	Similar; moneyers' names, SISENNA · MESSALLA	Similar; moneyers' names, APRONIVS · GALVS **[Pl. lxxiii. 15.]** (Boyne Coll., 1843.)
4734	45·5	Æ ·65	Similar.	Similar; moneyers' names, GALVS · APRONIVS

[1] This moneyer is also unknown except from his coins. Babelon (vol. i., p. 432) suggests that he was a son of L. Cornelius Sisenna, the historian, who was born *circ.* B.C. 114, and was praetor B.C. 78, the year when Sulla died. This identification not only is not probable, but not even possible, as the moneyer did not hold office till quite the end of the century. His colleagues at the mint were Apronius, Galus, and Messalla, and like them he struck only the quadrans.

ROMANO-CAMPANIAN COINAGE

BEFORE dealing with the coins of the Roman Republic of the same types and denominations as those struck in Rome, which Count de Salis has assigned to local issues outside the capital, under the title of "Coinage of Italy," and which do not begin till some years after B.C. 268, we must retrace our steps, and, for reasons of chronology, we must describe the section usually designated as "The Romano-Campanian Coinage." During the greater part of its issue the silver coins were in direct relation with the aes grave, more especially with that attributed to Campania. As its name indicates, the Romano-Campanian coinage was issued in the district of Campania, but not till after it had fallen under the domination of Rome. This happened in B.C. 338. Five years previous to that date a war had broken out between the Samnites of the Hills and the Samnites of the Plain. The latter invoked the aid of the Campanians, and Capua being besieged, the inhabitants of that city appealed to Rome for assistance. Though Rome had recently entered into a treaty with Samnium the appeal succeeded, and an army was sent to the relief of Capua under the command of the consuls M. Valerius Corvus and A. Cornelius Cossus. The Roman generals were victorious, and in B.C. 341 a treaty was concluded between Rome and Samnium. In the next year the great Latin war began, and on this occasion the Campanians joined the Latins; but Samnium stood by her treaty. The result of this conflict was again the triumph of Rome, and in B.C. 338 Campania and the neighbouring districts fell under Roman domination. At the close of the war the Senate proceeded to make such a settlement of the conquered communities as might deliver Rome from future fears of insurrection. The principle adopted was to divide the interests of the different communities by bestowing privileges on some and by reducing others to subjection, thus establishing a division of interests, which would render coalition in the future difficult. To some was granted full citizenship, so that their citizens became citizens of Rome and voted in the Comitia. Others received a modified Roman citizenship and no self-government; whilst to the rest was given a modified citizenship and with it self-government. These last enjoyed the right of *connubium* and *commercium*, but not the *jus suffragii et honorum*. This form of government was bestowed in B.C. 338 on various Latin communities, and also on some in Campania, amongst the latter being Capua, Atella, Calatia and Velecha. These cities were accorded the right of coinage, but in bronze only, the name of each one being given in Oscan characters. We do not know the exact position of these cities to each other, but from the nature of their coinages Atella, Calatia and Velecha must have held a subordinate one to that of Capua. To these series of coins another must be added in gold, silver, and bronze, bearing the name of Rome, which has been attributed to Capua. This concession or privilege would give to Capua a distinction not

enjoyed by the other cities. It is with this last series of coins, which were issued in the name of Rome, that we have now to deal.[1]

DENOMINATIONS.—The denominations comprised in this coinage are: in *gold* the stater and half-stater, of the value of six and three scruples respectively; in *silver* the didrachm, drachm, and litra; and in *bronze* the double-litra, litra, half-litra, and quarter-litra. To these, towards the end of the series, may be added bronze money of the Roman standard, trientes to semunciae.

CLASSIFICATION.—The coinage seems to fall into three well-marked Periods as follows:—

Period I. (*circ.* B.C. 335—312). The coins of this Period are, in *silver* the didrachm and the litra, and in *bronze* the double-litra, litra, and half-litra. The silver coins are of the reduced Phocaean-Campanian standard (weight of the didrachm 117 grs. = 7·58 gram.), which was in use in most of the cities of Southern Italy. The original weight of this didrachm was about 128 grs. (8·30 gram.), but by the middle of the 4th cent. B.C., at the time of its adoption in Campania, it had fallen *de facto*, if not *de jure*, to 117 grs. (7·58 gram.). The weight of the bronze litra was about 120 grs. (7·8 gram.), but its relative value to silver is not known. It was probably a token money. Between the silver coins of this period and the urban issues of the aes grave there appears not to have been any definite rate of exchange.

All the coins bear the name of Rome, or rather the name of the Roman people, in the genitive case, ROMANO for ROMANORVM. An exception to this general rule is met with in a bronze coin bearing the legend in Greek ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ. It is of a type similar to coins of Naples (see below, p. 125).

Period II. (*circ.* B.C. 312—290). The reduced Phocaean standard is now replaced by the scruple standard, and the didrachm minted at Capua descends from 117 to 105 grs. (7·58 to 6·82 gram.). The scruple standard (17·55 grs. or 1·137 gram. = $\frac{1}{28}$ of the heavy Attic pound) had been adopted in Etruria and Central Italy as the silver unit of value, and had been for some time accepted in Rome. This new Campanian didrachm, which weighed six scruples, was now brought into relation with the aes grave, so that one scruple of silver was equal to the libral as, this giving a ratio of silver to bronze of 1:250[2] on the computation of the Attic pound. By this reduction in the standard the silver coins of Campania now passed into currency side by side with the heavy bronze coinage

[1] For a critical study of this coinage in connection with the aes grave of Rome and Campania we would refer our readers to a recent article published by Dr. E. J. Haeberlin (*Die Systematik des ältesten römischen Münzwesens*). This article is a prelude to a *Corpus* of the aes grave. The two main points on which Dr. Haeberlin insists are: (i.) that the basis of the heavy bronze money issued at Rome was not the old Attic pound of 5057 grs. (327·45 gram.), but the light Oscan pound of 4210 grs. (273 gram.), which would give a relative value of silver to bronze of 1:120; and (ii.) that to each issue of the silver didrachm struck after *circ.* B.C. 312 there belonged a series of Campanian aes grave and a quadrilateral bar, commonly called the *quincussis*, thus showing a direct relationship between the silver and the bronze money. In this catalogue the various classes of aes grave and the quadrilateral bars included by Dr. Haeberlin in his system are omitted, as having been already described in the *Brit. Mus. Cat., Gr. Coins, Italy.*

[2] On the evidence of the gold coin with *obv.* head of Janus and *rev.* oath-scene (see below, p. 131), which is marked with the value XXX. denoting that it represented thirty libral *asses*, so that one scruple of gold would be equal to 7½ *asses*, Mommsen (*Hist. mon. rom.*, t. i., p. 266) has placed the ratio of gold and silver for the Campanian coinage at 1:10, and that of silver and bronze at 1:180. As, however, all these gold coins (four specimens only being known) are possibly false, this computation is very uncertain.

of Rome and Latium. The denominations issued were, in *silver* the didrachm and drachm, and in *bronze* the litra, half-litra, and quarter-litra. The didrachms show four different types, to each of which Dr. Haeberlin (*Systematik*, pp. 29, 34) has assigned a separate series of Campanian aes grave and a quadrilateral bar. These silver and heavy bronze coins are connected either by common symbols or by a community of types.

On the first type of the didrachm (*obv.* head of Roma in Phrygian helmet; *rev.* Victory attaching wreath to palm-branch) the legend is written ROMANO, as in the previous Period, but on all the others, including the bronze money, the inscription is changed to ROMA.

Period III. (*circ.* B.C. 290—240). A gold coinage is now introduced consisting of the stater and half-stater, of the value of six and three scruples, with the types, head of Janus and *rev.* oath-scene. These have usually been assigned to the previous Period, but in our descriptions reasons will be stated for attributing them to a somewhat later date (see below, p. 131). The silver didrachm of six scruples is continued, but of it there is only one type, the *quadrigatus*, i.e. with head of Janus on the obverse and Jupiter in a quadriga on the reverse. The drachm of the same type occurs, but there are no bronze litrae, &c., which can be classed with this issue of gold and silver. To the end of this Period, however, there may be assigned certain bronze coins, trientes to semunciae, which, according to Mommsen, were struck either on a semi-libral or on a triental standard (see below, p. 135).

Period IV. (*circ.* B.C. 216—211). The coins in electrum and silver assigned to this Period come under a somewhat different category, as they are of the nature of "Money of Necessity," which may be assigned to a period when the Carthaginian troops under Hannibal occupied Capua, or were in the neighbourhood (see below, p. 139). These coins consist of half-staters (?) in electrum and drachms (?) in silver, but both series are much debased and of light weight.

Though these coins appear to fall into distinct groups, there is considerable difficulty through lack of numismatic and historic evidence in ascertaining the date and duration of each one. The dates given above to the first two Periods are approximately those assigned to them by Mommsen and Dr. Haeberlin. There is a general consensus of opinion that these Romano-Campanian coins were first struck soon after Campania came under the domination of Rome in B.C. 338. It is also generally accepted that the aes grave coinage was not instituted at Rome till that year, after the close of the great Latin war. If a short period be allowed to elapse for Rome to establish a silver currency outside the city, the date B.C. 335 may be an approximate one for the institution of the mint at Capua. The date of the commencement of the second Period appears to have been satisfactorily established by Dr. Haeberlin (*Systematik*, p. 34), who has shown that there exists a community of types between the first issue of the didrachm of the scruple standard with head of Rome and Victory and the Campanian aes grave having for the reverse type a *Wheel*,[1] which may commemorate the construction of the great military road, the Via Appia, from Rome to Capua. This road was completed by the censor, Appius Claudius, in B.C. 312. Mommsen

[1] During the Empire the construction of the Via Trajana was commemorated on gold, silver and bronze coins of Trajan, having for reverse type a female figure, reclining, holding a wheel and a reed (Cohen, *Méd. imp.*, vol. ii., p. 86).

(*Hist. mon. rom.*, t. i., p. 265) had assigned the change in the form of the legend from ROMANO to ROMA, on the adoption of the scruple standard, to B.C. 318, when the Roman rule at Capua, hitherto nominal, was more rigidly enforced, and the city placed under the charge of a special governor or praefect. In assigning the date B.C. 290—240 for Period III. we have been influenced by two main circumstances, viz., the types of the coins, and subsequent events connected with the coinages of the Roman mint. The only silver coins of this Period are the *quadrigati*, didrachms and drachms, with the head of Janus and Jupiter in a quadriga. With these Count de Salis has classed the gold staters and half-staters of six and three scruples, having for reverse type the oath-scene. Mommsen (*Hist. mon. rom.*, t. iii., p. 230) has made the first issue of the *quadrigati* to coincide with the institution of a silver currency at Rome in B.C. 268. Dr. Haeberlin (*Systematik*, p. 39) refers it back to B.C. 286, when he considers the Roman *as* lost half its weight and was issued on a semi-libral standard. This does not, however, appear to account for the change in the type of the silver money nor for the type of the gold. Count de Salis, who had assigned the first issue of the *quadrigati* before B.C. 268, did not give a definite date for this change of type. We are therefore in the main disposed to accept the attribution of these coins to the early years of the third century, and as the types, both of the gold and silver, seem to mark some great occasion, it is not improbable that they may refer to the closing scene of the third Samnite war, when by her victories Rome had established her rule over the whole of Central Italy, and when she may have selected this opportunity to renew her treaties with her allies. As the introduction of this gold coinage must have been intended to commemorate some special event, it is therefore to B.C. 290 that we would ascribe its first issue.

How long the issue of the *quadrigati* lasted is a further question, and one even more difficult to decide. Both Mommsen and Dr. Haeberlin agree in bringing it down to the period of the Hannibalic war, and this view has been generally accepted. A clue to the solution of this problem may, however, be found in the coinages of Rome after B.C. 268. When Rome instituted her new money in that year all the autonomous silver coinages in Italy ceased, with the exception of those of a few cities, amongst which were Naples, Tarentum, and Rhegium. In their coinages these cities had hitherto not been affected by any restrictions from Rome. It is therefore possible that the silver issues at Capua came also to an end at that date. On the other hand, they may have been continued for some time longer, but not after Rome had established local mints which were to issue silver and bronze coins of her own types and standards. This, however, does not appear to have occurred immediately after B.C. 268, but as will be shown, when dealing with the "Coinage of Italy," not until the bronze money was reduced to the *sextantal* standard, the date of which may be put about the end of the first Punic war. A single exception occurs in the case of Luceria, which issued bronze money of Roman types based on the *triental* standard. It will also be shown that besides these issues of local mints there were others struck by appointed moneyers in various districts, which hitherto have not been recognised as of this nature. As it does not seem at all probable that Capua would be permitted to strike silver coins of a separate type and denomination after Rome had established local mints issuing money of her own types and standards, the *quadrigati* were probably suspended from that time, i.e., *circ.* B.C. 240. They may

not, however, have been withdrawn at once from circulation, but for a short period they may have been current side by side with the silver money of Rome. Their absence from all the finds in which the earliest Roman denarii were met with rather points to the circumstance that this currency did not last long.

The issue of the electrum and silver coins, which are assigned to the fourth Period, and which are of a later date (*circ.* B.C. 216—211), does not affect the question, as that money forms a separate series and was not struck under Roman influence, the mint at Capua having been revived on a special occasion and for a special purpose (see below, p. 139). It, however, does show that Capua could not then have been issuing the *quadrigati* bearing the name of Roma.

There still remains one further point to be dealt with which is of importance, viz., in what city or cities were these Romano-Campanian coins struck? The occurrence of types which are met with on the coinages of various cities of Central Italy seems to suggest that they may not have emanated from one particular mint (see A. Sambon, *Riv. Ital.*, 1907, pp. 335 f.). The type of the bridled horse's head is found on coins of Cosa; the laureate head of Apollo and the free horse are reproduced on coins of Beneventum; the free horse is also a common type in South Italy; the head of Hercules may be seen on coins of Capua, Asculum, Teanum, Luceria, &c.; and Victory attaching a wreath to a palm-branch occurs on bronze pieces of Asculum. It remains, however, to be proved at which mints these types originated. The coins of Cosa could well have been copied from the Romano-Campanian pieces, and in the case of Beneventum we have a distinct instance of the adoption of an earlier type. Dr. Dressel (*Beschreib. ant. Münz., König. Mus.*, Bd. iii., p. 169), in remarking on the similarity of the bronze coin of Beneventum and the didrachm with ROMANO, says "that the dies for both pieces must have been made by the same engraver, and the coins must have been struck at the same mint." The Beneventum coin could not, however, have been issued before B.C. 268, when the name of the city was changed from Maleventum. As the Romano-Campanian coin cannot be attributed to so late a date, the Beneventum types must have been copies, not originals. This may have been the case with some of the other types. Mommsen (*Hist. mon. rom.*, t. i., p. 261) was of opinion that it is not possible to decide whether these Romano-Campanian coins were all struck at Capua, or whether some did not belong to one of the towns which enjoyed a modified right of citizenship; but later (*op. cit.*, t. iii., p. 224) he remarks that these coins with the name of Roma were undoubtedly struck at Capua and nowhere else. Dr. Haeberlin (*Systematik*, p. 5) is equally insistent, and considers that the Romano-Campanian silver coins formed a State currency, and that, from the beginning, the Roman system was based on two mints, a bronze mint in the capital and a silver mint at Capua, the two working together in close connection from B.C. 335 to 268. Babelon (*Introd.*, p. xxix.) has made a further suggestion, and would view the Romano-Campanian money in the light of "military coinages" issued by generals of the Roman army for the pay of the troops, and that it was the product of Roman mints established by the conquerors in the conquered districts. The question seems at present to be undetermined, but the uniformity of style and fabric, the repetition of some of the types, and the possibility of arranging the coins into consecutive groups and periods are in favour of one mint-place only.

PERIOD I.[1]

Circ. B.C. 335—312; A.U.C. 419—442

SERIES I.

No.	*Weight*	*Metal and Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
			SILVER	
			Didrachm[2]	
1	115·0	Æ ·8	Head of Mars l., bearded, wearing crested helmet with curved neck-piece; behind, oak-branch with acorn.	Horse's head r., with bridle, the reins ornamented with buckles; behind, ear of corn; on the truncation, a label inscribed ROMANO **[Pl. lxxiv. 1.]** (Payne Knight Coll.)
2	115·0	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar. (Payne Knight Coll.)
3	86·6 (*worn*)	Æ ·7	Similar.	Similar.
4	86·5	Æ ·8 (*plated*)	Similar.	Similar.
			Litra[3]	
	10·1	Æ ·5	Head of Mars r., bearded, wearing crested helmet with curved neck-piece.	Horse's head r., with bridle; behind, ear of corn; before, ROMA[NO]

[Garrucci, *Mon. ital. ant.*, pl. lxxvii., no. 18.]

[1] For particulars of the denominations and weights of the coins classed to this Period see above, p. 117.

[2] The head of Mars on the silver coins and that of Minerva on the bronze are types common to many cities in Southern Italy and Sicily, the former specially in connection with coins of Syracuse; and the bridled horse's head, together with the heads of Mars and Minerva, is found on coins of Cosa (see Garrucci, *Mon. ital. ant.*, pl. lxxxii. 23-25). It is probable that the coins of Cosa were copies of the Campanian coins. The forepart of the horse and the ear of corn are also met with on coins of Asculum (*Brit. Mus. Cat., Gr. Coins, Italy*, p. 131, no. 1). The prototype of the horse's head is to be found on the fine pieces of the Carthaginians struck at Panormus about this time or a little earlier. As this type on the Romano-Campanian coins is associated with the head of Mars, it may have some reference to the Campanian cavalry, which was noted for its efficiency and valour. Bahrfeldt (*Riv. Ital.*, 1899, pl. iii., no. 2) figures a barbarous copy of this didrachm in the Capitoline Museum with the head of Mars to right. The presence of these didrachms and those with the bust of Hercules (see below, p. 124) in a find at Beneventum, 1884, which contained also coins of the second half of the 4th cent. B.C. of Neapolis, Nola, Metapontum, &c., is strong evidence of their early date. The former were worn, the latter fine (Evans, *Horsemen of Tarentum*, pp. 92, 212).

[3] Fiorelli (*Annali di Num.*, t. i., p. 23) was the first to describe this silver coin, the specimen mentioned by him being in the collection of Sig. San Giorgio, Director of the Museum at Naples. The legend was read by him as ROMA, but a second specimen, which at

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			BRONZE	
			Double-Litra [1]	
5	236·0	Æ 1·1	Head of Minerva l., wearing crested helmet ornamented with gryphon; before, ROMANO	Eagle with spread wings standing towards l. on thunderbolt; head turned to r.; a short sword on l.; around, ROMA NO; below, K (Kapua). **[Pl. lxxiv. 2.]**
			Half-Litra [2]	
6	97·2	Æ ·7	Head of Minerva l., wearing crested helmet with curved neck-piece.[3]	Horse's head r., with bridle, on base; behind, ROMA NO
7	83·3	Æ ·7	Similar.	Similar.
8	82·0	Æ ·7	Similar.	Similar; ROMANO. **[Pl. lxxiv. 3.]** (Blacas Coll.)
9	67·3	Æ ·7	Similar.	Similar.
10	66·6	Æ ·7	Similar.	Similar.

a later period belonged to MM. Rollin, showed the correct reading to be ROMANO. The weight of the second coin is 0·65 gram. (10·1 grs.), proving it to be a litra or $\frac{1}{5}$ drachm (Bahrfeldt, *Riv. Ital.*, 1900, p. 33).

[1] The eagle standing on a thunderbolt occurs also on bronze coins struck at Capua, bearing the name of the city in Oscan characters. The presence of the letter K on the above coin seems to identify it without question with that city. The object on the left of the eagle is a short sword, not a club (Babelon, vol. i., p. 14, no. 10). Babelon, who had read the legend on the reverse as ROMA and not ROMANO, thought that this coin was struck at a town in Bruttium, probably Consentia, during the second Punic war, but the type and legend ROMANO clearly show that it is of a much earlier date. Dr. Haeberlin (*Systematik*, p. 21) has also classed this coin with the issue of the earliest of the Romano-Campanian didrachms.

[2] Garrucci (*Sylloge*, p. 49; *Mon. ital. ant.*, pl. lxxvii., nos. 27-29) mentions and figures coins of this type reading ↃOMAOЯ, ROMMOC and ROMΛΛC, and he adds, in the first instance, that as the Campanian engravers never used the lunate *sigma* it is probable that these pieces were struck at Tarentum or Asculum, but subsequently (*Mon. ital. ant.*, p. 61) he decided that they are Gaulish and were probably issued in Northern Italy. There are similar varieties in the Berlin collection (see *Beschreib. ant. Münz.*, Bd. iii., pp. 172-173, nos. 103-106); and Bahrfeldt (*Riv. Ital.*, 1899, pp. 400-403) gives a long list of blundered legends (see below, no 18). Garrucci (*Mon. ital. ant.*, p. 60, pl. lxxvii., no. 22) mentions and figures a specimen in the Depoletti collection with traces of the letters SVES, showing that it was struck over a coin of Suessa, but this piece was not mentioned in the catalogue when that collection was sold in 1882. This is no evidence, as Babelon (vol. i., p. 11) seems to think, that these coins were minted at Suessa. In the Vicarello hoard there were 916 specimens of these half-litrae and 1156 litrae with the reverse type a lion holding a spear in its jaws (see below, p. 124). As this number was out of all proportion to the other coins of Southern Italy present in the hoard, it proves that they were freely imported into Latium and circulated legally in Roman territory. They spread everywhere in such profusion that they even served as prototypes to the later Gaulish silver coinages (Mommsen, *Hist. mon. rom.*, t. i., p. 262).

[3] Bahrfeldt (*Riv. Ital.*, 1899, p. 394, no. 3) says there appears to be a gryphon on the helmet; but there are no traces of it on any of the Museum specimens.

No.	*Weight*	*Metal and Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
11	58·0	Æ ·7	Similar.	Similar; ROMAO for RO MAИO
12	92·2	Æ ·7	Similar; head of Minerva r.	Similar; ROMAИ[O] **[Pl. lxxiv. 4.]** (Payne Knight Coll.)
13	75·6	Æ ·7	Similar; below and before head of Minerva, ROMA NO	Similar.
14	91·0	Æ ·8	Similar; behind head, star.	Horse's head l.[1] with bridle; around, RO MA NO **[Pl. lxxiv. 5.]** (Woodhouse Coll.)
15	80·0	Æ ·7	Similar.	Similar; RO MA NO
16	72·8	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar; RO MA NO
17	79·0	Æ ·7	Similar; no star.	Similar; legend, ROMANO, behind head of horse.
18	68·0	Æ ·7	Similar; legend reading inwards and backwards, ONAΛΛOЯ[2]	Similar; legend, KOMA N[O], around horse's head.

SERIES II.

SILVER

Didrachm

19	113·0	Æ ·75	Head of Apollo l., laureate; hair long; before, RO MANO	Free horse galloping r.[3]; above, star of sixteen rays.
20	110·4	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar. (Payne Knight Coll.)

[1] The horse's head to right or left is also met with on coins of Cosa (Garrucci, *Mon. ital. ant.*, pl. lxxxii., nos. 23—25).

[2] This is one of the pieces with blundered legends. It may be Gaulish.

There is in the National Collection a barbarous imitation in silver of these half-litrae. It weighs 66·0 grs., and was probably intended to pass in currency for a drachm (see Pl. lxxiv. 6). It has on the obverse the head of Minerva r., wearing a helmet of which only the visor and curved neck-piece are shown, the back of the head not being covered; below the chin are the Oscan letters ⊓ ⊓; on the reverse is the horse's head r., the bridle ornamented with large buckles; before, a star; another below; around, ϗOM A VIII. This piece was probably issued in Samnium or in some city where the Oscan language was in use. Other specimens of this coin are in the Buda-Pesth and Windisch-Grätz, Vienna, collections.

[3] The free horse was a common coin-type in Southern Italy and Sicily, and, accompanied with a star, it is found on coins of Arpi and Salapia, in Apulia. The obverse and reverse types of these didrachms are reproduced on a bronze coin of Beneventum (Garrucci, *Mon. ital. ant.*, pl. xc., no. 16), which could not have been struck before B.C. 268, when the name of that city was changed from Maleventum. The coin of Beneventum is therefore a copy of the Romano Campanian piece (see above, p. 120, for Dr. Dressel's remarks on these coins).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
21	105·5	Æ ·85	Similar; ROMANO	Similar. [Pl. lxxiv. 7.] (Woodhouse Coll.)
22	105·5	Æ ·8	Similar; ROMANO	Similar; star of eight rays. (Blacas Coll.)
			BRONZE	
			Litra	
23	188·0	Æ ·9	Head of Apollo r., diademed; hair long.	Lion walking r., head facing; it holds in its jaws a broken spear, on which it rests its left paw;[1] in the exergue, ROMANO
24	139·0	Æ ·95	Similar.	Similar. (Payne Knight Coll.)
25	123·3	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar; ROMANO (Blacas Coll.)
26	123·0	Æ ·9	Similar.	Similar; ROMANO [Pl. lxxiv. 8.]
27	132·0	Æ ·85	Similar; head of Apollo l.	Similar; ROMANO

SERIES III.

			SILVER	
			Didrachm	
28	112·7	Æ ·8	Bust of young Hercules r., diademed; wearing lion's skin tied in front; club on his shoulder.[2]	Wolf r., its head turned back, suckling the twins, Romulus and Remus; in the exergue, ROMANO

[1] The lion holding a spear in its jaws and grasping it with its paw occurs on bronze coins of Capua, Mateola, and Venusia of a later date. There is, however, a libral *as* of Praeneste showing on the obverse the facing head of a lion holding a short sword in its jaws (Garrucci, *Mon. ital. ant.*, pl. lxix., no. 1). On coins of Perdiccas III. of Macedonia (B.C. 366—359) and of Cardia in Thrace a lion is breaking a spear with its mouth. There seems to have been a considerable adoption of the coin-types of Northern Greece in Italy at this time, showing that intimate commercial relations already existed between the two countries.

As these bronze coins were probably struck during the progress of the second Samnite war, it is not impossible that this coin-type may relate to events which occurred at the time. The issue must have been a very large one, as there were 1156 specimens in the Vicarello hoard (Henzen, *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, 1854, p. 26).

[2] The bust of the young Hercules with the lion's skin or the club, or with both, is found on numerous coins of Capua, Asculum, Teanum, Luceria, and other cities. The reverse type is the earliest representation of the wolf and twins on coins. If these coins were struck during the Samnite war the type, though general, would point to the dominant position of Rome. Bahrfeldt (*Riv. Ital.*, 1899, pp. 409, 410) gives other forms of the letter A, as Ⱥ, Λ. These coins vary in weight from 113·2 grs. to 95·5 grs.

There do not appear to be any bronze coins, litrae, &c., which can be classed with this issue of silver. The half-litra (see p. 125) was evidently not struck at Capua.

No.	*Weight*	*Metal and Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
29	110·4	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar. (Blacas Coll.)
30	109·0	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. lxxiv. 9.]** (Payne Knight Coll.)
31	108·0	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar; ROMANO (Woodhouse Coll.)
32	110·5	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar; ROMANO
33	108·5	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar; ROMANO (Blacas Coll.)

BRONZE

Half-Litra[1]

	75·0	Æ ·7	Head of Apollo r., laureate; hair long.	Forepart of man-headed bull, swimming r.; on the shoulder a large star; above, ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ

[Garrucci, *Mon. ital. ant.*, pl. lxxxii., no. 14.]

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[1] The obverse and reverse types of this coin occur on bronze litrae and half-litrae of Naples, which were struck about the end of the 4th cent. B.C. They would therefore be contemporaneous with this piece. Bahrfeldt (*Riv. Ital.*, 1899, pp. 418, 419) mentions six specimens in various collections, and refers to a seventh described by Sambon (*Recherches*, p. 133, no. 7). This is the only coin of this series with the legend in Greek.

Mommsen (*Hist. mon. rom.*, t. iii., p. 225) has attributed this coin to Capua, and to a period soon after the subjection of the city (B.C. 338), when it had not yet received its modified form of citizenship, and was not compelled officially to use the Latin language. M. Ch. Lenormant and the Baron de Witte (*Rev. num.*, 1844, p. 251; *Études sur les vases peints*, p. 103) have suggested another solution, and have assigned it to Naples, its issue being placed in B.C. 327, when the city was betrayed into the hands of the Roman consul, Q. Publilius Philo, by the chief citizens, Charilaüs and Nymphius. Shortly afterwards Rome concluded an alliance with the inhabitants, *foedus Neapolitanum*, and it is at this epoch that this coin may have been struck. The name of Charilaüs, ΧΑΡΙΛΕΩΣ, occurs on autonomous coins of Naples, and it may be due to him that the coin with ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ was issued. The Greek legend is the equivalent of ROMANORVM.

In connection with this coin another in bronze may be mentioned, which is described and figured by Garrucci (*Sylloge*, p. 50, no. 24; *Mon. ital. ant.*, pl. lxxxii. 16), and which has on the obverse the head of Apollo laureate, and on the reverse a human-headed bull r., crowned by Victory; below, ИΛMO (i.e. ROMANO). It came from the Vicarello hoard, is badly preserved, and weighs 78 grs. (5 gram.). Bahrfeldt (*Riv. Ital.*, 1899, p. 417) doubts the accuracy of Garrucci's reading of the legend, and suggests that it is a blundered coin of Nola or Cales, or even more probably of Naples. Garrucci (*op. cit.*, pl. lxxxii., no. 15) figures a similar piece with the legend TΛMOЯ on the obverse and the letter T on the reverse. This piece may have been struck at Teanum Sidicinum in Campania.

PERIOD II.[1]

Circ. B.C. 312—290; A.U.C. 442—464

SERIES I.

No.	*Weight*	*Metal and Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
			SILVER	
			Didrachm[2]	
			With symbol on obverse and Greek letter on reverse	
34	100·0	Æ ·8	Head of Roma r., wearing Phrygian helmet with crest of gryphon's head; curved neck-piece; behind, symbol, cornucopiae.	Victory naked to the hips, standing r., and holding in l. hand palm-branch, to which with r. she attaches wreath with fillet; behind, ROMANO; on r., letter Α
35	102·3	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar; ROMANO; letter Σ
36	102·2	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar; letter Τ **[Pl. lxxiv. 10.]**
37	101·9	Æ ·8	Similar; symbol, bottle (?) with strap (*ampulla*).	Similar; letter Ψ
38	100·5	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar; same letter (?). (Payne Knight Coll.)

[1] For particulars of the date to which the coins of this Period are assigned, and of their weights, see above, p. 117.

[2] The didrachms of this issue, as already mentioned, are of the weight of six scruples. By this reduction from the heavier pieces of Period I., and by the adoption of the scruple standard, the silver coins are now brought into line with the aes grave, one scruple of silver being equal in value to the bronze as of the libral standard, so that they could pass into circulation as multiples of the as. This harmonisation must have been of the highest importance for commercial intercourse and trade between the various Italian States and also with Rome.

The head on the obverse is probably that of Roma characterised as the foundress of the city, the form of the helmet being an allusion to her Trojan origin. This would be the earliest representation in art of the head of the city (Haeberlin, *Corolla Num.*, p. 146). This same head occurs on the tressis, dupondius, and as of the libral standard, having for reverse type a *wheel*, which were issued in Campania, and with which series Dr. Haeberlin would connect these didrachms (Garrucci, *Mon. ital. ant.*, pl. xxxix., nos. 1—3). The wheel may refer to the construction of the Via Appia (see above, p. 118). The types of the didrachm, both obverse and reverse, seem to relate to events connected with the Samnite war just before and about B.C. 312. In B.C. 314 the Samnite army before Capua was completely defeated and compelled to retreat from Campania; in B.C. 313 Nola was evacuated and a favourable convention was granted by the conquerors; Fregellae, one of the chief strongholds in Latium, was captured, and fortresses were established throughout the newly conquered country, so that Apulia and Campania passed entirely into the hands of the Romans. Added to these events the great military road from Rome to Capua was completed (Mommsen, *Hist. Rom.*, vol. i., pp. 379-380). In these events we have ample material for explaining the types of these didrachms. It will be noticed that whilst the legend ROMANO is changed to ROMA on all the other silver coins of this Period, and also without exception on the bronze, the older form is retained on the silver pieces of this series. The date to be assigned to these didrachms is ascertainable from their weight, which shows that they were struck on the scruple standard of 17·55 grs., the didrachm representing six

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			With symbol on obverse and double Greek letter on reverse	
39	101·2	Æ ·8	Similar; symbol, club.	Similar; ROMANO; on r., letters Θ Θ (Blacas Coll.)
40	95·0	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar; same letters. (Woodhouse Coll.)
41	99·6	Æ ·75	Similar; symbol, sword in sheath, with strap.	Similar; letters M M
42	102·0	Æ ·8	Similar; symbol, bunch of grapes.	Similar; letters Ξ Ξ [Pl. lxxiv. 11.] (Payne Knight Coll.)
43	101·9	Æ ·75	Similar; symbol, crescent.	Similar; letters P P
			BRONZE	
			Quarter-Litra[1]	
44	28·5	Æ ·5	Head of Roma r., wearing Phrygian helmet with crest of gryphon's head; curved neck-piece (similar to no. 34).	Dog walking r., his l. fore-leg raised; in the exergue, ROMA. (Woodhouse Coll.)
45	27·7	Æ ·45	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. lxxiv. 12.] (Payne Knight Coll.)
46	25·5	Æ ·45	Similar.	Similar. (Payne Knight Coll.)
47	24·0	Æ ·45	Similar.	Similar. (Blacas Coll.)
48	22·5	Æ ·45	Similar.	Similar; ROMA

scruples. Their maximum weight is 103 grs., and their average weight about 98 grs. (Bahrfeldt, *Riv. Ital.*, 1899, pp. 405-409). They therefore form a connecting link between the coins of Periods I. and II. The Greek letters, as privy marks of the mint or of the moneyers, are of two series, a single letter or a double letter, each one extending throughout the alphabet. Some letters are accompanied by a change of symbol on the obverse, whilst in other cases the same symbol occurs with varying letters (Bahrfeldt, *Riv. Ital.*, 1899, pp. 405—409). It would seem that the dies for these coins were made by Greek artists, who used their own language in marking the issues of the dies, but the official language, Roman, for the inscription. Mommsen (*Hist. mon. rom.*, t. iii., p. 180) draws special attention to these coins as showing that the colonies preserved their own language for domestic use, but for official purposes with Rome they employed Latin.

[1] Though the legend on these quarter-litrae reads ROMA for ROMANO, they seem to belong to the same issue as the above didrachms with ROMANO. The head of Roma is of precisely the same form, and the dog on the reverse, in the same attitude with one fore-leg raised, occurs as the obverse type of the quadrans of the aes grave of the "*Wheel* Series." Like the didrachms these quarter-litrae would therefore form a connecting link between the coins of the two Periods. On all subsequent issues ROMA and not ROMANO is used. Varieties read ROMA and ROMA.

SERIES II.[1]

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			SILVER	
			Didrachm	
49	102·0	Æ ·75	Head of Mars r., with slight beard, wearing crested helmet; behind, club.	Free horse galloping r.; above, club; below, ROMA **[Pl. lxxiv. 13.]** (Blacas Coll.)
50	97·0	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar.
			BRONZE	
			Litra[2]	
51	99·0	Æ ·8	Head of young Hercules r., wearing lion's skin tied in front; below, club.	Pegasus galloping r.; above, club; below, ROMA **[Pl. lxxiv. 14.]** (Payne Knight Coll.)
52	97·0	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar.
			Half-Litra	
53	54·5	Æ ·65	Head of Mars r., with slight beard, wearing crested helmet; behind, club (similar to no. 49).	Free horse galloping r.; above, club; below, ROMA (similar to no. 49). **[Pl. lxxiv. 15.]** (Payne Knight Coll.)
54	53·0	Æ ·6	Similar.	Similar.
55	39·5	Æ ·6	Similar.	Similar.
56	37·0	Æ ·6	Similar.	Similar.

[1] In the didrachm and bronze coins of this series we have a practical combination of the types of two previous issues with the legend ROMANO, but in the earlier instance Mars is bearded. This martial type may have reference to the Samnite War, which may not have come to an end when the coins were minted. The pegasus is found on autonomous bronze coins of Frentani, Croton and Locri, but a more special instance is that of the quadrilateral piece of the *aes signatum*, having the eagle holding a thunderbolt on the obverse and the pegasus with ROMANOM on the reverse (see vol. i., p. 3). Dr. Haeberlin (*Systematik*, p. 34) associates with this series of silver coins the Campanian aes grave, on which the symbol, a club, occurs on both faces of the coins from as to uncia. The as of that issue shows the head of Roma on the obverse and on the reverse, and the semis the head of Minerva.

[2] The attribution of these litrae to this series is somewhat doubtful. Practically the only connection is the symbol on the reverse, a club. The type was closely copied on a semuncia of a later date attributed to Luceria (see below, p. 148).

SERIES III.[1]

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			SILVER	
			Didrachm	
57	103·5	Æ ·75	Head of Mars r., with slight beard, wearing crested helmet ornamented with gryphon.	Horse's head r., with bridle and single rein; behind, sickle (*falx*); below, ROMA[2]
58	103·0	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar; ROMA **[Pl. lxxiv. 16.]**
59	102·0	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar; ROMA (Blacas Coll.)
60	101·0	Æ ·85	Similar.	Similar. (Payne Knight Coll.)
			Drachm	
61	49·3	Æ ·6	Similar; helmet of Mars not ornamented with gryphon.	Similar.
62	46·0	Æ ·6	Similar.	Similar; ROMA (Blacas Coll.)
63	44·5	Æ ·6	Similar.	Similar; ROMA **[Pl. lxxiv. 17.]**
			BRONZE	
			Half-Litra	
64	49·5	Æ ·6	Similar.	Similar; bridle with double rein ornamented with buckle; below head, RO MA
65	49·0	Æ ·65	Similar.	Similar. (Blacas Coll.)
66	45·5	Æ ·6	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. lxxiv. 18.]**
67	41·0	Æ ·6	Similar.	Similar. (Payne Knight Coll.)

[1] These didrachms are similar in type to those bearing the legend ROMANO, which, on account of their weight, are assigned to a somewhat earlier date (see above, p. 121). The two series are also connected by the symbols; on the earlier coins it is an ear of corn; on these it is a sickle. The helmet ornamented with a gryphon is found on contemporary coins of Heraclea, Bruttium, and Syracuse.

[2] There is in the Haeberlin collection a didrachm of this type with the symbol a sickle, which has the legend ROMANO for ROMA (Bahrfeldt, *Riv. Ital.*, 1900, p. 32). This may have been a blunder on the part of the engraver of the die, or, as the coin is plated, it may be an ancient forgery.

Dr. Haeberlin (*Systematik*, p. 34) has associated with the silver coins of this series the

SERIES IV.[1]

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			SILVER	
			Didrachm	
68	99·7	Æ ·75	Head of Apollo r., laureate, hair long.	Free horse galloping l.; above, ROMA **[Pl. lxxiv. 19.]**
69	97·0 (*oxidised*)	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar. (Payne Knight Coll.)
			Drachm[2]	
	49·5	Æ ·65	Similar.	Similar.

[Babelon, vol. i., p. 28, no. 38.]

			BRONZE	
			Half-Litra	
70	61·0	Æ ·65	Similar.	Similar; horse with bridle; legend, ROMA, below. **[Pl. lxxiv. 20.]** (Payne Knight Coll.)
71	50·4	Æ ·65	Similar.	Similar.
72	49·4	Æ ·6	Similar.	Similar. (Woodhouse Coll.)
73	46·0	Æ ·65	Similar.	Similar. (Payne Knight Coll.)
74	45·0	Æ ·65	Similar.	Similar.

Campanian aes grave, which have also the sickle for a special symbol. The as of that issue has for the obverse type the head of Janus, and for the reverse the head of Mercury (Garrucci, *Mon. ital. ant.*, Pl. xxxvi., no. 1).

[1] The types of these coins, silver and bronze, are only a repetition of those of the didrachms bearing the legend ROMANO, but with slight variations (see above, p. 123). On the obverse the head of Apollo is turned to the right instead of to the left, and a similar change is made in the position of the horse on the reverse. The legend also is transferred from the obverse to the reverse, and is changed from ROMANO to ROMA. Dr. Haeberlin (*Systematik*, p. 34) has assigned with this issue the series of aes grave of Campania of which the *as* shows the head of Apollo on the obverse and reverse, in each instance accompanied by a vine-leaf.

[2] Fabretti (*Raccolta*, p. 7, no. 149) mentions a variety of the drachm (42·2 grs.) with the legend ROMA

PERIOD III.[1]

Circ. B.C. 290—240; A.U.C. 464—514.

No.	*Weight*	*Metal and Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
			GOLD	
			Stater	
75	106·1	*N* ·75	Head of Janus, laureate, with slight whiskers.	A youth kneeling towards l. on l. knee between two warriors, who touch with their swords a pig, which the youth holds in his hands; the warrior on the r., to whom the youth turns his head, is in Roman dress, and holds a spear in l. hand; the warrior on the l. is bearded and naked to the waist; he leans with l. hand on spear; in the exergue, ROMA (Blacas Coll.)
76	105·3	*N* ·7	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. lxxiv. 21.]** (Payne Knight Coll.)
			Half-Stater	
77	52·7	*N* ·7	Similar.	Similar; legend, ROMA **[Pl. lxxiv. 22.]**

[1] The coins assigned to this Period are of gold, silver, and bronze (see above, p. 118). The last are of the semi-libral and triental standards, and are *struck*, not *cast*. The issue of the small struck pieces, litrae and half-litrae, appears to have ceased. The gold coins, staters and half-staters, or pieces of six and three scruples, though not issued at Rome, were the earliest struck under direct Roman influence.

In classifying these gold coins with the *quadrigati*, Count de Salis has assigned to them a date which has not hitherto been suggested. Mommsen (*Hist. mon. rom.*, t. i., p. 263) and Dr. Haeberlin (*Systematik*, p. 26) have given these gold coins to a period which would coincide with that of the reduction of the silver Romano-Campanian didrachms from the "reduced Phocaean" standard to the scruple standard. This classification was based by Dr. Haeberlin chiefly on the evidence of the four scruple piece in gold of the same type as the other gold coins, but which has on the obverse the marks of value XXX, denoting that it represented thirty libral asses. Of this denomination only four specimens are known, viz. in the British Museum, in the Vatican and the Museo Nazionale, Rome, and in the collection of the late Consul E. F. Weber, of Hamburg. The specimen in the Vatican was long since condemned by Borghesi and D'Ailly; that in the British Museum was pronounced false by Count de Salis, and this opinion has been often confirmed; and that in the Weber collection, from the Ponton d'Amécourt sale, is a duplicate of the Museum coin. These pieces must therefore be placed outside the question. Babelon (vol. i., p. 24) has suggested the date B.C. 211, and in support of this attribution he mentions that the type of these coins was created without doubt on the occasion when the Romans obtained definite possession of Campania, and a reconciliation took place on the expulsion of the Carthaginians. But history supplies a different account, for when Capua, after the departure of Hannibal, was compelled to surrender unconditionally to Rome, she was treated with signal severity for her treachery. Her nobles and senators were either put to death or imprisoned, her local magistracies were abolished, her citizens were expelled, and her whole territory was confiscated to the Roman State. It does not seem at all probable therefore that these coins, the reverse type of which

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			SILVER	
			Didrachm	
			With legend ROMA *incuse*[1]	
78	104·1	*Æ* ·9	Head of Janus, laureate, with slight whiskers indicated by two locks of hair.	Jupiter hurling thunderbolt with r. hand and holding sceptre in l., in quadriga r., driven by Victory; horses galloping; below, on tablet, ROMA (incuse).
79	104·0	*Æ* ·95	Similar.	Similar.

records a treaty or alliance, can have been issued at this juncture. On similar grounds we are unable to accept their attribution to B.C. 209 by Dr. Willers, who looks upon them as "military coins" partly struck from gold given by the State to the praetor L. Veturius, who had been instrumental in obtaining the assistance of some of the colonies against the Carthaginians (*Corolla Num.*, pp. 319 f.). Dr. Willers' chief reason for connecting the coins with this occasion is based on the circumstance that many years later a descendant, Ti. Veturius, struck denarii with the same reverse type (see Babelon, vol. ii., p. 535, no. 1). From similarity of fabric and style, and also of the obverse type, it seems impossible to separate these gold coins from the first issues of the *quadrigati*. The treatment of the head of Janus in both instances is precisely the same, and there is also a close connection in style and fabric. There is also a certain relationship in their reverse types. If the first issue of the *quadrigati* is to be assigned to the early years of the 3rd cent. B.C., the same date must be given to these gold pieces, and, as has already been suggested (see above, p. 119), we may see in the reverse types of both series a reference to the closing scenes of the third Samnite War in B.C. 290. Jupiter in a quadriga hurling his thunderbolt seems a fitting illustration of the late victories of Rome and her allies, and the oath-scene may be a record of the renewal of her treaties with the Italian States, and it might even have some reference to the late peace with the Samnites. In this scene, which represents the ancient form of oath-taking amongst the Latins and the Sabines (see above, pp. 55, 56), the youth holding the pig turns his head towards the warrior in Roman dress, as if appealing to him for the protection of his allies, who are indicated by the bearded, half-naked figure standing on the other side. As Rome had now established her dominion over the whole of Central Italy, the type of these coins would illustrate the position which she held in relation to the Italian States, who in future would look to her for protection.

From the present rarity of these gold coins it would seem that this issue did not extend over any considerable period. It is therefore possible that they were struck to commemorate a particular event. Bahrfeldt, who has carried his researches into all the public and most of the private collections of Roman coins in Europe, mentions only 21 specimens which have come under his notice (*Riv. Ital.*, 1900, pp. 16-18). We have already referred to the duration of the issue of the *quadrigati* (see above, p. 119), and it is therefore only necessary to mention that probably it did not continue after Rome had established local mints for the issue of silver and bronze coins based on her own standard. The date to be assigned to the institution of these local issues is circ. B.C. 240, contemporary with the introduction of bronze coins of the sextantal standard.

As reference has been made to Dr. Haeberlin's classification in connection with previous Periods, it may be mentioned that during this one he assigns to the Capuan mint the *Heavy Apollo* series of the aes grave, which he identifies as cast on the basis of the Italian mina of 341 gram. (5263 grs.), and at the same time he attributes to the mint at Rome the *Heavy Janus-Mercury* series cast on the standard of the Attic pound of 327 gram. (5047 grs.). According to his classification Rome was issuing her own bronze coinage based on the *semi-libral* standard of the light Oscan period, and at the same time a series of *libral* coins based on a different and heavier standard. We must refer our readers to Dr. Haeberlin's work for an explanation of this somewhat complicated system of classification (*Systematik*, pp. 39 f.).

[1] The legends on these coins present two main varieties, in incuse or in relief. A few pieces show a mixed lettering, partly incuse and partly in relief. It is probable that the didrachms with the incuse legend are of the earlier series. They are as a rule of better style, and are not so debased as those which have the legend in relief. It is, however, possible that for a time the two series were issued concurrently. The head of Janus with a slight beard or whiskers occurs on coins of Capua and Rhegium. On the didrachms it varies a good deal in form: on the earlier pieces it is in somewhat high relief; on the later ones the relief is much lower, the head often less spread and more conventional in style; and the beard is represented by one lock of hair instead of two.

No.	*Weight*	*Metal and Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
80	102·7	Æ ·95	Similar.	Similar. (Sambon)
81	102·5	Æ ·95	Similar.	Similar. (Sambon)
82	102·4	Æ ·95	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. lxxiv. 23.]** (Woodhouse Coll.)
83	102·3	Æ ·9	Similar.	Similar. (Blacas Coll.)
84	102·1	Æ ·95	Similar.	Similar.
85	102·0	Æ 1·0	Similar.	Similar. (Sambon)
86	101·0	Æ ·95	Similar.	Similar.
87	98·5	Æ ·95	Similar.	Similar. (Townley Coll.)
88	91·0	Æ ·95	Similar.	Similar. (Cracherode Coll.)
89	101·8	Æ ·85	Similar; head of Janus in low relief.	Similar; ROMA (Nott)
90	100·6	Æ ·9	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. lxxv. 1.]** (Payne Knight Coll.)
91	98·0	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar; ROMA (Sambon)
92	97·0	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar. (Blacas Coll.)
93	107·5	Æ ·9	Similar; head in low relief, and the whiskers indicated by one lock of hair.	Similar; ROMA
94	107·4	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar. (de Salis Coll.)
95	104·5	Æ ·9	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. lxxv. 2.]**
96	102·5	Æ ·85	Similar.	Similar. (Sambon)
97	99·5	Æ ·9	Similar.	Similar. (Cracherode Coll.)
98	98·6	Æ ·85	Similar.	Similar.
99	95·8	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			With legend ROMA *partly incuse*[1]	
100	103·6	Æ ·85	Similar; the whiskers are indicated by two locks of hair; pellet below neck, which is indented.	Similar; in the legend RO MA the letters R O and A are in relief. **[Pl. lxxv. 3.]**
			With legend ROMA *in relief*[2]	
101	103·0	Æ ·8	Similar; head in low relief, the line of neck not indented, and no pellet.	Similar; ROMA (in relief). **[Pl. lxxv. 4.]** (de Salis Coll.)
102	101·0	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar.
103	99·5	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar. (Cracherode Coll.)
104	99·0	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar.
105	97·0	Æ ·8	Similar; the line of neck indented.	Similar. (Sambon)
106	94·7	Æ ·8	Similar; the line of neck not indented.	Similar. (Sambon)
107	79·5	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar; ROMA
			With symbol on reverse	
108	103·0	Æ ·85	Similar.	Similar; ROMA; symbol, ear of corn below horses. **[Pl. lxxv. 5.]**
			Drachm	
			With legend ROMA *in relief*[3]	
109	57·5	Æ ·75	Head of Janus, laureate, similar to no. 78; the whiskers are indicated by two small locks of hair.	Jupiter hurling thunderbolt with r. hand and holding sceptre in l., in quadriga r.,[4] &c., similar to no. 78; below, on tablet, ROMA (in relief). **[Pl. lxxv. 6.]**

[1] These irregularities appear to be only blunders on the part of the die-engravers.

[2] These coins show more debasement than those which have the legend incuse. It is possible that the more debased pieces were struck during the first Punic war, when there must have been a great strain on the Capuan as well as on the Roman mint, which was then also striking silver coins. The head of Janus is in low relief.

[3] The legend on the drachms is always in relief. The reverse type varies from that of the didrachms in showing the quadriga to the left as well as to the right.

[4] Of this variety only two specimens appear to be known—the one above described, the other in the D'Ailly collection, Paris (Bahrfeldt, *Riv. Ital.*, 1900, p. 12). Garrucci (*Mon. ital. ant.*, p. 65, pl. lxviii. no. 24) describes and figures a silver litra (14·7 grs.) in the Santangelo collection, Naples, with head of Janus on the obverse, and galloping horse to right and ROMA on the reverse. The head of Janus seems to identify it with this issue.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
110	51·5	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar; the quadriga is turned to l.; and the legend ROMA is in the exergue. (Nott)
111	51·4	Æ ·7	Similar.	Similar; ROMA [Pl. lxxv. 7.]
112	50·0	Æ ·7	Similar.	Similar; ROMA (Payne Knight Coll.)

BRONZE

Semi-Libral Series (?)[1]

After B.C. 269; A.U.C. 485

Triens

113	876·0	Æ 1·15	Female head r. (Juno), wearing diadem in form of visor and ornamented at the side with crest of helmet; hair in three locks falling down the neck; earring of single drop; sceptre over l. shoulder?; behind, marks of value, ⋮	Hercules standing r., holding club in r. hand, with which he is about to strike a centaur, whom he grasps by the hair of his head; on r., marks of value, ⋮; below, ROMA
114	812·0	Æ 1·5	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. lxxv. 8.] (Payne Knight Coll.)
115	704·0	Æ 1·45	Similar.	Similar.

[1] There are several problems in connection with this coinage which are difficult to solve, viz., the weight, the types, the district or place in which it was struck, and the date of its issue.

In their weight the coins correspond to the as of 6½ to 5 ounces, and throughout in this respect most of the denominations show considerable uniformity. The triens ranges from 876-704 grs., the quadrans from 674-584 grs., the sextans from 450-344 grs., the uncia from 229-167 grs., and the semuncia from 136-67 grs. If compared with the struck coins of the triental series issued at Rome it is evident that in regard to their weight these coins are quite exceptional, as the heavier pieces approach a *semi-libral* standard. In the case of the early bronze coins of the triental urban series a few of the smaller denominations somewhat exceed the normal weight, but they are quite exceptional, and it is possible that in this instance it may be due to the circumstance that when the practice of striking bronze coins was introduced strict uniformity of weight was not always adhered to. We shall, however, make a suggestion later which may account for the unusual weight of these Romano-Campanian bronze coins. They are the heaviest struck pieces of these denominations known in the whole Roman series.

In choosing the types for these coins no great originality appears to have been exercised, as most of them are copies or adaptations of those found on the coins of Campania and the neighbouring districts. The centaur with the head of Hercules for obverse type is met with on coins of Larinum; the rushing bull on the *Wheel* series of the Campanian aes grave and also at Arpi; the head of Hercules with the boar's skin on those of Vetulonia; the wolf and twins on previous Romano-Campanian coins; the eagle on the *Cup* series of the aes grave of Cales; the head of Sol and the crescent on those of Venusia; and the horseman with and without a spear on those of Cosa, Capua, and Naples. The types were therefore mainly not original, and like others of the Romano-Campanian series were borrowed from the coins of various States, which at the time may have been current in Central Italy.

There exists some uncertainty as to the district or place in which these bronze pieces were struck, and various attempts have been made to localize them. Mommsen (*Hist. mon.*

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Quadrans	
116	627·0	Æ 1·4	Head of young Hercules r., wearing boar's skin, tied under chin; behind, marks of value, ⁘	Bull galloping r.; below, serpent; above, marks of value, •••; in the exergue, ROMA (Payne Knight Coll.)

rom., t. i., p. 191) has attributed them to Apulia, where he says they may have been issued under Roman authority at a mint the precise locality of which cannot be established. Count de Salis had classed them with the Romano-Campanian coinages, and this attribution has recently been upheld by Dr. Haeberlin (*Systematik*, p. 40). As Romano-Campanian coins their mint-place would probably have been at Capua. It is, however, possible, from the variety of types, that this coinage may have formed a joint-issue of several cities, the striking of which was entrusted to Capua. Style and fabric certainly pronounce them to be Campanian rather than Apulian.

In considering the date of issue of this coinage there is one circumstance which must not be lost sight of; it is that as all the denominations of the aes grave are cast, these struck pieces cannot come under the same category or belong to the same period. According to Mommsen's classification there existed no struck bronze money in the Roman series until Rome had introduced the triental standard about or soon after B.C. 268. On account of their unusual weight Mommsen had, however, referred to them when dealing with the Latin aes grave, and in connection with certain cast pieces which appear to have been issued under Roman influence. He does not, however, attempt to assign a date to these struck pieces, and he only remarks that they evidently belong to the Roman system; but they differ in weight, type, and legend, these differences being attributable to local influence. Both Count de Salis and Dr. Haeberlin have connected these struck pieces with the *quadrigati* coinage, and the latter, who has suggested that after B.C. 286 the urban coinage was reduced to a semi-libral standard, has assigned them to a period which extends from B.C. 286—268. If Mommsen's classification is accepted, these coins, being *struck*, could not have been issued before B.C. 268. In this date it may be possible to find a clue not only to the weight of the coinage, but also a solution of the meaning of some of the types.

In B.C. 268, when Rome instituted her silver currency, she reduced her bronze to a triental standard. The sestertius of one scruple of silver was thus made equivalent to 2½ *asses* of the reduced standard, or to one *as* of the libral standard. The denarius which contained four scruples of silver represented ten triental asses. The Romano-Campanian silver money was also based on the scruple standard, the didrachm being of six scruples, which at its full current value was worth 1½ denarii. When the Campanians found that Rome had established a relationship between her silver and bronze money, they may have been desirous of following her example; but instead of adopting a triental standard, they used a semi-libral one, which would establish the same relative value between their new bronze money and that of Rome as already existed in the case of the silver. In currency the Campanian *as* would be equal to 1½ Roman *asses*. The two series would therefore circulate side by side. This seems to be the only way to account for these Romano-Campanian coins being struck on a heavier standard than that in use at the same time at the Roman mint. Another assimilation between the two coinages is that in both series the highest struck denomination is the triens.

This new Campanian coinage does not appear to have been of long duration, as shown by the *quadrantes* next described. These pieces, though preserving the same types, are at first of the triental standard, but they soon decline to even a lower weight.

In assigning this coinage to B.C. 268 it may be possible to discover some historical allusion in several of the types. Those of Hercules and the centaur and the rushing bull may relate to the recent defeat of Pyrrhus, and in the horseman may be seen an allusion to the services rendered by the cavalry of the Roman army in that campaign. As the Campanian cavalry was celebrated for its efficiency and valour, the turreted head on the obverse may be intended to represent the city of Capua. The female head on the triens is probably that of Juno or Hera, the sceptre (?) denoting her rank as the queen of heaven, and the crest attached to her diadem identifying her as the mother of Mars or Ares. The eagle on the sextans may be an allusion to the auguries, which foretold the ultimate success of Rome and her allies, and its association with the wolf and twins seems to recall the passage in Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Rom. ant.*, i. 88), who relates that before Romulus began the foundation of the city of Rome he instituted sacrifices to the gods and made use of the augury of eagles. The radiate head and the crescent moon on the uncia appear to come under a different category, and can only be connected with the worship of Sol and Diana, a cult which was specially honoured by the Latins and the Sabines, the latter having introduced it into Rome, when they established themselves on the Aventine.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
117	623·0	Æ 1·35	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. lxxv. 9.]
118	571·0	Æ 1·45	Similar.	Similar. (Parkes Weber Coll.)
119	584·0	Æ 1·35	Similar.	Similar; legend, ROMA
			Sextans	
120	450·0	Æ 1·2	Wolf r., its head turned back, suckling the twins, Romulus and Remus; in the exergue, marks of value, ••	Eagle standing r., holding flower in its beak; behind, marks of value, ⁘; before, ROMA [Pl. lxxv. 10.]
121	405·0	Æ 1·2	Similar.	Similar. (Payne Knight Coll.)
122	403·0	Æ 1·15	Similar.	Similar.
123	399·0	Æ 1·15	Similar.	Similar.
124	344·0	Æ 1·2	Similar.	Similar.
			Uncia	
125	229·0	Æ ·95	Bust of Sol facing, radiate and draped; on l., mark of value, •	Crescent; above, two stars and mark of value, •; below, ROMA (Strozzi Coll.)
126	223·0	Æ 1·0	Similar.	Similar. (Strozzi Coll.)
127	218·0	Æ 1·0	Similar.	Similar. (Strozzi Coll.)
128	204·0	Æ ·95	Similar.	Similar. (Strozzi Coll.)
129	201·0	Æ ·95	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. lxxv. 11.]
130	198·0	Æ ·95	Similar.	Similar. (Strozzi Coll.)
131	184·0	Æ 1·0	Similar.	Similar.
132	183·0	Æ 1·0	Similar.	Similar.
133	174·0	Æ ·95	Similar.	Similar. (Payne Knight Coll.)

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
134	167·0	Æ ·95	Similar.	Similar; legend, ROMA
135	215·0	Æ 1·0	Similar.	Similar (*overstruck for a Roman triens of the triental standard*). (Strozzi Coll.)
			Semuncia	
136	123·0	Æ ·8	Female bust r., turreted and draped.	Horseman, naked, galloping r., and holding whip in r. hand; below, ROMA [Pl. lxxv. 12.] (Payne Knight Coll.)
137	77·0	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar. (Cracherode Coll.)
138	67·0	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar.
			TRIENTAL SERIES	
			With symbol Ear of Corn	
			Quadrans[1]	
139	242·0	Æ 1·2	Head of young Hercules r., wearing boar's skin tied under chin; behind, marks of value, ⁝	Bull galloping r.; below, serpent; above, marks of value, ••• and symbol, ear of corn; in the exergue, ROMA (Blacas Coll.)
140	206·0	Æ 1·1	Similar.	Similar.
141	181·0	Æ 1·05	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. lxxv. 13.] (Payne Knight Coll.)
142	160·0	Æ 1·0	Similar.	Similar.
143	107·8	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar.
144	90·0	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar. (Rev. G. J. Chester)

[1] The heaviest of these Romano-Campanian coins were struck on the triental standard. They, however, soon fell in weight to a semuncial one. This was purely accidental, as the coinage came to an end some years previous to the introduction of the uncial standard into the Roman monetary system. The only denomination known is the quadrans. The symbol, an ear of corn, is frequently found on Campanian coins.

PERIOD IV.

Circ. B.C. 216—211; A.U.C. 538—543.

No.	*Weight*	*Metal and Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
			ELECTRUM [1]	
			Half-Stater (?)	
145	46·0	El. ·6	Janiform female head with wreath of corn.	Jupiter hurling thunderbolt with r. hand and holding sceptre in l., in quadriga r., driven by Victory; horses galloping. (Nott)
146	45·5	El. ·55	Similar.	Similar. (Payne Knight Coll.)
147	43·0	El. ·6	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. lxxv. 14.] (Blacas Coll.)

[1] It is generally admitted that these electrum coins are Campanian, and that they were struck at Capua, but Prof. Percy Gardner (*Num. Chron.*, 1884, pp. 220-224) was the first to recognize them as having been issued during the occupation of Capua by the Carthaginians in the Hannibalic war (B.C. 216—211). Prof. Gardner based this attribution on two important facts—the metal and weight of the coins, and their types. The metal is electrum, a mixture of gold and silver, which was a material used in the later Carthaginian issues. In Italy its use was exceptional, and it was never employed at the Roman mint. The earlier gold coins of Carthage followed the Phoenician standard, but from the beginning of the second Punic war they became rapidly debased both in quality of metal and in fabric. These electrum coins of Capua are identical in metal and weight with those of Carthage which were issued at that time. Mommsen (*Hist. mon. rom.*, t. i., p. 264) has suggested that they contain 2½ scruples of electrum or 2 of pure gold, deducting 20 per cent. as alloy. But there seems no valid reason for this suggestion. The types which were adopted from the *quadrigati* so extensively minted at Capua show considerable Carthaginian influence. In the first place the name of Roma is omitted. The head on the obverse is not that of Janus, but a janiform female head, Persephone, the accustomed deity of Carthaginian money. The faces are decidedly female in character, and each head is bound with a corn-wreath, and not, as on the Romano-Campanian coins, with one of laurel. This representation of a janiform head may have been a concession to local custom of mintage, as the Capuan mint was so accustomed to janiform representations. The reverse type, though similar in design to the *quadrigati*, is meagre in execution and of very inferior fabric. It is therefore evident that these coins, if struck at Capua, could not have been issued under Roman influence, and their attribution to a period when the city was subordinate to the Carthaginians under Hannibal seems most probable, if not certain. Though the Carthaginian troops only occupied Capua during B.C. 216, 215, it is possible that these coins continued to be struck till the capture of the city by the Romans in B.C. 211.

With this series of electrum may also be classed some of the drachms of the *quadrigatus* type, which are also of debased metal, and on which the name of Roma is omitted. In this instance the laureate head of Janus is retained for the obverse type, and on the reverse there is a representation of the quadriga as on the electrum coins. The treatment and the style of the reverse types are so similar on the electrum and silver coins that they must belong to the same issue. The denomination of the silver coins is somewhat uncertain, as the head of Janus resembles that on the didrachms rather than that on the drachms. Their weight, however, corresponds to that of the drachm.

No.	*Weight*	*Metal and Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
148	42·8	El. ·6	Similar.	Similar. (Sambon)
149	41·0	El. ·55	Similar.	Similar. (Payne Knight Coll.)

SILVER

Drachm (P)

150	52·0	*AR* ·75	Head of Janus, laureate, with slight whiskers.	Similar. [Pl. lxxv. 15.] (Townley Coll.)

COINAGE OF ITALY

THE coins of the Roman Republic which have been classed by Count de Salis under the heading "Italy" belong to the series distinguished by Mommsen as "Military Coinages" (*Hist. mon. rom.*, t. ii., p. 55 f.). This money was struck for military purposes, more immediately for the use of the Roman soldiery. It consists of two distinct and separate series, one issued in Italy, the other outside Italy in the various provinces over which the rule and jurisdiction of Rome extended. The two series are quite distinct from each other economically, and are of different epochs. One series, that of Italy, was under the immediate control of the Senate; in the other, the Senate delegated its authority to the commanders of her legions, whether consuls, praetors, proconsuls or propraetors, who themselves either exercised the power thus invested in them, or in turn delegated it to their subordinate officers, quaestors, proquaestors, legates or others.

The coins issued outside Italy have been assigned to Spain, Gaul, the East, Sicily, Africa, and Cyrenaïca, under which districts they will be described in a later portion of this volume. These provincial issues do not begin till the early years of the first century B.C. The coins now under consideration date back to the third century B.C., and they come to an end before those of the provinces make their appearance. For purposes of distinction we shall designate the issues struck in Italy as "local coinages or issues," i.e. money minted *extra muros*; those struck outside Italy as "provincial coinages or issues."

In arranging in chronological order the coinage of Rome from the introduction of the new silver and bronze money in B.C. 268, it becomes apparent that we have soon to deal with a considerable group of coins, which, though corresponding in denominations, types, metals, and standards of weight to those struck in the Capitol, yet show very marked differences in fabric and style. These coins, or at least a large number of them, have attracted the notice of numismatists, who have been content to designate them as "struck outside Rome," "of local fabric," or "of rude work," but no one but Count de Salis has so far attempted to group them as a class separate from the general series; except in cases when the initials of mints have been detected. It must be admitted that the arrangement of the series under families or under symbols in alphabetical order, when other adjuncts are wanting, renders such a separation impossible. D'Ailly, who always examined closely the fabric and style of his coins, frequently makes use of the expressions "frappée hors de Rome," "frappée dans la Campanie," "fabrique grossière," but his classification under symbols or under the initials of mints and moneyers in alphabetical order precluded the separation of these pieces into a definite class.

It has been noticed (see above, p. 119) that when Rome instituted her

reformed monetary system in B.C. 268, the independent coinages of Southern Italy came to an end, with the exception of those of a few cities, amongst which were Naples, Tarentum, and Rhegium, but even these survived only for a short time. The same happened in Sicily a few years later. The suppression of the silver money did not, however, entail the extinction of the mints, for many continued to issue an independent bronze money for a considerable period, a few surviving till the time of the Social war, when all local coinages in Italy were abolished. This last circumstance was probably due, as we shall see, to the passing of the *Lex Julia* and the *Lex Plautia Papiria*.

The suppression of the silver currencies in Italy must necessarily have thrown the chief burden of production on the Roman mint; a burden which augmented rapidly as Rome extended her rule over the neighbouring States.[1] For a while the mint in the Capitol stood the strain on its resources, but it soon became imperative to discover some means of relief, and for that purpose mints were established at various local centres, situated, however, within a somewhat limited area. The districts in which these city-mints are met with are Apulia, Samnium, Bruttium, and Campania, and amongst the cities which have been identified are Luceria, Teanum, Canusium (?), Beneventum (?), Herdonea, Vibo, Croton, Capua, &c. There was one exception to the limitation of these coins to Italy. It was in the case of Corcyra, where the quinarius and the victoriatus were struck for commercial purposes, the latter piece being equivalent to the Illyrian drachm. It is difficult to give a precise date for the first establishment of these local mints; but from the evidence of the coins themselves, the bronze money being of the sextantal standard, it is probable that it did not occur till about the end of the first Punic war, *circ.* B.C. 240.[2] We have an exception in the case of Luceria, which mint must have started a few years before, as it issued bronze coins of the triental standard; but apparently no quite early silver money. It was probably due to the expenses entailed by the first Punic war that Rome was compelled to extend the issue of her coinage in this manner. Moreover it was an easy method of providing on the spot her legions with the necessary supply of money for their pay. The local issues of these mints were therefore of the nature of camp-coinages, and come under Mommsen's designation of "Military Coinages." This way of relieving the strain on her own resources was not an innovation, but the continuance of a policy which Rome adopted when she caused gold, silver, and bronze money to be struck in her name in Campania.

Side by side with these mint-issues there is a much larger and more extended series of coins, which are precisely similar to those of the Roman mint, but from which they materially differ in fabric, being usually of coarse and rude style, and in the letters of the legends which are often badly formed. They are of silver and bronze, a few, as in the case of the Roman mint, being

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[1] The Romano-Campanian silver and bronze issues were probably continued for a few years after B.C. 268 (see above, pp. 119, 131).

[2] This is the date given in vol. i., p. 29. It is, however, not impossible that the issue of the gold coins and of the bronze of the sextantal standard may have occurred before the close of the Punic war.

of gold, viz. sixty and twenty sestertii pieces; but these gold coins are always accompanied by symbols, which was not the case in the main series. In their denominations and types these local coins correspond to those of Rome; some have no special marks, others have symbols or initials and monograms, evidently not of mints, and therefore they can only be of moneyers. Later pieces bear moneyers' names in more or less extended form.

We have no direct evidence as to the circumstances in which these coins were first struck, or under whose authority the moneyers exercised their duties; but on glancing at the series generally it will be noticed that the largest output of coins occurred on three notable occasions—at the time of or just after the first Punic war; again during the second Punic war, B.C. 218—202, when there was also an increase in the number of the local mints; and just before and during the Social war, B.C. 91—89. The numerous issues at these particular epochs can only be accounted for by an increased demand for money for the payment of the army. It is evident therefore that these special issues of moneyers are also of the nature of military coinages.

The moneyers who were entrusted with the striking of these coins, as in the case of those employed at Rome, no doubt received their appointment from the Senate, and were duly assigned to certain districts which were used as military centres. They were probably placed under the immediate control of the quaestors who had charge of the military chests, and who were responsible for the expenditure connected with the sections of the army to which they were assigned. Occasionally the quaestors acted as moneyers; but this must have been the exception, as we meet with only three instances—M. Sergius Silus and L. Manlius Torquatus, B.C. 99—94, and Q. Lutatius Cerco, B.C. 90. Had the quaestors acted frequently in that position we certainly should have met with more indications. These local moneyers appear to have been chosen from the same class as those employed at Rome, for the types of their coins show that most of them were members of the most celebrated Roman families. In some cases they may have been the moneyers who held office at the mint in the Capitol; but of that we have no absolute proof. They were evidently appointed on the same principle as those serving at Rome, as there are several instances of a triumvirate, especially during B.C. 124—103, when three appear to occur in succession. It is remarkable that these instances are of an earlier date than any met with at Rome.

The local city-mints, the issues of which were chiefly confined in silver to the quinarius, the sestertius, and the victoriatus, and in bronze to coins of the sextantal and heavy uncial standards, do not appear to have remained in operation much after the second Punic war, and several were closed before that time. This is shown by the circumstance that whilst there is a considerable coinage of silver and bronze of the reduced standards which were introduced in B.C. 217, there are no coins which can be attributed to our third period, i.e. B.C. 196—173. Mommsen (*Hist. mon. rom.*, t. ii., p. 57) was also of this opinion, for he says, "ce monnayage, *extra muros*, ne dura pas fort longtemps et fut supprimé pendant la guerre d'Annibal ou peu après." This, however, was not the case with the coinages bearing moneyers' names, for these went on intermittently into the first century B.C. During the second

century the series was, however, very limited as compared with that of the mint at Rome, and as many groups and issues show great similarity of fabric and types, it is probable that they emanated from only a few localities.

Throughout the whole course of its existence the local money was assimilated to that of Rome. When the issues of the victoriatus and the as were suspended at the Capitol, they are not met with locally; changes of types and in the forms of the moneyers' names occurred almost simultaneously; as also the variation in the mark of value of the denarius from X to ✠; and lastly, when the as was revived at Rome in B.C. 91, it was also resumed by the local moneyers. It is therefore evident that the Senate and the central administrative power never relaxed their authority, and that the local moneyers were subject to the same control as those of the central mint. This assimilation enabled Count de Salis to divide up both series into periods of corresponding duration.

At the outbreak of the Social war the activity of the local issues was revived, and for some time from B.C. 91—89 there was a greater output of coins than had occurred at any previous time, money being needed not only for the Roman army, but also for the use of those of the Italian States which had remained loyal to Rome. The same activity prevailed also, as we have seen, at the central mint at Rome. This sudden revival was, however, of short duration, for when the Social war came practically to an end in B.C. 89, all the local issues suddenly ceased; and at the same time all the local mints in Italy and Sicily which had been issuing independent bronze coinages experienced the same fate. The whole coinage of Italy now centred in the Capitol. The immediate cause of this sudden and uniform suppression was no doubt due, as already suggested, to the passing of the *Lex Julia* in B.C. 90, and the *Lex Plautia Papiria* in the following year. Under the provisions of these laws most of the Italian States were granted the rights and privileges which till that time had only been enjoyed by the citizens in Rome, and by a limited number outside the capital. Having at last overcome the dissensions which existed amongst her people and the various States; and having accomplished the unification of Italy, Rome at once occupied herself in consolidating her dominions and in centralising her powers, and in order to carry out this policy it would appear that one of her first acts was to abolish all independent coinages throughout Italy, and so to put an end to separate and independent individual action. From this time the only money struck for circulation in Italy was that which emanated from the capital; or may have been brought at a later date into Italy from the provinces.

This classification of this section of the coins of the Roman Republic and its separation from the main series are remarkable instances of Count de Salis's almost unrivalled numismatic acumen. It also illustrates the importance of judging by fabric and style when other data are wanting; for it is chiefly on this principle that this classification has been carried out. Historically its results are not of less importance, as it reveals to us a policy which Rome at an early stage of her existence adopted, and which took centuries before she realized the full results. She knew that the right of coinage was a symbol of sovereignty, and she extended it into those districts where her armies penetrated. Later on we shall see that she pursued precisely the same policy in regard to the provinces under her domination as she had adopted at home.

AES GRAVE

LIBRAL SERIES

Circ. B.C. 290; A.U.C. 464

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			With mint letter ↳ (LUCERIA?) As[1]	
1	4507·0	Æ 2·8	Head of Minerva or Bellona facing, wearing helmet with three crests, the ends of the outer ones showing on each side of the head, earrings and necklace; hair long and falling down each side of the neck.	Bull walking r., head facing, the tail curled back; above, ↳; below, ROMA [Pl. lxxvi.]
			With symbol CADUCEUS	
2	4071·0	Æ 3·0	Similar.	Similar; above bull, caduceus instead of letter. [Pl. lxxvii.] (Sambon)

[1] These are the only *asses* of the libral series issued locally which come within the scope of this work. Though bearing types foreign to the coins of the Roman mint, they are inscribed with the name of ROMA, showing that their issue was due to Roman influence.

The attribution and date of these two coins are somewhat uncertain. The locality to which they are to be classed has at various times been discussed, but as yet no very satisfactory solution has been found. The main question centres on the interpretation of the letter ↳ on the reverse of the first piece, whether it is to be recognized as a mark of value (*libra* or *litra*), or as the initial of a mint such as we find on later coins, more especially of Luceria (see below, pp. 146, 179). These coins have generally been assigned to Luceria, but the provenance of most of the known specimens has so far not favoured that attribution. Garrucci (*Mon. ital. ant.*, p. 17) observes that "of these rare coins one example was found during the excavations at Veleia, one in the district of Modena on the Via della Secchia, and one in Rome in the Campo Verano in 1877; but in Apulia none are known to have been discovered, and yet Riccio has attributed them to Luceria. In the find at Vicarello there were no cast coins of Luceria, but, on the other hand, seven specimens of these *asses* were contained in it, four with the mark of the caduceus, and three with the initial ↳. Their place of issue cannot therefore be outside Latium or the district of the Sabines. In the latter we do not know of a city having the initial ↳. If, therefore, they are to be attributed to Latium, we must select Lavinium, Lanuvium, or Labicum." On account of the early decay of the first and last of these cities, Lanuvium would be the only one possible in Latium to which the coins could be assigned. Their attribution to that place is, however, very doubtful (see *Corolla Num.*, pp. 127 f.). Riccio did not include them in his work on the coins of Luceria (*Le Monete attribute alla Zecca dell' antica Città di Luceria*, 1846), but he subsequently described them with other coins of Luceria in his *Repertorio delle Monete di Città antiche*, 1852, pp. 29, 30, with an apology for not having previously noticed that the editors of the *Museo Kircheriano* (p. 69)

TRIENTAL SERIES

Circ. B.C. 268—240; A.U.C. 486—514

No.	*Weight*	*Metal and Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
			With mint letter	
			⅃	
			(LUCERIA [1])	
			SERIES I.[2]	
			As (cast)	
3	1443·0	Æ 1·7	Head of Janus, laureate.	Prow r.; above, I; before, ⅃ **[Pl. lxxxii. 7.]**

had excluded them from the Roman issues. He adds that the archaic form of the letter ⅃ and the weight of the coin, the as being of the libral standard, identify it with the mint of Luceria. Mommsen (*Hist. mon. rom.*, t. i., p. 191) shared Garrucci's view to a certain degree, and would have been disposed to assign these coins to Luceria had this attribution been supported by the evidence of provenance. Dr. Haeberlin, in his recent work (*Die Systematik des ältesten römischen Münzwesens*, p. 53), having interpreted the letter ⅃ as a mark of value (*litra*), and not as the initial of a city, has attributed the issue of these pieces to the Roman mint, and he considers that the type of the bull commemorates the victory of the Romans over the Samnites in B.C. 290, the bull being the special symbol of that people, as shown by the silver denarii struck during the Social war. The fabric of these bronze coins is, however, so totally unlike that of the aes grave issued at Rome, that on this ground it does not seem possible to accept Dr. Haeberlin's view, and besides, the letter ⅃ for I as a mark of value is not likely to have been used at Rome in this instance only. The Vicarello hoard practically supplies no evidence of locality or date of issue, as it contained, besides coins of the immediate vicinity, specimens of the money of Naples, Teanum, Metapontum, Panormus, Syracuse, &c., and those of Rome extended from the time of the earliest issue of the aes grave to the period of struck bronze coins bearing the symbols and names of moneyers, some of which may have been so late as the end of the third century B.C. (W. Henzen, *Alterthümer von Vicarello, Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, 1854, pp. 23-27). If the coins in question were issued at Luceria it seems therefore quite possible that they should have found their way to Vicarello. Dr. Haeberlin's connection of the reverse type with the conquest of the Samnites, seems to give support to the case of Luceria, for in B.C. 294, when that city was besieged by the Samnites, the Roman consul M. Atilius Regulus advanced to its relief, and gained a great victory over the besiegers. It is therefore not improbable that the Lucerians issued this money in commemoration of the subjection of their long and dangerous rivals, and in gratitude to Rome for having been the means of their delivery. It will be seen that Luceria at a later period issued two series of money simultaneously, an autonomous one under the control of the city, and a military one probably under the direction of the Roman generals (see below, p. 179). The caduceus on the second coin may be interpreted not only as the symbol of peace, but also as that of commerce, which at the end of the war would have been restored to the Lucerians. The fabric of these coins is also very similar to that of the libral as issued at Luceria, having on the obverse the head of Apollo and on the reverse a cock (Garrucci, *op. cit.*, pl. lxiii., no. 2). On the whole, therefore, though none of these coins have, so far as we are aware, been found in Apulia, the balance of evidence is in favour of their assignment to Luceria. The facing head of Minerva or Bellona with the triple-crested helmet was evidently copied from the silver coins of Heraclea (Garrucci, *op. cit.*, pl. ci., no. 38). It occurs also in other series of Italy, but perhaps the most remarkable instance is in connection with the coinage of Audoleon, king of Paeonia B.C. 315—236, whose reign would coincide with the date given to these coins. The as in the British Museum with the symbol, a caduceus, came from the Vicarello hoard.

[1] Luceria is the only local mint which issued bronze money of the triental standard bearing Roman types, and with the name of ROMA. For this reason, and also for convenience of chronology, an exception has been made in separating this series from those of later date which are described below (see p. 179), where an account is given of the various issues of this mint. For purposes of comparison all the coins of this mint issued under Roman influence have been illustrated together (see Pl. lxxxii., lxxxiii.).

[2] The coins of this series are partly cast and partly struck, as in the case of similar pieces of the same standard attributed to the Roman mint.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Semis (cast)	
4	627·0	Æ 1·3	Head of Jupiter r., laureate.	Prow r.; above, S; before, ⅃ **[Pl. lxxxii. 8.]**
			Semis (struck)[1]	
	655·0	Æ 1·35	Similar; behind head of Jupiter, S	ROMA below Prow r., with star at side and Victory on the stem; above, S; before, ⅃

[D'Ailly, *Mon. rom.*, pl. ciii., no. 8.]

			Triens (struck)[2]	
5	428·0	Æ 1·25	Head of Minerva r., wearing crested Corinthian helmet; above, ••••; behind, ⅃	ROMA above Prow r.; below, •••• (Blacas Coll.)
6	385·0	Æ 1·15	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. lxxxii. 9.]**
			Quadrans (struck)[3]	
	256·0	Æ 1·05	Head of young Hercules r., wearing lion's skin; below, •••	Similar; below prow, •••; before, ⅃

[D'Ailly, *Mon. rom.*, pl. civ., no. 3.]

[1] This coin is quite exceptional, as it appears to be the only instance of the *struck* semis of the triental standard. D'Ailly (*op. cit.*, p. 665) mentions only two specimens, one in his own collection, the other in that of Riccio.

[2] The cast triens does not appear to be recorded.

[3] D'Ailly (*Mon. rom.*, pl. civ., nos. 4, 5) figures two quadrantes with the obverse type of

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Sextans (struck)	
7	185·0	Æ ·95	Bust of Mercury r., wearing chlamys and winged petasus; above, ••	Similar; below prow, initial of mint between marks of value, •ᒪ•
8	168·0	Æ ·9	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. lxxxii. 10.]**
			Uncia (struck)	
9	117·0	Æ ·75	Head of Roma r., wearing crested helmet with visor; behind, •	Similar; below prow, initial of mint and mark of value, ᒪ• **[Pl. lxxxii. 11.]**
10	90·0	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar.
			Semuncia (struck)	
			Type I.	
11	71·0	Æ ·7	Bust of Mercury r., wearing chlamys and winged petasus.	Similar; below prow, ᒪ; no mark of value.
12	69·0	Æ ·7	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. lxxxii. 12.]**
			Type II.[1]	
	55·0	Æ ·7	Head of young Hercules r., wearing lion's skin; below, club; below chin, ᒪ	ROMA below Pegasus galloping r.; above, mark of value, ε (*semuncia*).

[D'Ailly, *Mon. rom.*, pl. civ., no. 18.]

the sextans, *i.e.* bust of Mercury. The mint-letter ᒪ is in each case under the head on the obverse. He mentions four specimens of this singular coin, which must be due to a blunder on the part of the die-engraver (*op. cit.*, p. 675).

[1] Though of an exceptional type, the letter ᒪ below the head of Hercules on this coin shows that it may have been struck at Luceria. Bahrfeldt (*Riv. Ital.*, 1900, p. 39) agrees in this attribution, and adds "the coinage of this city in its profusion presents many anomalies." The type was evidently copied from an earlier piece, litra, which has been attributed to the Romano-Campanian series, and which has above the horse the symbol, a club, instead of the mark of value (see above, p. 128, no. 51).

COINAGES OF MONEYERS AND LOCAL MINTS

FROM *circ.* B.C. 240; A.U.C. 514.

PERIOD I.

Circ. B.C. 240—217; A.U.C. 514—537

THE coins attributed by Count de Salis to local issue during this Period correspond in the main in their types, denominations, and standards of weight to those struck at that time at the mint in Rome (see vol. i., p. 27). They are of gold, silver, and bronze.

The DENOMINATIONS are:—

GOLD.—Sixty and twenty sestertii pieces.[1]

SILVER.—Denarius, quinarius, sestertius, double-victoriatus, victoriatus, and half-victoriatus.

BRONZE (SEXTANTAL SERIES).—As, semis, quincunx, triens, quadrans, sextans, uncia, and semuncia, all *struck*.

On comparing the above list of denominations with those issued at the same period at the Roman mint, it will be seen that the forty sestertii piece in gold has not been met with in connection with the local issues. The double-victoriatus, of which only one specimen is at present known (see below, p. 591), is probably of local issue, as also the half-victoriatus, none so far having been ascribed to the central mint in the Capitol. The quincunx of the sextantal standard is only met with in the coinage attributed to Luceria. Later at that place we have also the dextans, and both these denominations occur in the uncial series bearing the initial Γ (Palio).

The TYPES of the coins of all the denominations are practically the same as those used at Rome; but occasionally there are some variations and even new ones. The quincunx being a local piece had special obverse and reverse types, as had later also the dextans. The silver and bronze coins are either without any special marks, or, as in the case of the coinage of Rome, they have symbols, letters or monograms as adjuncts to the general type. In the central coinage these symbols and initials were always connected with the moneyers only, but in the local issues the initials or the monograms may be either those of the moneyers or of the mints; but the symbols appear to be attributable to the former only. In most instances it is possible to distinguish between the initials of the moneyers and those of the mints; but occasionally there is some uncertainty. Generally speaking, the coins without symbols are the earliest of each series;

[1] In vol. i., p. 27, note 2, for "sixty sestertii pieces" read "sixty and twenty sestertii pieces."

next follow those with symbols, and lastly those with initial letters or monograms. In a few cases it is possible from fabric and mint-initials to assign to a special locality or city some pieces which are without symbol or letter. The gold coins, sixty and twenty sestertii pieces, which are of somewhat coarse work as compared with those classed to Rome, always bear symbols, corresponding in most cases with those on contemporary silver coins and bronze of the sextantal standard. None of the gold coins which have been attributed to Rome have symbols on them (see vol. i., p. 27). The letters in the legends show the same variations in form as on the coins of the central mint. A is given as Λ, Λ, Λ, Λ, A, Λ, or A; L always as ⌊, and P as Γ. On the denarius, the quinarius, and the sestertius, the legend ROMA is placed either on a tablet, or between two straight lines or in the exergue, *i.e.*, below an exergual line, but in some cases it is without any demarcation from the main type. This legend is also sometimes incuse instead of in relief. These irregularities or variations do not occur in early coins struck at Rome, and they are therefore important evidence of local fabric.

Classification.—Taking the denarius as the basis for the classification of the issues of this Period, it will be found that this coin undergoes variations of type and fabric somewhat analogous, though not in all cases contemporaneous, to that struck at Rome; but as these local coins emanated from several mints and districts, absolute uniformity was not possible. They, however, fall into much the same order, as shown by the four following groups:—

Series I.—The denarii of this group have the helmeted head of Roma in high relief. The visor of the helmet is composed of three pieces separated only at the ends, and sometimes curved outwards. The earring consists of a single or a triple drop; the hair is tied, and falls in close locks down the neck (see pl. lxxviii., no. 1). These coins occur without special marks or with symbols, or with initials of mints, but not of moneyers. The gold coins have the same symbols as those on denarii of this first series.

Series II.—These denarii are of similar design; but the type of obverse is in lower relief. The visor is as before in three pieces, curved outwards at the ends or separate from the base. The ends terminate evenly. The earring is of the same forms, and the hair is still in close locks (see pl. lxxxi., nos. 1, 2). These coins occur without or with symbols, and also with initials of moneyers and mints; but there are no gold pieces which can be classed with this or any later series.

Series III.—There is an improvement in style in the denarii assigned to this group. The head of Roma is broader, but still in somewhat low relief; the visor of her helmet is in three pieces, separate from the base, and sometimes ornamented with a ring just above the forehead; the earring is of a single drop, and the hair is more spread, and one lock falls over the left shoulder. These denarii occur without or with symbols or with initials of mints (see pl. lxxxi., no. 11).

Series IV.—The denarii of this group show a further improvement in style and fabric. The visor of the helmet is in three pieces, but peaked; the earring consists of a single drop, and the hair is compactly arranged in three or four locks, usually three (see pl. lxxxi., no. 15). With these denarii are associated

silver and bronze coins with moneyers' initials only, not those of mints. The bronze coins are of the light sextantal or heavy uncial standard. These denarii form the connecting link with the next Period.

On comparison it will be seen that the denarii of Series I. correspond with those of the same series assigned to the Roman mint; that Series II. is an intermediate variety, and that Series III. and IV. are like the Roman denarii of Series II. and III. (see vol. i., pp. 28, 36). Exception may be taken to the attribution of the denarii of Series I. of the local issues to a somewhat later date than those of corresponding type of the same series struck at the central mint. This want of uniformity may, however, be accounted for by the circumstance that the local moneyers copied the coin which was then current, and were not supplied with the most recent models used in the Capitol. The same occurred not infrequently at a later period.

The quinarii and sestertii classed with the denarii of Series I., though resembling them in style, do not follow them very closely in the minor details of the type, the visor of the helmet being as a rule only in two pieces; but in Series II. there is more uniformity. The visor is then always in three pieces separate from the base and even at the ends, and the earring consists of a single drop. There are no quinarii or sestertii without symbols or initials which correspond with the denarii of Series III. and IV.; though it is evident from their bearing mint-letters that quinarii were issued at that time and perhaps somewhat later. The sestertius appears, as in the coinage of Rome, not to have survived the introduction of the victoriatus.

The issue of the victoriatus, which first took place *circ.* B.C. 229, appears to have been much more general outside Rome than inside the city, as it is met with in large numbers, showing slight varieties of type, and with a considerable variety of mint-initials. As most of the mints which struck victoriati were in operation before and after B.C. 217, when the weights of the silver coins were reduced, the denarius from $\frac{1}{72}$ to $\frac{1}{84}$ to the Roman pound, and the other denominations in silver proportionately, it has been considered more convenient for purposes of classification to include their description in a separate section, extending in date from *circ.* B.C. 240—197, which would combine Periods I. and II. In this manner the issues of each mint are kept together, and their sequence is unbroken. An exception, however, has been made in the case of Luceria, which alone issued bronze coins with Roman types of the triental standard (see above, p. 146). It would be almost impossible to separate with any degree of certainty the heavy from the light victoriati, as their weights are so irregular. It will be seen (p. 174), that the local mints assigned to this section rarely struck the denarius, while the quinarius is not unusual. The sestertius is also rare, and the half-victoriatus seems to have occurred in two instances only.

The bronze coinage is of the sextantal reduction, falling towards the end of the period to the uncial. Some coins are without any special mark, but most of those which have symbols or initials of moneyers or mints fall into line with the silver.

It is somewhat difficult to determine when this local money began; but the internal evidence of the coins seems to afford some clue. It may be presumed

that those mints which issued the denarius, the quinarius, and the sestertius in silver of early types were in operation before those which struck only the victoriatus in silver. With the former pieces are usually associated bronze coins of the sextantal standard, and with the latter such as approach in weight the as of the uncial standard. Some of the mints, therefore, could not have come into operation before B.C. 229, when the victoriatus was first struck; and others not even until B.C. 217, when the general reduction of the silver and bronze coins occurred. Some conclusions may also be drawn from the gold coins, which were struck by the moneyers. These pieces, unlike those classed to Rome, all bear symbols corresponding with those found on denarii attributed to Series I., which may be considered to be the earliest in date; and these denarii in turn are found with symbols corresponding with those on bronze money of the sextantal standard. We have thus gold, silver, and bronze coins of contemporary dates. As we do not meet with any gold pieces which can be classed with denarii of the later series (Series II.—IV.), it must be concluded that they all belong to the earliest local issues. In dealing with the coinage of the central mint at Rome, struck from B.C. 268 (see vol. i., p. 13), it was suggested that the issue of the gold coins and the reduction of the bronze money to the sextantal standard were probably simultaneous, and that this could not have occurred much before B.C. 240. This view seems to be quite confirmed by the local coinages. If we except the case of Luceria, which issued bronze money with Roman types of the triental standard, there seems to be strong numismatic evidence that these local issues do not date from the time of the introduction of the new coinage at Rome in B.C. 268, but some years later, viz., when the bronze money was reduced to the sextantal standard. It also will be seen that in the local issues, as at Rome, the striking of gold money could only have lasted for a very short period.

The question of the date of the establishment of the local mints and issues has already been referred to in connection with the later Romano-Campanian coins (see above, p. 119); and it was then suggested that a silver currency for Campania was still supplied from Capua after its introduction at Rome, and that the Capuan mint was in operation till about the end of the first Punic war, when it was closed, to give way to local issues of the urban coinage.

COINAGE OF MONEYERS

Circ. B.C. 240—217; A.U.C. 514—537

SERIES I.[1]

GOLD, SILVER, AND BRONZE

No.	*Weight*	*Metal and Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
			Without symbols or initials	
			SILVER	
			Denarius	
1	71·5	*R* ·75	Head of Roma r., in high relief, wearing winged helmet, ornamented with gryphon's head; the visor in three pieces, even at the ends and slightly convex from the base; earring of single drop and necklace; hair tied with band and falling in close locks down the neck; behind, X	ROMA (on tablet). The Dioscuri on horseback charging r.; each holds couched spear and wears chlamys, cuirass, and pileus, surmounted by star.
2	60·0	*R* ·75	Similar.	Similar; ROMA **[Pl. lxxviii. 1.]**
3	57·4	*R* ·75	Similar.	Similar.
4	55·5	*R* ·75	Similar.	Similar.
			Quinarius	
5	38·8	*R* ·65	Head of Roma r., wearing winged helmet, &c.; similar to no. 1; the visor is in two pieces; behind, V	ROMA (on tablet). The Dioscuri on horseback charging r., &c., similar to no. 1. **[Pl. lxxviii. 2.]**
6	28·8	*R* ·65	Similar.	Similar; ROMA

[1] For the special characteristics of the denarii of this series see above, p. 150.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Sestertius	
7	16·9	Æ ·5	Head of Roma r., wearing winged helmet, &c.; similar to no. 1; the visor is in two pieces; behind, IIS	ROMA (on tablet). The Dioscuri on horseback charging r., &c., similar to no. 1. [Pl. lxxviii. 3.]
8	16·7	Æ ·5	Similar.	Similar; ROMA
9	16·5	Æ ·5	Similar.	Similar.
			BRONZE	
			SEXTANTAL SERIES[1]	
			As	
10	697·0	Æ 1·5	Head of Janus, laureate; above, I	ROMA below Prow[2] r.; above, I [Pl. lxxviii. 4.]
			Semis	
11	330·0	Æ 1·15	Head of Jupiter r., laureate; behind, S	Similar; ROMA; above prow, S
12	255·0	Æ 1·1	Similar.[3]	Similar; ROMA [Pl. lxxviii. 5.]
13	243·0	Æ 1·2	Similar.	Similar.
14	217·0	Æ 1·0	Similar.	Similar.
15	180·0	Æ 1·05	Similar.[4]	Similar.
			Triens	
16	166·0	Æ ·95	Head of Minerva r., wearing crested Corinthian helmet; hair long and tied with band; above, ••••	ROMA above Prow r.; below, •••• [Pl. lxxviii. 6.]
17	152·0	Æ 1·0	Similar.	Similar; ROMA

[1] The only bronze coins of the triental standard with Roman types, which can be assigned to local issues, are those of Luceria, with the mint letter Ⅴ (see above, p. 146). The bronze money of the sextantal standard varies somewhat in style from similar pieces of the Roman mint, the types being generally in low relief. In many cases the workmanship is better than that of the main series, especially in the case of the semis, where the head of Jupiter is often carefully modelled.

[2] The prow is sometimes ornamented with a club on the forecastle, a wing on the beak, and sea-lines on the keel.

[3] There appear to be traces of the letters CA (see below, p. 205) under the head of Jupiter on this piece.

[4] This coin is over-struck on a sextans of the triental series.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Quadrans[1]	
18	144·0	Æ 1·0	Head of young Hercules r., wearing lion's skin; behind, ⁘	Similar; above prow, RO MA; below, ••• [Pl. lxxviii. 7.]
			With symbols[2]	
			ANCHOR[3]	
			60 Sestertii[4]	
19	51·5	*N* ·6	Bust of Mars r., bearded, wearing crested Corinthian helmet and chlamys; behind, ↓X (= 60 sestertii).	ROMA below Eagle standing r. on thunderbolt; wings spread; on r., anchor, upright. [Pl. lxxviii. 8.] (Trattle Coll.)
20	34·4	*N* ·6 (*plated*)	Similar.	Similar; ROMA (Parkes Weber Coll.)
			Denarius[5]	
21	62·7	*R* ·75	Head of Roma r., in high relief, wearing winged helmet with convex visor, &c., similar to no. 1; earring of triple drop; behind, X	ROMA (on tablet). The Dioscuri on horseback charging r., &c., similar to no. 1; below horses, anchor r. [Pl. lxxviii. 9.]
22	60·5	*R* ·75	Similar.	Similar. (de Salis Coll.)

[1] Count de Salis has not assigned to local issue any pieces without symbols of lesser denomination than the quadrans. This may be due to the circumstance that in the case of the smaller denominations of the bronze coinage differences in style and fabric are not easily detected. When the smaller denominations bear symbols, or initials of moneyers or mints, this difficulty is obviated.

[2] The symbols are, as in the case of the coinage of the Roman mint, the privy marks of moneyers, but when initials occur at this time they may be either of moneyers or of mints. When we have coins bearing the same symbols as occur on those assigned to the Roman mint, the attribution of such pieces to local issue can only be determined by fabric. In the case of the silver coins it is as a rule not difficult to detect local fabric, but in that of the bronze money, which even in the Roman series is often of rude work, the separation is much more difficult, and is in consequence often uncertain.

[3] The anchor as a symbol occurs also on coins issued at the Roman mint (see vol. i., pp. 42, 62).

[4] All the gold coins, 60 and 20 sestertii pieces, assigned to local issues bear symbols, most of which are also found on denarii of Series I. and on bronze coins of the sextantal standard (see above, p. 152).

[5] The bronze coins of the sextantal and uncial standards bearing an anchor as the symbol have been classed by Count de Salis to the mint at Rome (see vol. i., pp. 42, 62). It is, however, quite possible that some of the coins with this symbol of somewhat rude fabric may have been issued outside Rome (see D'Ailly, *Mon. rom.*, pl. lxviii., no. 6, and lxix., no. 14).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			PROW[1]	
			Denarius	
23	56·0	AR ·8	Head of Roma r., in high relief, wearing winged helmet with convex visor, &c., similar to no. 1; earring of single drop; behind, X	ROMA (on tablet). The Dioscuri on horseback charging r., &c., similar to no. 1; below horses, prow r. **[Pl. lxxviii. 10.]**
			VICTORY	
			Denarius	
24	65·7	AR ·8	Head of Roma r., in high relief, wearing winged helmet with convex visor, &c., similar to no. 1; earring of single drop; behind, X	ROMA (on tablet). The Dioscuri on horseback charging r., &c., similar to no. 1; behind, Victory r., with wreath. **[Pl. lxxviii. 11.]**
			As	
25	797·0	Æ 1·55	Head of Janus, laureate; above, I	ROMA below Prow r.; above, I and Victory r., with wreath.
26	794·0	Æ 1·5	Similar.	Similar.
27	774·0	Æ 1·5	Similar.	Similar.
28	722·0	Æ 1·45	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. lxxviii. 12.]**
			Semis	
29	391·0	Æ 1·2	Head of Jupiter r., laureate; behind, S	Similar; ROMA; above prow, S and Victory r., with wreath.
30	305·0	Æ 1·1	Similar.	Similar.
31	269·0	Æ 1·1	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. lxxviii. 13.]** (Townley Coll.)
32	214·0	Æ 1·1	Similar.	Similar.

[1] Other coins, silver and bronze, with this symbol are attributed to the Roman mint (see vol. i., p. 54), but the type of the denarius shows that that issue belongs to a later period (circ. B.C. 217—197). Also the bronze coins are of the uncial standard.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Triens	
33	201·0	Æ 1·05	Head of Minerva r., wearing crested Corinthian helmet, earring of single drop and necklace; hair long and tied with band; above, ••••	Similar; above prow, ROMA and Victory r., with wreath; below, •••• **[Pl. lxxviii. 14.]**
			Quadrans	
34	217·0	Æ 1·05	Head of young Hercules r., wearing lion's skin; behind, ⁝	Similar; below prow, •••; above, Victory r., with wreath.
35	200·0	Æ 1·05	Similar.	Similar.
36	162·0	Æ ·9	Similar.	Similar; ROMA **[Pl. lxxix. 1.]**
37	153·0	Æ ·95	Similar.	Similar.
			Sextans	
38	142·0	Æ ·9	Bust of Mercury r., wearing chlamys and winged petasus; above, ••	Similar; ROMA; below prow, ••; above, Victory r., with wreath. **[Pl. lxxix. 2.]**
39	96·0	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar.
			Uncia[1]	
40	93·0	Æ ·75	Head of Roma r., wearing crested helmet with convex visor; behind, •	Similar; ROMA; below prow, •; above, Victory r., with wreath. **[Pl. lxxix. 3.]**
			FLAMEN'S CAP (*Apex*)	
			Denarius[2]	
41	64·5	Æ ·75	Head of Roma r., in high relief, wearing winged helmet with convex visor, &c., similar to no. 1; earring of single drop; behind, X	ROMA (on tablet). The Dioscuri on horseback charging r., &c., similar to no. 1; below horses, flamen's cap l. (*apex*). **[Pl. lxxix. 4.]**

[1] Another denomination of this issue with this symbol, Victory, is the semuncia (D'Ailly, *Mon. rom.*, pl. lxxxxvi., no. 18). For later bronze coins of the uncial standard with the same symbol see below, p. 220.

[2] There seems to be no other denomination with this symbol alone (see next issue with flamen's cap and hammer). D'Ailly (*Mon. rom.*, pl. lxx., no. 2) figures a sextans which may have an apex before the prow, but (*ib.*, p. 267) he remarks that the coin is in such poor condition that the symbol is uncertain, and it may be a cap of the Dioscuri.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			FLAMEN'S CAP (*Apex*) AND HAMMER[1]	
			Denarius	
42	70·0	Æ ·75	Head of Roma r., in high relief, wearing winged helmet with convex visor, &c., similar to no. 1; earring of single drop; behind, X	ROMA (on tablet). The Dioscuri on horseback charging r., &c., similar to no. 1; above, flamen's cap (*apex*) and hammer. **[Pl. lxxix. 5.]** (Blacas Coll.)
43	44·0	Æ ·75 (*plated*)	Similar.	Similar. (de Salis Coll.)
			As	
44	996·0	Æ 1·45	Head of Janus, laureate; above, I	ROMA below Prow r.; before, I; above, hammer and flamen's cap. **[Pl. lxxix. 6.]** (Blacas Coll.)
45	591·0	Æ 1·45	Similar.	Similar.
			Semis	
46	389·0	Æ 1·15	Head of Jupiter r., laureate; behind, S	Similar; ROMA; before prow, S; above, hammer and flamen's cap. **[Pl. lxxix. 7.]** (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.)
			Triens[2]	
47	259·0	Æ 1·05	Head of Minerva r., wearing crested Corinthian helmet; hair long and tied with band; earring of single drop; above, ••••	Similar; ROMA; before prow, ⁘; above, hammer and flamen's cap. **[Pl. lxxix. 8.]**

[1] Cavedoni (*Bull. dell' Inst. arch. di Roma*, 1844, p. 37) would connect this issue with a member of the Sempronia gens, C. Sempronius Tuditanus, who was plebeian aedile in B.C. 198, and praetor in the following year, the hammer (*tudes*) being a punning allusion to the cognomen, *Tuditanus*, and the *apex* a reference to his appointment as flamen. This identification is, however, not probable, as the coins must have been struck some time before B.C. 217, the bronze being of the sextantal standard. There was a M. Sempronius Tuditanus, who was consul B.C. 240 and censor B.C. 230, and another member of the same family, P. Sempronius Tuditanus, who was a tribune B.C. 216, and curule aedile B.C. 214, praetor in the next year, and censor B.C. 209. It is just possible that the last member of the Sempronia gens may have struck these coins.

[2] Other denominations of the sextantal standard with these symbols are the quadrans, sextans, and uncia (D'Ailly, *Mon. rom.*, pl. lxx.; nos. 7-9). There are also a semis and a triens of the uncial standard (see below, p. 221).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			CADUCEUS[1]	
			Denarius[2]	
48	68·8	Ar ·75	Head of Roma r., in high relief, wearing winged helmet with convex visor, &c., similar to no. 1: earring of single drop; behind, X	ROMA (in exergue). The Dioscuri on horseback charging r., &c., similar to no. 1; below horses, caduceus r. (*type in high relief*). [Pl. lxxix. 9.]
			As	
49	845·0	Æ 1·5	Head of Janus, laureate; above, I	ROMA below Prow r.; before, I; above, caduceus r.
50	767·0	Æ 1·4	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. lxxix. 10.]
			Triens	
51	216·0	Æ 1·1	Head of Minerva r., wearing crested Corinthian helmet and earring of single drop; hair long and tied with band; above, ••••	Similar; before prow, ⁘; above, caduceus r. [Pl. lxxix. 11.]
			Quadrans[3]	
52	227·0	Æ 1·15	Head of young Hercules r., wearing lion's skin; behind, ⁘	Similar; ROMA; before prow, ⁘; above, caduceus r. [Pl. lxxix. 12.]
53	162·0 (*worn*)	Æ 1·0	Similar.	Similar.

[1] The caduceus is a somewhat common symbol on coins of the Roman Republic. At a later date it often forms the main type of the reverse.

[2] The denarii with this symbol vary in some particulars from others of the series. The one here described is of peculiar fabric and style; the pose of the head of Roma and her features differ from the usual representations at this time, and on the reverse the type is in exceptionally high relief and somewhat rude (see also no. 58, p. 161). D'Ailly (*Mon. rom.*, pl. lxxiii., no. 10) figures a specimen similar to the one above described, and another (*ib.*, pl. lxxii., no. 8) which may also belong to this issue, and which has the head of Roma of the usual form, and shows her wearing an earring with a triple drop. The caduceus as a symbol recurs on other denarii, which also belong to this period, but which are classed to Series II. (see below, p. 167). A figure of this last variety is given by D'Ailly (*ib.*, pl. lxxiii., no. 9).

[3] Other denominations are the semis, sextans, and uncia (D'Ailly, *ib.*, pl. lxxiii., nos. 13, 16, 17). For bronze coins with the same symbol but of lighter weight see below, p. 221.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			SPEAR-HEAD	
			60 Sestertii[1]	
	51·7	Æ ·6	Bust of Mars r., bearded, wearing crested Corinthian helmet and chlamys; behind, ↓X (= 60 sestertii).	ROMA below Eagle standing r. on thunderbolt; wings spread; on r., spear-head.

[D'Ailly, *Mon. rom.*, pl. lxxxii., no. 13.]

Denarius

54	66·0	Æ ·75	Head of Roma r., in high relief, wearing winged helmet with convex visor, &c., similar to no. 1; earring of triple drop; behind, X	ROMA (on tablet). The Dioscuri on horseback charging r., &c., similar to no. 1; below horses, spear-head. **[Pl. lxxx. 1.]** (de Salis Coll.)

Quinarius[2]

55	34·7	Æ ·6	Head of Roma r., similar to the last coin; the visor convex and in three pieces; earring of single drop; behind, V	Similar; ROMA **[Pl. lxxx. 2.]** (Townley Coll.)
56	28·0	Æ ·6	Similar.	Similar.
57	30·7	Æ ·6	Similar.	Similar; ROMA

[1] This gold coin, which is in the D'Ailly collection, appears to be unique.

[2] Count de Salis has also assigned the denarius, victoriatus, and bronze coins with this symbol to the Roman mint (see vol. i., p. 39) on account of their fabric. The form of the helmet of Roma (which has the visor in three pieces and peaked) on the denarii of that issue shows that they belong to a slightly later date. The spear-head on the local coins differs from that on those of the Roman mint. It is shorter but broader, and the centre line dividing the blades is continued to the top instead of only half-way up.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			KNIFE[1]	
			Denarius	
58	67·2	Æ ·75	Head of Roma r., in high relief, wearing winged helmet with convex visor, &c., similar to no. 1, earring of single drop; behind, X	ROMA (in exergue). The Dioscuri on horseback charging r., &c., similar to no. 1; below horses, knife r. (*type in high relief*). **[Pl. lxxx. 3.]**
59	65·5	Æ ·7	Similar.	Similar.
			STAFF[2]	
			60 Sestertii[3]	
60	51·5	Æ ·6	Bust of Mars r., bearded, wearing crested Corinthian helmet and chlamys; behind, ↓X (= 60 sestertii).	ROMA below Eagle standing r. on thunderbolt; wings spread; above, staff. **[Pl. lxxx. 4.]** (Blacas Coll.)
			Denarius	
61	70·7	Æ ·75	Head of Roma r., in high relief, wearing winged helmet with convex visor, &c., similar to no. 1; earring of triple drop; behind, X	ROMA (on tablet). The Dioscuri on horseback charging r.,[4] &c., similar to no. 1; below horses, staff l.
62	70·6	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. lxxx. 5.]**
63	65·5	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar.

[1] Count de Salis in this case also has attributed silver and bronze coins (uncial standard) with this symbol to the Roman mint *circ.* B.C. 217—197 (see vol. i., p. 56). The fabric of these local denarii is somewhat rude, and the reverse type is in high relief. In these respects they are so precisely similar to the denarii with the symbol, a caduceus (see above, no. 48, p. 159), that it might even be suggested that the dies for the two issues were made by the same engraver. The resemblance is most remarkable. There appear to be no bronze coins with this symbol which can be locally assigned.

[2] There were at least three issues with this symbol, viz. that above described and two others which are of somewhat later date, and are classed to the Roman mint *circ.* B.C. 229—217 (see vol. i., p. 37), and *circ.* B.C. 217—197 (*ib.*, p. 53). To this last issue Count de Salis has attributed the victoriatus. D'Ailly (*Mon. rom.*, p. 451) calls the symbol a spear (*haste*), but the knotted stem shows that it is a *rod* or *staff*.

[3] This gold coin is very rare. Only three specimens appear to exist (see Bahrfeldt, *Riv. Ital.*, 1900, p. 22). D'Ailly only gives the weights of his specimen and of that in the Blacas collection now in the British Museum. The third specimen was in the Montagu collection (*Sale Cat.*, no. 5).

[4] The fabric of the reverse type is very similar to that of the denarii with the symbols, a caduceus and a knife (see above, and p. 159). D'Ailly (*op. cit.*, p. 452) remarks on the coarse work of the denarii bearing the symbol, a staff.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			As	
64	646·0	Æ 1·35	Head of Janus, laureate; above, I	ROMA below Prow r.; above, I and staff l.
65	616·0	Æ 1·4	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. lxxx. 6.] (Payne Knight Coll.)
66	525·0	Æ 1·4	Similar.	Similar.
			Semis	
67	397·0	Æ 1·25	Head of Jupiter r., laureate; behind, S	Similar; above prow, S and staff. [Pl. lxxx. 7.]
68	311·0	Æ 1·2	Similar.	Similar.
69	275·0	Æ 1·15	Similar.	Similar. (Blacas Coll.)
70	248·0	Æ 1·15	Similar.	Similar.
			Triens	
71	262·0	Æ 1·1	Head of Minerva r., wearing crested Corinthian helmet; hair long and tied with band; above, ••••	Similar; above prow, RO MA and staff; below, •••• [Pl. lxxx. 8.]
72	150·0	Æ 1·0	Similar; Minerva wears necklace of pendants.	Similar. [Pl. lxxx. 9.]
73	212·0	Æ 1·05	Similar; behind head, club?	Similar; legend, MROA (*sic*)
			Quadrans	
74	206·0	Æ ·94	Head of young Hercules r., wearing lion's skin; behind, ⁝	Similar; above prow, ROMA and staff; below, ••• [Pl. lxxx. 10.]
			Sextans[1]	
75	95·0	Æ ·85	Bust of Mercury r., wearing chlamys and winged petasus; above, ••	Similar; above, staff; below, •• [Pl. lxxx. 11.]

[1] The uncia of this issue was also struck.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			PENTAGON	
			60 Sestertii[1]	
76	51·9	Æ ·6	Bust of Mars r., bearded, wearing crested Corinthian helmet and chlamys; behind, ↓X (= 60 sestertii).	ROMA below Eagle standing r. on thunderbolt; wings spread; on r., pentagon. **[Pl. lxxx. 12.]**
			Denarius[2]	
	65·0	Æ ·8	Head of Roma r., in high relief, wearing winged helmet with convex visor, &c., similar to no. 1; earring of triple drop; behind, X	ROMA (on tablet). The Dioscuri on horseback charging r., &c., similar to no. 1; below horses, pentagon.

[D'Ailly, *Mon. rom.*, pl. lxxxxii., no. 11.]

			EAR OF CORN[3]	
			20 Sestertii	
	17·0	Æ ·4	Bust of Mars r., bearded, wearing crested Corinthian helmet and chlamys; behind, XX (= 20 sestertii).	ROMA below Eagle standing r. on thunderbolt; wings spread; on l., ear of corn.

[Capitoline Museum.]

[1] D'Ailly (*Mon. rom.*, p. 530) says that the only specimen of this coin that he had met with was in the Borghesi collection. It afterwards passed into that of the late H. Montagu (*Sale Cat.*, no. 6). There is no record when the Museum coin was acquired, but it must have been early in the last century. Bahrfeldt (*Riv. Ital.*, 1900, p. 22) mentions only these two specimens.

[2] The denarius figured by D'Ailly (*loc. cit.*) is similar to those classed to Series I. There was a later issue with the symbol, a pentagon, *circ.* B.C. 217—197 (see below, p. 213), and most probably an intermediate one to which may be assigned the denarii figured by D'Ailly (pl. lxxxxii., nos. 13, 14), and possibly the victoriatus (no. 12). None of these coins are, however, represented in the National Collection.

There are no bronze coins figured by D'Ailly with a pentagon for symbol.

[3] The coinages with this symbol are somewhat difficult to classify, both as to their locality of issue and their dates. This symbol was used at the mint in the Capitol as well as locally.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Semis	
	355·0	Æ 1·2	Head of Jupiter r., laureate; behind, S	ROMA above Prow r; below, S; above legend, ear of corn r.

[Cf. D'Ailly, *Mon. rom.*, pl. lxxxi., no. 3.[1]]

			Triens[2]	
77	136·0 (*worn*)	Æ 1·0	Head of Minerva r., wearing crested Corinthian helmet; behind, ⋮	Similar; below prow, ••••; above legend, ear of corn r.
			Sextans[3]	
78	117·0	Æ ·95	Head of Mercury r., wearing winged petasus; above, ••	Similar; below prow, ••; above legend, ear of corn r. [Pl. lxxx. 13.] (Blacas Coll.)

To the former may be attributed the denarius and the quinarius, and the as, semis, triens, and quadrans of the sextantal standard (see vol. i., p. 33, and D'Ailly, *op. cit.*, pl. lxxx., nos. 16-20). There was a later issue (circ. B.C. 197—173) with the bronze of the uncial standard, and with the denarius having for reverse type Diana in a biga (D'Ailly, pl. lxxxxvii. *bis*, nos. 1, 2, 4, 6). Of this last issue the National Collection possesses no specimens either in silver or bronze. Both these series are of the usual types and fabric. The coins now described are, from their fabric, of local issue and probably Campanian. As the twenty sestertii piece bears a symbol, ear of corn, it must, for reasons already stated (see above, p. 152), be assigned to local issue. This is the only instance known of that denomination bearing a symbol. Bahrfeldt (*Riv. Ital.*, 1900, p. 25) mentions four specimens of this interesting coin—at Bologna, in the Museo Civico; at Rome, in the Museo Capitolino; and in the Haeberlin and Sarti collections. The bronze coins, besides being of somewhat coarse work, vary in type from those struck about the same time at the mint at Rome. On all the denominations the name of ROMA and the symbol are placed above the prow. On the semis the mark of value is below the prow, and on the triens the marks of value occur behind instead of above the head of Minerva. These bronze coins are of the sextantal standard, and according to the classification here adopted they coincide in date with the gold twenty sestertii piece. D'Ailly (*op. cit.*, pp. 396 f.) also classed these bronze coins as Campanian. There are no silver coins at present known (denarii or quinarii) which can be assigned to this issue. D'Ailly associated with it the Campanian silver *quadrigati*, with obverse, head of Janus, and with reverse, Jupiter in a quadriga, bearing also as a symbol the ear of corn (see above, p. 134, no. 108). The victoriatus with this symbol, which Count de Salis has assigned to a local issue (see below, p. 219), is of a later date, i.e. after B.C. 217.

[1] In the illustration D'Ailly has placed the forepart of a gryphon before the prow. This does not exist on the coin figured, which was in the Borghesi collection. It is now in the Capitoline Museum.

[2] The light weight of this coin is to be attributed to its poor condition. It is too much worn for illustration. The marks of value are placed behind the head of Minerva, instead of above as usual.

[3] The quadrans of this issue is not in the National Collection, nor does D'Ailly mention it.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Uncia	
79	109·0	Æ ·85	Head of Roma r., wearing crested helmet with visor, earring of single drop, and necklace; behind, •	Similar; below prow, •; above legend, ear of corn r. **[Pl. lxxx. 14.]**
80	103·0	Æ ·85	Similar.	Similar.
81	95·0	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar.
82	94·0	Æ ·85	Similar.	Similar. (Blacas Coll.)
83	93·0	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar.
84	89·0	Æ ·85	Similar.	Similar.
85	83·0	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar.
86	76·0	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar.
			Semuncia	
87	47·0	Æ ·75	Head of Mercury r., wearing winged petasus.	Similar; no mark of value; above legend, ear of corn r. **[Pl. lxxx. 15.]**

SERIES II.[1]

SILVER AND BRONZE

Without symbols or initials

SILVER

Denarius[1]

88	67·9	Æ ·75	Head of Roma r., in lower relief, wearing winged helmet, ornamented with gryphon's head; the visor in three pieces, even at the ends, and slightly convex; earring of triple drop and necklace; hair in close locks; behind, X	ROMA (on tablet). The Dioscuri on horseback charging r.; each holds couched spear and wears chlamys, cuirass, and pileus, surmounted by star. **[Pl. lxxxi. 1.]**

[1] The denarii of this Series are of a transitional style, nos. 88 and 89 being very similar to those of Series I., and nos. 90 and 91 approaching those of Series III. (see above, p. 150). The fabric is rude, but the reverse type is usually not of such coarse work as most of those assigned to Series I.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
89	63·7	Æ ·85	Similar.	Similar; ROMA
90	64·0	Æ ·85	Similar; the visor is straight and in three pieces, more separated and even at the ends.	Similar. [Pl. lxxxi. 2.]
91	62·7	Æ ·7	Similar; the pieces of the visor are separate from the base; earring of single drop.	Similar; ROMA, incuse.[1] [Pl. lxxxi. 3.]
			Quinarius	
92	31·7	Æ ·65	Head of Roma r., in lower relief, wearing winged helmet, &c., similar to no. 90; the visor is in three pieces, more open at the ends; earring of triple drop;[2] behind, V	ROMA (on tablet). The Dioscuri on horseback charging r., &c., similar to no. 88. [Pl. lxxxi. 4.]
93	31·6	Æ ·6	Similar.	Similar; ROMA (Cracherode Coll.)
94	31·5	Æ ·65	Similar.	Similar.
95	35·6	Æ ·7	Similar; earring of single drop.	Similar. [Pl. lxxxi. 5.]
96	35·0	Æ ·6	Similar.	Similar; ROMA
97	33·7	Æ ·6	Similar.	Similar; ROMA
98	32·4	Æ ·6	Similar.	Similar; ROMA
99	26·4 (*worn*)	Æ ·6	Similar.	Similar.
			Sestertius	
100	16·3	Æ ·55	Head of Roma r., in lower relief, wearing winged helmet, &c., similar to no. 90; the visor is in three pieces, more open at the ends; earring of single drop; behind, IIS	ROMA (on tablet). The Dioscuri on horseback charging r., &c., similar to no. 88. [Pl. lxxxi. 6.] (Townley Coll.)
101	15·9	Æ ·5	Similar; the pieces of the visor are more separated.	Similar; ROMA [Pl. lxxxi. 7.]

[1] This is the only example of the denarius in the National Collection with the legend incuse.

[2] Quinarii with this shaped earring are precisely similar in fabric to the denarii of this series having the same shaped earring. They appear to belong to the same issue.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
102	15·1	Æ ·45	Similar.	Similar; ROMA
103	14·7	Æ ·4	Similar.[1]	Similar; ROMA
			With symbol	
			CADUCEUS[2]	
			Denarius[3]	
104	63·5	Æ ·8	Head of Roma r., in lower relief and wide-spread, wearing winged helmet with visor in three pieces and slightly convex, &c., similar to no. 88; earring of single drop; behind, X	ROMA (on tablet). The Dioscuri on horseback charging r., &c., similar to no. 88; below horses, caduceus r. **[Pl. lxxxi. 8.]**
105	59·3	Æ ·85	Similar; the visor is in two pieces and straight.	Similar; legend ROMA not on tablet. **[Pl. lxxxi. 9.]** (de Salis Coll.)
			With moneyer's (?) initial	
			M	
			(Uncertain)	
			Denarius[4]	
106	59·0 (*worn*)	Æ ·75	Head of Roma r., in lower relief, wearing winged helmet with visor in three pieces, slightly convex, &c., similar to no. 88; earring of single drop; behind, X	ROMA (on tablet). The Dioscuri on horseback charging r., &c., similar to no. 88; below horses, M **[Pl. lxxxi. 10.]** (de Salis Coll.)

[1] This sestertius and the quinarius no. 95 are so precisely similar in the form of the head of Roma, the arrangement of the hair, the shape of the helmet, &c., that they may have been issued from the same place. Numerous instances of like similarity occur in this local money.

[2] This symbol, the caduceus, occurs on denarii of Series I. (p. 159), with which are associated the bronze coins bearing the same symbol.

[3] These denarii, from their somewhat flat fabric, belong to Series II., though differing slightly in the details. The tablet on which the legend ROMA is usually placed is but faintly shown on no. 104. On no. 105 there are no traces of it.

[4] It is somewhat difficult to determine whether the initial M is that of a moneyer or of a mint. At a later period (see p. 202) we meet with M in conjunction with C as initial letters, showing an alliance between two mints. Count de Salis has classed the above issue with those of the moneyers. The type of the obverse resembles denarii of Series II., but the reverse is of somewhat better style, and is similar to that of coins classed to the mint at Rome. The specimen in the National Collection is somewhat worn and cracked, which would account for its light weight.

D'Ailly (*Mon. rom.*, pl. cvi., no. 13) figures another denarius with the same letter, but as

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Quinarius[1]	
	22·2 (*worn*)	AR ·6	Similar; the visor of the helmet is in three separate pieces, even at the ends; behind head, V	Similar; ROMA in exergue; below horses, M

[D'Ailly, *Mon. rom.*, pl. cvi., no. 14.]

SERIES III.

SILVER AND BRONZE

Without symbols or initials

SILVER

Denarius[2]

107	75·7	AR ·8	Head of Roma r., in low relief, wearing winged helmet, ornamented with gryphon's head; the visor in three pieces separate from the base, even at the ends, and with small ring above the forehead; earring of single drop and necklace; hair spread and arranged in four locks; another on l. shoulder; behind, X	ROMA (on tablet). The Dioscuri on horseback charging r.; each holds couched spear, and wears chlamys, cuirass, and pileus, surmounted by star. **[Pl. lxxxi. 11.]** (de Salis Coll.)
108	68·7	AR ·7	Similar.	Similar. (de Salis Coll.)

Roma wears a helmet with a peaked visor, it evidently belongs to a later date, as also the quadrantes (*loc. cit.*, nos. 15-17). He classes these last pieces to the uncial series.

[1] This quinarius evidently belongs to the period to which it is here assigned. D'Ailly (*op. cit.*, p. 700) says that the specimen in his collection was to his knowledge unique, and that it was much worn.

[2] For the classification of the denarii attributed to this Series see above, p. 150. They are so precisely similar in style and fabric, and in the details of the obverse type, to those which have for symbol a laurel-branch (see next issue), and those which have the mint-initial B, probably struck at Beneventum (see below, p. 192), that they were probably all issued in the same locality, but under different conditions—those without and with a symbol under the authority of the moneyers, but those with the initial B under that of the mint. On all there is a small ring under the visor above the forehead of Roma, and a small lock of hair falls over the left shoulder. There are no quinarii or sestertii which show these peculiarities.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			With symbol	
			LAUREL-BRANCH	
			Denarius[1]	
109	65·8	Æ ·75	Head of Roma r., in low relief, wearing winged helmet with visor in three pieces separate from the base, even at the ends, and with small ring above the forehead, &c., similar to no. 107; earring of single drop; lock of hair on l. shoulder; under chin,[2] X; behind, laurel-branch, tied with fillet.	ROMA (on tablet). The Dioscuri on horseback charging r., &c., similar to no. 107. (de Salis Coll.)
110	60·5	Æ ·7	Similar.	Similar; ROMA in exergue. **[Pl. lxxxi. 12.]**
111	66·5	Æ ·75	Similar; no lock of hair on l. shoulder.	Similar; ROMA on tablet. **[Pl. lxxxi. 13.]**
112	60·0	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar; ROMA in exergue.
			As[3]	
113	767·0	Æ 1·5	Head of Janus, laureate; above, I	ROMA below Prow r.; before, I; above, laurel-branch l. **[Pl. lxxxi. 14.]**

[1] Attention has been drawn to the resemblance between these denarii and those without a symbol, and those with the mint-initial B (see above, p. 168). There do not appear to be any quinarii of this issue.

[2] This is the earliest instance of the removal of the mark of value from behind to before the head of Roma. It was done to make room for the symbol, which in all previous cases was placed on the reverse.

[3] Other denominations of this issue are the semis, quadrans, and sextans (D'Ailly, *Mon. rom.*, pl. lxxiii., nos. 5-7). They all have the symbol above the prow and the marks of value before it. D'Ailly (*loc. cit.*, nos. 1, 2), figures denarii showing the earring with a triple as well as with a single drop.

SERIES IV.[1]

SILVER AND BRONZE

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Without symbols or initials	
			SILVER	
			Denarius	
114	66·9	AR ·7	Head of Roma r., wearing winged helmet, ornamented with gryphon's head; the visor in three pieces, and peaked; earring of single drop and necklace; hair arranged symmetrically in three locks; behind, X	ROMA (on tablet). The Dioscuri on horseback charging r.; each holds couched spear and wears chlamys, cuirass, and pileus, surmounted by star. **[Pl. lxxxi. 15.]**
115	66·0	AR ·7	Similar; the visor is in two pieces and the hair is arranged in five locks.	Similar.
			With moneyers' monograms	
			A⋀	
			(ALLIUS[2])	
			Denarius[3]	
116	60·2	AR ·7	Head of Roma r., wearing winged helmet with visor in three pieces, and peaked, &c., similar to no. 114; earring of single drop and hair in four locks; behind, X	ROMA (on tablet). The Dioscuri on horseback charging r., &c., similar to no. 114; below horses, A⋀ **[Pl. lxxxi. 16.]** (Blacas Coll.)

[1] These are the latest denarii to be assigned to this period. The form of the visor of the helmet with three pieces peaked is that which occurs on later coins of this denomination (see above, p. 150). They correspond in this respect precisely to those of the Roman mint (Series III.), which are given to the years B.C. 229—217 (see vol. i., p. 36). There are no quinarii with the helmet of Roma of the same form; those which are assigned to this series preserve, as it will be seen, the previous form. It is probable, as in the case of the coinage of the Roman mint, that the sestertius was no longer issued. It may be noticed that all the other issues assigned to this particular epoch bear moneyers' monograms and not symbols.

[2] The coins with this monogram are attributed to a member of the Allia gens (*Zeit. f. Num.*, 1882, p. 190; *Num. Zeit.*, 1881, p. 178). It has been remarked (see vol. i., p. 73) that some confusion has occurred between the coins which bear this monogram and those with A⋀, which are classed to the mint at Rome. Denarii with the moneyer's name C. A⋀ (Caius Allius), which appear to be of a slightly earlier date, and to belong to another member of this family, are also of the central mint (see vol. i., p. 34).

[3] The denarius appears to be the only denomination known with this monogram. Bahrfeldt (*Num. Zeit.*, 1881, p. 180) thinks that the issue took place after the reduction of the denarius from $\frac{1}{72}$ to $\frac{1}{84}$ of the Roman pound, that is after B.C. 217. The absence of any bronze coins renders it somewhat difficult to determine its precise date.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			ΜΑ[1]	
			(Uncertain)	
			Denarius	
117	60·3	Æ ·75	Head of Roma r., wearing winged helmet with visor in two pieces,[2] and peaked, &c., similar to no. 115; earring of single drop and hair in three locks; behind, X	ROMA (on tablet). The Dioscuri on horseback charging r., &c., similar to no. 114; below horses, ΜΑ
118	58·5	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. lxxxi. 17.]**
			Quinarius[3]	
	33·3	Æ ·6	Similar; the visor is in two separate pieces, even at the ends, not peaked; behind, V	Similar; ROMA on tablet; below horses, ΜΑ

[D'Ailly, *Mon. rom.*, pl. cvii., no. 1.]

			Sextans[4]	
119	73·0	Æ ·65	Bust of Mercury r., wearing chlamys and winged petasus; above, ••	ROMA above Prow r.; below, ••; before, ⊰

[1] This moneyer is uncertain. Cohen (*Mon. rép. rom.*, pp 131, 134) has interpreted the monogram as Maximus, and supposed that these coins may have been struck by Quintus Fabius Maximus, who was consul and dictator B.C. 220. Gnecchi (*Riv. Ital.*, 1889, p. 172) suggests that he may have been a member of the Matiena gens. Mommsen (*Hist. mon. rom.*, t ii., p. 251) says "there is not a single good reason for interpreting the monogram as MAX (Maximus)."

[2] The denarius of this issue figured by Cohen (*op. cit.*, pl. xvii., no. 1) has the visor of the helmet in three pieces and peaked as on no. 114.

[3] D'Ailly (*Mon. rom.*, p. 706) mentions only two specimens of this quinarius; one in his own collection, the other in the Paris Cabinet.

[4] Other denominations of this issue are the semis, triens, and quadrans (D'Ailly, *op. cit.*, pl. cvii., nos. 2-5). The weight of these coins falls almost to that of the uncial standard, but the denarius and quinarius appear to be earlier than B.C. 217. D'Ailly thought that they were of the semuncial standard. The monogram of the moneyer on the reverse of the bronze coins is placed vertically and not horizontally before the prow. This is somewhat unusual, but the same peculiarity will be seen on the following bronze coins with the monogram ΑR (see p. 173). D'Ailly also figures an *as* with the legend ΜΑ (pl. cvi., no. 18) and (p. 703) describes a denarius with the same letters which he had seen at Canigatti, a village situated between Caltanisetta and Girgenti, in Sicily. These two pieces probably belong to another issue.

D'Ailly (*op. cit.*, p. 710) was the first to notice that the sextantes of this issue are often overstruck on local pieces of Cales in Campania (he eroneously gives the place as Cumae). Out of twenty-six specimens examined by him, he found seven with traces of the coins of Cales,

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
120	71·0	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar.
121	64·0	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar (*overstruck on a coin of Cales*).
122	55·0	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. lxxxi. 18.]**
123	55·0	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar (*overstruck on a local coin*).
124	45·0	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar (*overstruck on a coin of Cales*).
125	58·0	Æ ·85	Similar.	Similar; ROMA (*similar*).
126	49·0	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar; ROMA

AR

(AURELIUS[1])

Denarius

	54·8 (*worn*)	AR ·8	Head of Roma r., wearing winged helmet with visor in three pieces, and peaked, &c., similar to no. 114; earring of single drop and hair in three locks; behind, X	ROMA (on tablet). The Dioscuri on horseback charging r., &c., similar to no. 114; below horses, AR

[Babelon, vol. i., p. 238, no. 8.]

having for types the head of Apollo and man-headed-bull. Bahrfeldt (*Zeit. f. Num.*, 1885, p. 135) notes that of eleven examples in his possession, eight are overstruck. In the Museum series nos. 121, 124, 125, are certainly overstruck on coins of Cales, but no. 123 is uncertain. This fact is interesting, as it suggests the district in which the moneyer held office. The autonomous silver coinage of Cales came to an end in B.C. 268, but bronze money with obverse head of Apollo and reverse man-headed-bull and star continued to be issued for some time after. It is therefore not improbable that for a short time the Romans established a mint at Cales, which may have come into operation after the cessation of the last issue of the autonomous coins, *i.e.* circ. B.C. 230. These they made use of for their own currency, overstriking them with their own dies.

[1] This moneyer has been identified with C. Aurelius, who was a legate of M. Claudius Marcellus in the Hannibalic war B.C. 216, or with L. Aurelius, who was quaestor urbanus B.C. 196, or with C. Aurelius Cotta, who was praetor urbanus B.C. 202 and consul B.C. 200 (Babelon, vol. i., p. 237). In each case the identification is quite uncertain.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Quinarius	
127	30·0	AR ·65	Similar; the visor of the helmet is in two separate pieces, even at the ends; not peaked; earring of single drop; behind, V	Similar; ROMA; below horses, AR (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.)
128	27·3	AR ·65	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. lxxxi. 19.]**
			Quadrans [1]	
129	63·0 (*worn*)	Æ ·85	Head of young Hercules r., wearing lion's skin; behind, ⁘	ROMA above Prow r.; below, •••; before, ⋚
			Sextans [2]	
130	64·0	Æ ·8	Bust of Mercury r., wearing chlamys and winged petasus; above, ••	Similar; below prow, ••; before, ⋚ **[Pl. lxxxi. 20 rev.]**
131	63·0	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar.

[1] The specimen of this denomination in the National Collection is too much worn for illustration.

[2] Other denominations with this monogram are the as, semis, and triens (Babelon, vol. i., pp. 238, 239, nos. 10-12). The fabric of the denarius and of the quinarius indicates that these coins are of local issue. The bronze coins are of the light sextantal or the uncial standard, which would place the issue shortly before B.C. 217. No victoriatus with this monogram has been met with.

PERIODS I.—II.

Circ. B.C. 240—197: A.U.C. 514—557

For convenience of classification Count de Salis has grouped under the above dates, B.C. 240—197, the issues of the local mints (as distinct from those of the moneyers, see above, pp. 142, 151) which could not be separated without breaking into the continuity of their respective coinages. An exception, however, has been made in the case of Luceria, which alone struck bronze coins of Roman types of the triental standard. These pieces were issued before B.C. 240 (see above, p. 146). The absence of the denarius in most of the issues, and the irregularity of the weights of the quinarius and of the victoriatus, together with certain variations in the type of the last coin, render it impossible in some cases to separate the silver coins which were struck before B.C. 217, when the standard of the silver was reduced, from those issued after that date. Some chronological sequence in many issues, and also in the dates of the establishment of the mints, can, however, be obtained from the weights of the bronze coins. In B.C. 240 and 217 the bronze money underwent two reductions; to the sextantal standard at the former date, and to the uncial at the latter. The mints which issued coins of the sextantal standard are therefore classed before those which struck coins of the uncial. In this manner we have some criteria which enable us to establish a chronological sequence in the establishment of the mints and of their issues. In B.C. 217, when the weight of the denarius was also reduced, from $\frac{1}{72}$ to $\frac{1}{84}$ of the Roman pound, the victoriatus underwent a proportionate decrease.

Denominations and Types.—The denominations and types have already been mentioned in dealing with the coins of the previous section (see above, p. 149). Those of the local mints fall into line with those of the local moneyers, with the exception that there are no gold coins. These were limited to the issues of the moneyers. At the local mints we meet with the half-victoriatus, which is, however, of very rare occurrence. As this denomination did not occur in any of the issues assigned to the mint in the Capitol, it may be concluded that it was only struck locally. In the bronze coinages there are some variations and additions. Luceria, and also the mint with the initial Γ (Palio), struck the dextans and the quincunx in bronze, the former of the sextantal and uncial standards, the latter of the uncial standard only. These denominations, which were not issued at Rome, have special types for both obverse and reverse. Another denomination apparently not met with at Rome is the semuncia of the uncial standard. In the joint-issue of Luceria and Teanum the half-victoriatus, sextans, uncia, and semuncia bear special types.

Classification.—The issues assigned to this section are headed by typical

specimens of the quinarius, victoriatus, and half-victoriatus, without any adjunct symbols or initials, but which from their fabric are evidently of local striking. It is possible that some of these were not struck under the authority of a mint or mints, but form part of the issues of the moneyers. This is a question which it seems impossible to decide. In the case of the quinarius, an occasional slight change will be seen in the shape of the helmet worn by Roma to one of Phrygian form. As coins with this shaped helmet are otherwise only found with the mint-letter ⅂ (Luceria), it may be presumed that those without any special symbol or letter were also coined at that place (see below, pp. 177, 179). The victoriatus shows several varieties in both the obverse and reverse types, from which we can gather some chronological evidence, though it may be slight and occasionally a little uncertain. On the earlier and heavier pieces the head of Jupiter is in high relief, the hair and beard are thick and bushy, and the back of the head is round. On the later pieces, which are mostly of light weight, the head is in low relief, the hair and beard less curly and massive, and usually the back of the head has a deep indentation. The bronze coins which are associated with the earlier form are mainly of the sextantal standard, while those with the later one are of the uncial reduction. Strict uniformity, however, is not a rule, but we may infer that in most instances this variation in the type took place about B.C. 217, when the victoriatus, like the bronze coins, was reduced in weight. The trophy on the reverse also shows some slight variations in form, but these do not afford much evidence of chronology. They are mostly the result of the coins having been struck at different mints. On some the trophy has a cuirass and greaves; on others the cuirass is without the greaves or the greaves without the cuirass, whilst some are without either of these objects. The half-victoriatus is not sufficiently numerous to show similar variations, but unlike the victoriatus it sometimes bears the mark of value S (*semis*). It is from the bronze coins that we obtain most evidence for ascertaining the chronological sequence of the issues, and the dates of the foundation of the various mints. If we except the bronze coins of Luceria which were issued on the triental standard (see above, p. 146), it will be seen from the following descriptions that some of the mints, Canusium, Beneventum, Herdonea, &c., struck denarii which are of early date, and which correspond in style and fabric to those of Series I., II. and III. (see above, p. 150), together with, in some cases, quinarii, victoriati, and bronze money of the sextantal standard. Others, Corcyra, Mateola, and Vibo issue quinarii and victoriati of the heavy weight, the last mint with bronze coins of the sextantal standard, whilst others, amongst which are Croton and several uncertain mints, issue light victoriati or bronze of the uncial standard. It would therefore appear that the establishment of the local mints took place at various times, and extended over a considerable period. Those mints which issued the denarius, quinarius, and bronze coins of the sextantal series must have been started soon after the introduction of the bronze money of that standard, *circ.* B.C. 240; those which issued the heavy victoriatus could not have been in operation before B.C. 229; and those which struck the light victoriatus and uncial bronze money could not be earlier than B.C. 217. As there are no silver coins which can be assigned to these mints after B.C. 197, we have confirmatory

evidence that they must have suspended operations by about the end of the third century B.C. From that time local issues of Roman coins in Italy were controlled not by the mints but by moneyers who were specially appointed for the purpose.

In most cases the mints are capable of identification. They were situated in Apulia, Campania, Latium (?), Samnium, and Bruttium, but chiefly in Apulia. Some are of doubtful identification, and of a few no satisfactory solution has been arrived at. In assigning a coinage to a particular locality, similarity of fabric is an important factor, and on this basis new attributions in several cases are suggested. Where evidence of this character has been available, it is specially noted. A very important feature connected with the local mints is that the chief currency in silver consisted of the victoriatus. That denomination, as has been already noticed (see vol. i., p. 13), was equivalent in weight to the drachms of Southern Italy and Illyricum, and it would therefore obtain a considerable circulation, not only in those districts which were at the time not immediately under any kind of Roman domination, but it would also serve for commercial purposes outside Italy. Of the other silver coins the quinarius occurs somewhat frequently, but the denarius and the sestertius are quite the exception.

In the issues which are assigned to the moneyers during B.C. 217—197, the denarius was the principal silver coin, the victoriatus occurring only occasionally. In this circumstance we appear to have an important distinction between the coinages of the mints and those of the moneyers.

COINAGE OF MINTS

Circ. B.C. 240—197; A.U.C. 514—557

SERIES I.

Without symbols or initials[1]

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Quinarius[2]	
			Type I.	
132	33·1	Æ ·7	Head of Roma r., wearing winged helmet, ornamented with gryphon's head; the visor in three pieces joined at the ends; earring of single drop and necklace; hair in close locks; behind, V	ROMA (in exergue). The Dioscuri on horseback charging r.; each holds couched spear and wears chlamys, cuirass, and pileus, surmounted by star. **[Pl. lxxxii. 1.]**
133	32·9	Æ ·65	Similar.	Similar; the exergual line does not extend across the field.
134	31·3	Æ ·65	Similar.	Similar.
			Type I. var.	
135	37·2	Æ ·65	Head of Roma r., wearing winged helmet, &c., similar to the preceding, but the back of the helmet is Phrygian in form, and the ends of the visor are separated; behind, V	Similar; ROMA in exergue. **[Pl. lxxxii. 2.]**
136	31·8	Æ ·65	Similar.	Similar.

[1] These quinarii and victoriati are inserted here as being typical of some of those struck at the local mints. Being without symbols or initials, they may either belong to the class struck by the moneyers, or to that issued under the authority of the mints. They present small variations which are common to both series. These analogies may in some cases help to mark the localities in which they were issued. The sestertius occurs but rarely at the mints, and it therefore shows but slight variations of type, and, in the case of the denarius, typical specimens are to be met with in Series I., II. and III. of those of the moneyers (see above, pp. 153, 165, 168).

[2] The quinarii of Type I. resemble somewhat closely in fabric and style those classed with the denarii of Series II. of the previous section. It was the most common type at the time, and with slight variations was generally adopted at the local mints. Type I. *var.*, with the Phrygian-shaped helmet, appears only to have been used at Luceria; in consequence, it is probable that these quinarii without mint-initials were also struck there.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Victoriatus[1]	
			Type I.	
137	48·9	Æ ·6	Head of Jupiter r., laureate, in high relief; hair and beard in thick locks.	ROMA (in exergue). Victory draped, standing r., and placing wreath on trophy, which consists of shield, helmet, spear, sword, cuirass, and greaves, attached to stem with broad base. **[Pl. lxxxii. 3.]**
138	47·2	Æ ·65	Similar.	Similar.
			Type I. var. *a*	
139	52·1	Æ ·7	Similar; head of Jupiter in slightly less relief; beard and hair less thick.	Similar; ROMA; no greaves attached to stem of trophy.
140	51·5	Æ ·7	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. lxxxii. 4.]**
141	44·2	Æ ·65	Similar.	Similar; ROMA
142	43·1	Æ ·7	Similar; back of head with indentation.	Similar; ROMA; no base to stem of trophy.
143	39·6	Æ ·65	Similar.	Similar; ROMA
			Type I. var. *b*	
144	49·7	Æ ·65	Similar; back of head not indented.	Similar; ROMA; no cuirass showing below shield; the greaves attached to stem without base. **[Pl. lxxxii. 5.]** (Blacas Coll.)
145	48·3	Æ ·6	Similar.	Similar; ROMA
146	49·0	Æ ·7	Similar; back of head indented.	Similar; ROMA
147	48·0	Æ ·7	Similar.	Similar.
148	37·9	Æ ·6	Similar.	Similar.

[1] These victoriati are typical varieties of those with mint-initials. The variations in the form of the head of Jupiter, and in that of the trophy, are not always regular, but it may be accepted as a general rule that those pieces which have the obverse in high relief belong to the earlier period, i.e. between B.C. 229 and 217, whilst those in low relief, which are usually somewhat lighter in weight, to the later one, *i.e.* from B.C. 217, when the standard of the silver coinage was lowered. In most of the issues the earlier form of the victoriatus is met with, which would indicate that the majority of the mints were probably in operation before B.C. 217. Throughout the weight of the victoriati is so irregular that we must judge of their date more by fabric. In many cases allowance has to be made for wear in currency.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type I. var. *c*	
149	49·5	Æ ·65	Similar; hair thin and straggling; back of head with indentation.	Similar; ROM[Λ]; the trophy is without cuirass, greaves, or base to stem. [Pl. lxxxii. 6.]
150	46·4	Æ ·65	Similar.	Similar.
			Half-Victoriatus[1]	
	28·5	Æ ·55	Head of Jupiter r., laureate; in low relief; hair thin and straggling; back of head with indentation.	ROMA (in exergue). Victory standing r., placing wreath on trophy, &c., similar to no. 139; the trophy is without greaves.

[D'Ailly, *Mon. rom.*, pl. liii., no. 24.]

SERIES II.

With initials of mints

Ⱶ

(LUCERIA[2])

SERIES II.

SILVER AND BRONZE (SEXTANTAL SERIES)

Circ. B.C. 240—217; A.U.C. 514—537

Quinarius

151	32·6	Æ ·6	Head of Roma r., wearing winged Phrygian-shaped helmet, &c., similar to no. 135; visor in two pieces; earring of single drop; behind, Ⱶ	ROMA (in exergue). The Dioscuri on horseback charging r., &c., similar to no. 132; below horses, Ⱶ [Pl. lxxxiii. 1.]

[1] The half-victoriatus resembles the victoriatus of the later form. It may therefore not have been issued before A.D. 217, but as it is such a rare coin we have scarcely any criteria to guide us in its classification. Vibo appears to have been the only mint to strike this denomination of the usual type (see below, p. 199).

[2] For bronze coins of this mint of Roman types and of the triental standard (Series I.), see above, p. 146.

The coins of Roman denominations, types, and standard with the letter Ⱶ are attributed to the town of Luceria, in Apulia, first, because there appears to be no other city with this initial to which they could be conveniently assigned, and secondly, because they are usually found in the district around Luceria (see Riccio, *Le Monete attribuite alla Zecca dell' antica Città di Luceria*). In assigning these coins to Luceria we are, however, met with a somewhat difficult problem, since during the greater part of the time when they were issued there existed at that city an autonomous coinage, which, though based on the Roman bronze weight standards, is not of Roman types, but is of similar nature to those of other cities which were under Roman domination. In the *Corolla Numismatica*, pp. 115 f., the two series of

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
152	31·7	Æ ·65	Similar.	Similar.
153	32·1	Æ ·6	Similar; the helmet more Phrygian in form: the peak more forward; below head, ⅂	Similar; ROMA on tablet; no initial of mint.
154	32·0	Æ ·65	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. lxxxiii. 2.]
155	30·1	Æ ·65	Similar.	Similar.
156	22·5	Æ ·6	Similar.	Similar.
			Sestertius[1]	
	16·0	Æ ·5	Similar to no. 153; behind head of Roma, IIS; below, ⅂	Similar; ROMA on tablet.

[D'Ailly, *Mon. rom.*, pl. ciii., no. 14.]

autonomous and Roman types have been classified side by side in chronological order. If we do not include the two *asses* of the libral standard, having for obverse type the facing head of Minerva or Bellona, and on the reverse a bull (see above, p. 145), which are exceptional pieces, the two series range together from *circ.* B.C. 268—217, as both contain bronze coins of the triental and sextantal standards. If the attribution of these coins of Roman types to Luceria is correct, it would appear that during those years there were in that city two mints, *officinae*, existing side by side, one of them under the control of the city, issuing autonomous coins, the other probably under the direction of the Roman military commanders, who struck coins of Roman types. The currency of the former would doubtless, to a great degree, be limited to the city and the neighbourhood, but the latter would circulate in all districts over which Rome had some form of power or control.

Very little appears to be known of the history of Luceria after the Sabine war, *circ.* B.C. 290, till the time of the second Punic war, when it became an important military position, and of signal advantage to the Romans during their operations in Apulia. It was repeatedly chosen for the winter-quarters of their armies, or as the head-quarters during successive campaigns in those districts. This may have been to some degree its position at the time of the first Punic war, to which period must be assigned the early bronze money of the triental standard (see above, p. 146). This military or purely Roman money outlived the autonomous issues, as there are bronze coins of the uncial standard of the former but none of the latter.

The coinage of Roman types attributed to Luceria is of silver and bronze, the former consisting of the quinarius, sestertius, and victoriatus, the latter of the as and its divisions to the semuncia. These are classified into three Series, the first consisting of bronze coins of the triental standard, the second of silver with bronze of the sextantal standard, and the third also of silver and bronze, but the latter of the uncial standard. It is possible that some of the quinarii and sestertii may belong to the first series, but as there is not sufficient variation in type to distinguish between the pieces issued just before B.C. 240 and those immediately after, they have all been placed with the second series. The issue of the quinarius does not appear to have been continued after B.C. 217, when the bronze of the uncial standard was introduced; and if the local mints followed the example of that in the Capitol the issue of the sestertius must have ceased before the introduction of the victoriatus. In the bronze series there are two exceptional pieces, the dextans of the uncial standard and the quincunx of the sextantal. The only other local mint of which these denominations are known is that with the initial Γ, which may be of the town of Palio, and not Paestum as usually identified (see below, p. 203).

Besides these two series of money Luceria struck an alliance coinage with Teanum, also a town of Apulia. This coinage only lasted for a few years, and was probably established for commercial purposes (see below, p. 185).

[1] D'Ailly (*op. cit.*, p. 669) mentions only two specimens of the sestertius, one in his own collection, the other in that at Paris.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Victoriatus[1]	
157	50·4	Æ ·7	Head of Jupiter r., laureate, in high relief, with thick beard (similar to no. 137).	ROMA (in exergue). Victory standing r., placing wreath on trophy, &c., similar to no. 139; the trophy is without greaves; in the field, ↳ **[Pl. lxxxiii. 3.]**
158	48·3	Æ ·65	Similar.	Similar. (Blacas Coll.)
159	48·1	Æ ·75	Similar; *of rude work.*	Similar; *of rude work.* **[Pl. lxxxiii. 4.]** (de Salis Coll.)
160	48·8	Æ ·65	Similar; bead and reel border.	Similar.
161	44·6	Æ ·7	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. lxxxiii. 5.]**
			As[2]	
	629·0	Æ 1·4	Head of Janus, laureate; below, ↳	ROMA below Prow r.; above, I; before, ↳

[D'Ailly, *Mon. rom.*, pl. ciii., no. 15.]

			Semis	
	344·0	Æ 1·15	Head of Jupiter r., laureate; behind, S; below, ↳	Similar; above prow, S; no initial of mint.

[D'Ailly, *Mon. rom.*, pl. ciii., no. 17.]

[1] All the victoriati in the National Collection are of the early issue. The specimen figured by D'Ailly (pl. cv., no. 2) may be of the later series, *i.e.* after B.C. 217 (see below, p. 183).

[2] D'Ailly (*op. cit.*, p. 669) mentions only two specimens of this denomination, one in the possession of Riccio, whose illustration he reproduces (*Mon. di Luceria*, cl. v. 1), the other in the Arigoni collection.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Quincunx[1]	
162	242·0	Æ 1·15	Head of Apollo r., laureate; hair long; behind, ⊬	ROMA below the Dioscuri on horseback charging r., with couched spears (usual type of the denarius); in the exergue, ••••• [Pl. lxxxiii. 6.]
			Triens	
163	233·0	Æ 1·05	Head of Minerva r., wearing crested Corinthian helmet; earring of triple drop and necklace of pendants; above, ••••; below, ⊬	ROMA above Prow r.; below, •••• [Pl. lxxxiii. 7.]
			Quadrans[2]	
164	172·0	Æ ·75	Head of young Hercules r., wearing lion's skin; below, •••	Similar; below prow, •••; before, ⊬ [Pl. lxxxiii. 8.]
			Sextans	
	140·0	Æ ·9	Bust of Mercury r., wearing chlamys and winged petasus; above, ••	Similar; below prow, initial of mint between marks of value, •⊬•

[D'Ailly, *Mon. rom.*, pl. civ., no. 9.]

			Uncia	
165	82·0	Æ ·8	Head of Roma r., wearing winged Phrygian-shaped helmet, ornamented with gryphon's head and visor in one piece; earring of single drop and necklace of pendants; behind, •; below, ⊬	Similar; below prow, •; no initial of mint. [Pl. lxxxiii. 9.]

[1] This is one of the rare instances of the issue of this denomination, which also occurs in the autonomous series of Luceria of the sextantal standard (see Riccio, *Mon. di Luceria*, cl. iii. 1).

[2] Varieties of the semis, triens, and quadrans have the mint-initial on both sides (D'Ailly, *Mon. rom.*, pl. civ., no. 1; pl. cxiii., nos. 3, 5).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
166	78·0	Æ ·85	Similar.	Similar. (Sambon)
167	60·0	Æ ·8	Similar; helmet with crest and visor, not Phrygian, and without wings.[1]	Similar. [Pl. lxxxiii. 10.]

Semuncia

	31·0	Æ ·65	Head of Mercury r., wearing winged petasus; below, ⋎	ROMA below Prow r.; above, ε (*semuncia*); before, ⋎

[D'Ailly, *Mon. rom.*, pl. civ., no. 17.]

Series III.

SILVER AND BRONZE (Uncial Series)

From B.C. 217; A.U.C. 537.

Victoriatus[2]

	44·0	Æ ·6	Head of Jupiter r., laureate; in low relief.	ROMA (in exergue). Victory standing r., placing wreath on trophy, &c., similar to no. 142; the trophy is without greaves and base to stem; in the field, ⋎

[D'Ailly, *Mon. rom.*, pl. cv., no. 2.]

As[3]

168	384·0	Æ 1·25	Head of Janus, laureate; above, —; below, ⋎	ROMA below Prow r.; above, I [Pl. lxxxiii. 11.]

[1] D'Ailly (*Mon. rom.*, pl. civ., no. 12) illustrates another example of this type of the uncia without the mint-initial on the obverse, but with it placed on the reverse below the prow, and with the mark of value.

[2] This victoriatus appears from its weight (44-38 grs.) to belong to the reduced standard. This is the only silver coin which can be assigned to this period, as the issue of the quinarius at Luceria does not appear to have survived the introduction of bronze coins of the uncial standard, and that of the sestertius ceased on the institution of the victoriatus in B.C. 229.

[3] The mark of value on the obverse is placed horizontally and not vertically, as also in the case of similar coins with the mint-initials Γ, Palio, and CA, Canusium (see below, pp. 203, 205).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Dextans[1]	
169	186·0	Æ 1·1	Head of Ceres r., wearing wreath of corn, earring of single drop, and necklace of pendants.	ROMA below Quadriga r., driven by Victory, holding reins in r. hand and goad in l.; horses galloping; in the exergue, S••••; above, ⋎ **[Pl. lxxxiii. 12.]**
			Semis	
170	180·0	Æ 1·1	Head of Jupiter r., laureate; behind, S	ROMA below Prow r.; above, S; before, ⋎ **[Pl. lxxxiii. 13.]**
			Triens	
	160·0	Æ 1·0	Head of Minerva r., wearing crested Corinthian helmet; earring of single drop and necklace; above, ••••; below, ⋎	Similar; ROMA above prow; below, ••••; before, ⋎

[D'Ailly, *Mon. rom.*, pl. cv., no. 12.]

			Quadrans	
	126·0	Æ ·95	Head of young Hercules r., wearing lion's skin; below, club; behind, ⋮	Similar; below prow, •••; before, ⋎

[D'Ailly, *Mon. rom.*, pl. cv., no. 13.]

D'Ailly (*op. cit.*, pl. cv., no. 5) figures the as of this issue without the mark of value on the obverse. Varieties of the as and semis have the initial ⋎ on both sides (Riccio, *Mon. di Luceria*, cl. vi. 1, 2).

[1] This rare denomination was also issued at Palio (see below, p. 203, no. 259).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Sextans[1]	
171	93·0	Æ ·8	Bust of Mercury r., wearing chlamys and winged petasus; above, ••	Similar; below prow, initial of mint between marks of value, •ᒪ• [Pl. lxxxiii. 14.]
172	86·0	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar.
			Uncia	
173	68·0	Æ ·7	Head of Roma r., wearing crested helmet with visor; behind, •	Similar; below prow, initial of mint and mark of value, ᒪ• [Pl. lxxxiii. 15.]
			ᒪ — T : Ꞇ (LUCERIA AND TEANUM[2]) FROM B.C. 229; A.U.C. 525	
			Victoriatus	
174	49·5	AR ·7	Head of Jupiter r., laureate, in somewhat low relief; thick beard; below, ᒪ	ROMA (in exergue). Victory standing r., placing wreath on trophy, &c., similar to no. 137; the trophy is with cuirass and greaves; in the field, T [Pl. lxxxiv. 1.]
175	33·2	AR ·6	Similar.	Similar; ROMA
176	40·8	AR ·6	Similar; head smaller.	Similar; ROMA; the trophy is without cuirass, but showing the greaves. [Pl. lxxxiv. 2.] (Sambon)

[1] A variety of the sextans has the mint-initial ᒪ under the bust on the obverse (D'Ailly, *Mon. rom.*, pl. cv., no. 16), and another the mint-initial also before the prow on the reverse (Riccio, *Mon. di Luceria*, cl. vi., no. 5). D'Ailly (*op. cit.*, pl. cvi., nos. 1-3) also figures the as and quadrans of semuncial weight, but these are only light uncial specimens, as the mint at Luceria was long abolished before that standard was introduced into the Roman system.

[2] In attributing these coins to Luceria and Teanum, D'Ailly (*Mon. rom.*, p. 691) hesitated to which city of the latter name he would assign them, whether to Teanum Sidicinum in Campania, or to Teanum in Apulia. He suggested also Teate and Tuder, but the former of these towns had its own coinage till after B.C. 217 (Head, *Hist. num.*, p. 41), and the latter was situated in Umbria. As it is an alliance coinage, Teanum in Apulia would be the most probable place, being at no great distance from Luceria. It was one of the most important towns of Apulia before its conquest by the Romans *circ.* B.C. 318. Little mention, however, is made of it till the second Punic war, when it was chosen by the dictator, M. Junius Pera, for his winter-quarters. It continued to be a flourishing place even under the Roman Empire.

This joint coinage may have resulted from a special treaty between the two towns, or it may have been instituted for mutual commercial convenience. The date of its issue can be determined within fairly certain limits. As the bronze coins are of the sextantal standard, they must have been struck between B.C. 240—217, but as the victoriatus was not instituted before B.C. 229, this joint-issue may not have commenced before that date. It is possible

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
177	40·1	Æ ·6	Similar.	Similar.
178	49·4	Æ ·65	Similar; no letter below head of Jupiter.	Similar; in the field, ↿ [Pl. lxxxiv. 3.]
179	48·3	Æ ·7	Similar.	Similar. (de Salis Coll.)
180	46·5	Æ ·7	Similar.	Similar. (Sambon)

Half-Victoriatus[1]

	19·8	Æ ·6	Head of young Mars r., wearing crested helmet; below, ⊬	ROMA (in exergue). Horseman, one of the Dioscuri, galloping l.; his r. hand raised; behind, S (*semis*); below, T

[D'Ailly, *Mon. rom.*, pl. cvi., no. 7.]

Sextans[2]

181	141·0	Æ 1·0	Head of Minerva r., wearing crested Corinthian helmet; below, ••; under chin, ⊬	ROMA (in exergue). The Dioscuri on horseback charging r.; each raises his r. hand; below horses, T [Pl. lxxxiv. 4.]

that it began at the time when the autonomous coins of Luceria came to an end, so that the two series were not synchronous. With the exception of the victoriatus, a denomination common to most of the local issues of this period, the types of all the coins are connected with the cult of the Dioscuri. The semuncia of the autonomous coinage of Luceria of the sextantal standard has for obverse type the heads of the Dioscuri, and on the reverse their horses (Riccio, *Mon. di Luceria*, cl. iii., no. 6). Precisely the same type occurs on this denomination of the joint-issue, so that this piece makes it certain that Luceria must have been one of the towns to strike this coinage. The legend ROMA is, however, omitted.

[1] This small silver coin was evidently intended for the half-victoriatus. Mommsen (*Hist. mon. rom.*, t. ii., p. 228) was of opinion that it was the sestertius, for he says that "although the indication of the value is not marked on the coin, it must be a sestertius, the type indicating a half-quinarius." The sign or letter S (*semis*) is, however, intended for the mark of value, and from its weight, 19·8 grs., it would be equivalent to the half-victoriatus, or half of the Campanian drachm. This denomination was occasionally issued (see pp. 179, 199). D'Ailly (*op. cit.*, p. 693) was also of this opinion. In this joint-issue the types are not always a sure guide for determining the denominations. In the illustration the mint-initial is incorrectly figured. It should be ⊬, not L. Bahrfeldt (*Riv. Ital.*, 1900, p. 46) mentions four specimens of this rare coin.

[2] This is an exceptional type for the sextans, the head of Minerva being the obverse type of the triens. Though this sextans exceeds slightly the normal weight of that denomination of the sextantal issue, yet it must belong to that series, as do also the uncia and semuncia. It will be seen that on the semuncia the positions of the mint-initials are interchanged.

Bahrfeldt (*Ält. röm. Münzwesen*, pl. iv., no. 15) illustrates a quadrans with the head of Mercury on the obverse instead of Hercules, and on the reverse the letter T before the prow. As the obverse type is exceptional, this may be of Teanum. Specimens are in the Bodley and Vienna collections.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Uncia[1]	
	66·0	Æ ·85	Female head (Roma?) r.; wearing Phrygian-shaped helmet, ornamented with gryphon's head, and with visor; behind, •; below, ⅂	ROMA (in exergue). Horseman, one of the Dioscuri, charging r. and holding couched spear; behind horse, •; below, T

[Riccio, *Mon. di Luceria*, cl. iv., no. 6.]

			Semuncia	
	33·6	Æ ·7	Conjoined heads of the Dioscuri r., wearing pilei, each surmounted by star; behind, T	The horses of the Dioscuri galloping r.; star above the head of each; in the exergue, ⅂

[Bahrfeldt, *Riv. Ital.*, 1900, pl. i., no. 33.]

C

(CANUSIUM?[2])

Circ. B.C. 240; A.U.C. 514

			Denarius	
182	66·2	Æ ·85	Head of Roma r., in high relief, wearing winged helmet, ornamented with gryphon's head; the visor in three pieces, even at the ends and slightly convex; earring of triple drop; hair in close locks; behind, X (similar to no. 1, p. 153).	ROMA (on tablet). The Dioscuri on horseback charging r., &c., similar to no. 132; above, C **[Pl. lxxxiv. 5.]**

[1] Riccio (*op. cit.*, cl. iv., no. 5) figures a variety of the uncia which he said belonged to Count Raffaele Milano, without the legend, ROMA, and having on the obverse the letter ⅂, and on the reverse the monogram ⅂. D'Ailly (*Mon. rom.*, p. 695) questions the accuracy of the illustration, and adds that it would be more rational to see either the single letter on both sides, or the monogram alone or repeated on the obverse and reverse.

[2] The identification of this letter as the initial of Canusium in Apulia is uncertain. It

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
183	65·3	Æ ·85	Similar.	Similar. (Blacas Coll.)
184	62·4	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar; ROMA between two lines (*of coarse work*). **[Pl. lxxxiv. 6.]**
185	69·0	Æ ·8	Similar; head of Roma in lower relief; visor more open at the ends and slightly convex (similar to no. 88).	Similar. **[Pl. lxxxiv. 7.]**
186	59·3	Æ ·75	Similar; the visor is in three pieces, more separated, even at the ends, and not convex; earring of single drop (similar to no. 90).	Similar; ROMA on tablet. **[Pl. lxxxiv. 8.]** (de Salis Coll.)

FROM B.C. 229; A.U.C. 525

Victoriatus

	50·0	Æ ·6	Head of Jupiter r., laureate; behind, C	ROMA (in exergue). Victory standing r., placing wreath on trophy, &c., similar to no. 139; the trophy is without greaves.

[D'Ailly, *Mon. rom.*, pl. c., no. 10.]

cannot well be that of Capua, as suggested by D'Ailly (*Mon. rom.*, p. 625), as the style and fabric of the denarii are so very rude, and also as the initial-letter of that city was apparently K, not C (see below, p. 208). Cannusium was on the high road from Beneventum to Brundusium, and was distant about twenty-six miles from Herdonea (see below, pp. 192, 193). It was an ancient mint-place, issuing silver and bronze autonomous coins *circ.* B.C. 300. As the above denarii resemble in details the type of those classed to the beginning of Period I. (see Series I. and II., pp. 153, 165), this mint must have been established at a somewhat early date. If the victoriatus and bronze coins also bearing the initial C are correctly attributed to the same mint, it must have continued intermittently in operation over a long period. Those of bronze appear to be of the light sextantal or uncial standard, which would take us down to B.C. 217 or later. D'Ailly (*Mon. rom.*, p. 628) says that his specimens of the semis were in such poor condition that they served as no criterion for the standard on which they were struck. He also notices that some of the sextantes had been struck over coins of Cales with reverse type, man-headed bull and star. He erroneously identifies the mint-place of the original coins as Panormus.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			As	
	544·0	Æ 1·25	Head of Janus, laureate; above, I	ROMA below Prow r.; above, I; before, C

[D'Ailly, *Mon. rom.*, pl. c., no. 12.]

Semis

	176·0	Æ 1·1	Head of Jupiter r., laureate; behind, S	Similar; ROMA; above prow, S; before, C

[D'Ailly, *Mon. rom.*, pl. c., no. 13.]

Triens[1]

	87·0	Æ ·85	Head of Minerva r., wearing crested Corinthian helmet with visor, earring of single drop, and necklace; above, ••••	Similar; ROMA above prow; below, ••••; before, C

[D'Ailly, *Mon. rom.*, pl. c., no. 14.]

[1] The specimens of the triens and quadrans figured by D'Ailly were respectively in the Riccio and Collegio Romano collections.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Quadrans	
	61·0	Æ ·75	Head of young Hercules r., wearing lion's skin; behind, ⋮	Similar; ROMA; below prow, •••; before, C

[D'Ailly, *Mon. rom.*, pl. c., no. 15.]

			Sextans[1]	
187	63·0	Æ ·85	Bust of Mercury r., wearing chlamys and winged petasus; above, ••	Similar; ROMA above prow; below, ••; before, C
188	51·0	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. lxxxiv. 9.]**
189	45·0	Æ ·85	Similar.	Similar.
190	37·0	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar.

RA[2]

(ROMA)

Circ. B.C. 240; A.U.C. 514

			Denarius	
	66·4	Æ ·8	Head of Roma r., wearing winged helmet, ornamented with gryphon's head; the visor in three separate pieces, straight and even at the ends; [earring of single drop] and necklace; behind, X (similar to no. 91).	ROMA (on tablet). The Dioscuri on horseback charging r., &c., similar to no. 132; below horses, RA

[D'Ailly, *Mon. rom.*, pl. cix., no. 11.]

[1] The uncia of this issue is not mentioned by D'Ailly.

[2] This monogram is somewhat uncertain. Riccio (*Catalogo*, p. 174) interprets it as ROMIL, and attributes the coins to a member of the Romilia gens; Cohen (*Rev. Num.*, 1858, p. 55) as ROMA[NIVS]; and D'Ailly (*Mon. rom.*, p. 750) as ROMA[NVS] or

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Quinarius	
191	28·5	AR ·65	Similar; visor in three pieces, as no. 92; behind head of Roma, V	Similar; ROMA in exergue; below horses, ROMA **[Pl. lxxxiv. 10.]**
			Sestertius	
192	17·7	AR ·5	Similar; behind head of Roma, IIS	Similar; ROMA in exergue; below horses, ROMA **[Pl. lxxxiv. 11.]** (Payne Knight Coll.)
			FROM B.C. 229; A.U.C. 525	
			Victoriatus	
	31·5 (*worn*)	AR ·7	Head of Jupiter r., laureate, in low relief: the back of the head with indentation (similar to no. 149).	ROMA (in exergue). Victory standing r., placing wreath on trophy; similar to no. 149; the trophy consists of a helmet, shield, and cuirass only; in the field, ROMA

[D'Ailly, *Mon. rom.*, pl. cxiii., no. 12.]

			Semis	
193	324·0	Æ 1·1	Head of Jupiter r., laureate; behind, S	ROMA below Prow r.; above, S; before, ROMA **[Pl. lxxxiv. 12.]**
194	266·0	Æ 1·1	Similar.	Similar; ROMA

ROMA[NILLVS], surnames borne by several Roman families; and others as ROMA simply. The last is now the generally accepted interpretation, but no suggestion appears to have been made why the name in the exergue should be repeated in monogrammatic form in the field of the coin. It is certainly a mint sign, and not that of a moneyer. As the coins are well executed and of neat fabric, it is possible that they were struck at Capua, and that to distinguish these pieces from those of the Roman mint the authorities placed on the coins this mark of difference.

The denarii resemble in type those attributed to Series II. of Period I. (see above, pp. 150, 165), showing that they belong to an early issue. The head of Roma on the denarius, quinarius, and sestertius is very similar in treatment. The bronze coins are of the sextantal standard, but it is uncertain whether the victoriatus belongs to the early or later period. D'Ailly (*Mon. rom.*, p. 792) mentions only the specimen in his collection, which came from that of Riccio (*Sale Cat.*, 1868, no. 1357). The coin is much worn, and only weighs 31·5 grs.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Quadrans[1]	
195	158·0	Æ ·95	Head of young Hercules r., wearing lion's skin; behind, ⁝	Similar; ROMA above prow; below, •••; before, RA [Pl. lxxxiv. 13.] (Blacas Coll.)
			B[2]	
			(BENEVENTUM?)	
			Circ. B.C. 240; A.U.C. 514	
			Denarius[1]	
	64·3	AR ·8	Head of Roma r., not in high relief, wearing winged helmet, ornamented with gryphon's head; the visor in three pieces, slightly convex; earring of triple drop; lock of hair falling over l. shoulder; behind, X (similar to no. 88).	ROMA (on tablet). The Dioscuri on horseback charging r., &c., similar to no. 132; below horses, B
			[D'Ailly, *Mon. rom.*, pl. c., no. 3.]	
	67·0	AR ·8	Similar; the head of Roma in lower relief; the visor in three pieces, separate from the base, beneath which and above forehead a small ring; earring of triple drop, and lock of hair on l. shoulder (similar to no. 107).	Similar; ROMA
			[D'Ailly, *Mon. rom.*, pl. c., no. 1.]	

[1] Another denomination is the as (D'Ailly, *Mon. rom.*, pl. cix., no. 15). From information supplied by Oberst Bahrfeldt it appears that the sextans figured by D'Ailly (*loc. cit.*, no. 18) does not belong to this issue, the monogram before the prow being MT. D'Ailly (*op. cit.*, p. 748) expressed doubt as to its identification.

[2] There are no denarii with the initial B in the National Collection. Their descriptions are inserted here, as they seem to fix the place of mintage of the denarii of Series II. and III.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			H	
			(HERDONEA[1])	
			Circ. B.C. 240; A.U.C. 514	
			Denarius[2]	
196	65·0	Æ ·75	Head of Roma r., in low relief, wearing winged helmet, ornamented with gryphon's head; the visor in three straight pieces, even at the ends; earring of single drop and necklace; behind, X (similar to no. 90).	ROMA (on tablet). The Dioscuri on horseback charging r., &c., similar to no. 132; below horses, H **[Pl. lxxxiv. 14.]**
			Quinarius	
197	40·7	Æ ·65	Similar; the visor of the helmet is in three pieces, joined at the ends; similar to no. 132; earring of single drop and necklace; behind, V	Similar; ROMA between two straight lines; below horses, H
198	32·8	Æ ·65	Similar; ends of visor not joined; earring of triple drop.	Similar. **[Pl. lxxxiv. 15.]** (Payne Knight Coll.)
199	35·2	Æ ·65	Similar; earring of single drop.	Similar; ROMA on tablet. **[Pl. lxxxiv. 16.]**

described in Period I. (see above, pp. 150, 165, 168). The fabric and style are the same, and the shape of the helmet is identical in each instance. On the second piece the small ring attached to the visor is seen as on no. 107. This peculiarity does not seem to occur in any other instance. D'Ailly (*Mon. rom.*, pl. c., no. 2) figures a third specimen, which only differs in being without the small ring. The denarius appears to be the only denomination of this issue.

The attribution of these coins to Beneventum, in Samnium, is conjectural. There are autonomous coins of that place, but possibly of an earlier date (see Head, *Hist. num.*, p. 24). Brundusium, in Calabria, might also be suggested as a possible mint-place for these coins. It also had an independent mint.

[1] The identification of this mint-place is uncertain. D'Ailly (*op. cit.*, p. 651) suggests Hatria, in Picenum; Riccio (*Catalogo*, p. 17) Herdonea, in Apulia. Hatria became a Roman colony in B.C. 289, and issued an autonomous bronze coinage of the libral standard. Of Herdonea little appears to be known before the second Punic war, when it witnessed the defeat of two different Roman armies by Hannibal, one in B.C. 212, under the praetor Cn. Fulvius Flaccus, the other in B.C. 210, under the pro-consul Cn. Fulvius Centumalus. As the town was situated on the branch of the Appian Way which led from Canusium to Beneventum, the balance of evidence is in favour of its being the mint-place of the coins with the letter H, though they are anterior to the time of the second Punic war.

[2] The denarius and the quinarius are of the early type, both belonging to Series II. of the moneyers, and the bronze coinage is of the sextantal standard. D'Ailly does not mention the victoriatus of this issue, but Babelon (vol. i., p. 56) includes it in his list of coins with letters and monograms. In the legend ROMA on the denarius, the letter M is incuse.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
200	32·8	AR ·65	Similar; ends of visor joined.	Similar; ROMA in exergue. [Pl. lxxxiv. 17.] (Blacas Coll.)
201	33·3	AR ·65	Similar.	Similar; H behind the horses. [Pl. lxxxiv. 18.]
202	31·6	AR ·6	Similar.	Similar. (Blacas Coll.)
			As	
203	594·0	Æ 1·35	Head of Janus, laureate; above, I	ROMA below Prow r.; above, I; before, H [Pl. lxxxv. 1.]
204	558·0	Æ 1·3	Similar.	Similar.
205	540·0	Æ 1·25	Similar.	Similar.
			Semis	
206	385·0	Æ 1·2	Head of Jupiter r., laureate; the back of the head with indentation; behind, S	Similar; above prow, S; before, H [Pl. lxxxv. 2.]
207	303·0	Æ 1·1	Similar.	Similar.
208	287·0	Æ 1·1	Similar.	Similar.
209	250·0	Æ 1·1	Similar.	Similar.
			Triens	
210	171·0	Æ ·95	Head of Minerva r., wearing crested Corinthian helmet, earring of single drop and necklace; above, ••••	Similar; ROMA above prow; below, ••••; before, H [Pl. lxxxv. 3.] (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.)
211	159·0	Æ ·95	Similar.	Similar.
			Quadrans[1]	
212	80·0	Æ ·9	Head of young Hercules r., wearing lion's skin; below, club; behind, ⋮	Similar; below prow, •••; before, H [Pl. lxxxv. 4.]

[1] Other denominations are the sextans and uncia (D'Ailly, *Mon. rom.*, pl. cii., nos. 15-17).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Q	
			(Uncertain mint[1])	
			FROM B.C. 229; A.U.C. 525	
			Quinarius	
*213	35·2	Æ ·65	Head of Roma r., wearing winged helmet with visor in three pieces, even at the ends, &c., similar to no. 95; earring of single drop; behind, V	ROMA (on tablet). The Dioscuri on horseback charging r., &c., similar to no. 132; below horses, Q (Devonshire Coll.)
214	33·0	Æ ·65	Similar.	Similar; ROMA in exergue; below horses, Q.
215	31·3	Æ ·7	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. lxxxv. 5.]
216	30·7	Æ ·65	Similar.	Similar; below horses, Q
217	30·1	Æ ·65	Similar.	Similar.
218	36·0	Æ ·65	Similar; the visor of the helmet is in two pieces.	Similar; below horses, Q. [Pl. lxxxv. 6.]
			Victoriatus[2]	
219	51·5	Æ ·75	Head of Jupiter r., laureate, in high relief; hair and beard thick (similar to no. 137).	ROMA (in exergue). Victory standing r., placing wreath on trophy which is without greaves (similar to no. 139); in the field, Q [Pl. lxxxv. 7.]
220	30·2	Æ ·65	Similar.	Similar; ROMA
221	37·8	Æ ·65	Similar; type in lower relief; back of head of Jupiter slightly indented.	Similar; ROMA [Pl. lxxxv. 8.]

[1] This is evidently the initial of a mint, and not of a moneyer of the Quinctia gens as D'Ailly (*Mon. rom.*, p. 740) suggests. The only place to which the letter seems to apply is Querquetula, an ancient city of Latium, but nothing appears to be known of its position. It is mentioned by Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*, iii. 5, 9) and by Dionysius (*Rom. ant.*, v. 61) amongst the Latin cities which constituted the league against Rome. There is no town known in Apulia with the initial Q. The bronze coins are of the sextantal standard, and the victoriati of the heavier and reduced weights, *i.e.* before and after B.C. 217. This furnishes us with the approximate date and duration of the issue.

[2] D'Ailly (*op. cit.*, p. 741) has questioned the existence of the victoriatus of this issue, as he considered that the sign on the reverse is not the letter Q but an insect, a worm, or a leech, with the body raised and forming a loop, and he therefore described it in the series with symbols (see p. 587). Mommsen (*Hist. mon. rom.*, t. ii., p. 236), Riccio (*Catalogo*, p. 24, nos. 51-53), and Count de Salis all considered the sign to be a letter. It occurs also on the quinarius and only seems to be an instance of an ill-formed letter (see illustrations of nos. 215, 218, 219, and 221).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Quadrans	
222	150·0	Æ ·85	Head of young Hercules r., wearing lion's skin; behind, ⋮	ROMA above Prow r.; below, •••; before, Q **[Pl. lxxxv. 9.]**
			Sextans[1]	
223	74·0	Æ ·8	Bust of Mercury r., wearing chlamys and winged petasus; above, ••	Similar; below prow, ••; before, Q **[Pl. lxxxv. 10.**[2]**]**
			ℛ (CORCYRA[3])	
			Circ. B.C. 229; A.U.C. 525	
			Quinarius	
224	32·2	ℛ ·6	Head of Roma r., wearing winged helmet with visor in three pieces, even at the ends, &c., similar to no. 95; behind, V	ROMA (between two lines). The Dioscuri on horseback charging r., &c., similar to no. 132; under horse on l., ℛ (KOPKυρα); under horse on r., Λ (ΑΓήσανδρος). **[Pl. lxxxv. 11.]** (Blacas Coll.)
225	29·8	ℛ ·65	Similar.	Similar. (Woodhouse Coll.)

[1] Other denominations are the semis, the triens (D'Ailly, *Mon. rom.*, pl. cix., no. 8), and the uncia (Bahrfeldt, *Ält. röm. Münzwesen*, p. 143). Riccio (*Mon. fam. rom.*, p. 264) mentions the semis with the letter Q placed on the reverse upon or before the prow, but he does not either describe or figure the coin. D'Ailly (*op. cit.*, p. 741) says he has not met with a specimen, but he thought its existence very probable, seeing that we have the triens, quadrans, and sextans of the same issue.

[2] This coin is overstruck on one of Cales, with the reverse type a man-headed bull with star above (see above, pp. 172, 188, for similar overstruck coins of about the same date). These overstruck coins would suggest that the mint-town with the initial Q was situated in Campania or in a neighbouring district.

[3] The island of Corcyra was conquered by the Romans in B.C. 229, and shortly afterwards its capital of the same name was made a free state. It was allowed to retain its autonomy, and from B.C. 229—48 issued an extensive coinage, chiefly in bronze, which, like the above coins, often bears the names of its magistrates or prytanes, as well as the monogram of the city (see *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, *Gr. Coins, Thessaly to Aetolia*, pp. 137 f.). The name of Agesandros occurs in the list of prytanes (Boekh, *C. I. G.*, 1851), and it may be his monogram which is given on these coins. Corcyra appears to have been the only mint-town outside Italy which at this period struck coins of Roman types and denominations. They were no doubt intended for purposes of commerce (see vol. i., p. 37).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Victoriatus[1]	
226	45·8	Æ ·65	Head of Jupiter r., laureate, in high relief; hair and beard thick.	ROMA (in exergue). Victory standing r., placing wreath on trophy, &c., similar to no. 137; in the field, 𐌌; on r., 𐌀
227	42·7	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. lxxxv. 12.]** (Boyd Coll.)
			𐌌𐌀[2]	
			(MATEOLA?)	
			Circ. B.C. 229; A.U.C. 525	
			Quinarius	
228	31·7	Æ ·65	Head of Roma r., wearing winged helmet with visor in three pieces, joined at the ends, &c., similar to no. 132; earring of single drop; behind, V	ROMA (in exergue). The Dioscuri on horseback charging r., &c., similar to no. 132; below horses, 𐌌𐌀 (Townley Coll.)
229	29·9	Æ ·65	Similar.	Similar; ROMA **[Pl. lxxxv. 13.]** (de Salis Coll.)
230	21·2	Æ ·55	Similar.	Similar; ROMA
231	28·3	Æ ·6	Similar.	Similar; ROMA between two lines; below horses, 𐌌𐌀[3] **[Pl. lxxxv. 14.]**

[1] This victoriatus belongs to the early issue, and was therefore struck during B.C. 229–217. This confirms the opinion of Cavedoni (*Bull. dell' Inst. arch.*, 1856, p. 77), who thought that these coins were struck *circ.* B.C. 229; a date which Mommsen (*Hist. mon. rom.*, t. ii., p. 230, note) has questioned. The victoriatus and the quinarius are the only denominations known of this issue.

[2] This may be the monogram of Mateola, probably the modern Matera. It was among the inland cities of Apulia mentioned by Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*, iii., 11, s. 16), and was about eight miles distant from the river Bradanus, and must therefore have been adjoining the frontier of Lucania. It issued autonomous bronze coins from *circ.* B.C. 250 which are inscribed MAT (Head, *Hist. num.*, p. 40). From the type of the victoriatus the issue began at least before B.C. 217. The quinarius and the victoriatus appear to be the only denominations of this coinage. There are denarii of a later date (see below, p. 237) with this monogram, which are of very rude work. In that case the monogram 𐌌𐌀 may be blundered for 𐌌𐌀.

[3] This variation in the form of the monogram is probably a blunder of the maker of the die.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Victoriatus	
232	36·8	Æ ·6	Head of Jupiter r., laureate, in high relief; hair and beard thick.	ROMA (in exergue). Victory standing r., placing wreath on trophy, &c., similar to no. 137; but showing one greave only; in the field on r., ΛΥ **[Pl. lxxxv. 15.]**
			VB	
			(VIBO[1])	
			From B.C. 229; A.U.C. 525	
			Victoriatus	
233	51·2	Æ ·7	Head of Jupiter r., laureate, in high relief; hair and beard thick; head with indentation at back.	ROMA (in exergue). Victory standing l., placing wreath on trophy, &c., similar to no. 144; the trophy is without cuirass but with greaves and small base; in the field, VB **[Pl. lxxxv. 16.]** (Blacas Coll.)
234	36·4	Æ ·7	Similar.	Similar. (de Salis Coll.)
235	44·7	Æ ·65	Similar; head of Jupiter in lower relief and smaller.	Similar. (de Salis Coll.)

[1] Vibo (later Vibo Valentia), in Bruttium, was the ancient Hipponium or Veiponium, a colony of the Italian Locri. During the fourth century B.C. it changed hands several times; early in the third century it was captured by the Bruttians, who held it until B.C. 272, when it was garrisoned by the Romans. Vibo is evidently the Bruttian or Oscan form of Hippo, and was probably the original name of the city before it became a Greek colony. It does not appear to have become a Latin colony till B.C. 192 (Livy, xxxv. 40), when it assumed the name of Valentia, and later issued coins of the light uncial or semuncial standard bearing the legend VALENTIA (*Brit. Mus. Cat., Gr. Coins, Italy*, pp. 359-363). As a Greek colony it struck coins between B.C. 379—296.

Cavedoni (*Ripostigli*, p. 176, note 155), on account of a slight defect in the monogram, proposed to explain it as VB or BV, but on the specimens described here the ligature of the two letters is complete. Mommsen (*Hist. mon. rom.*, t. ii., p. 231, note) says "that as there are no denarii with this monogram, we conclude that this victoriatus was not struck in the capital, but at some local mint, and we do not hesitate to attribute it to the town of Vibo in Bruttium."

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Half-Victoriatus [1]	
236	19·8	Æ ·55	Similar; hair and beard of Jupiter thick.	Similar; ROMA; trophy of same form; in the field, VB; on r., S (*semis*). **[Pl. lxxxv. 17.]**
237	15·5	Æ ·55	Similar.	Similar. (Blacas Coll.)

V

(VIBO? [2])

FROM B.C. 229; A.U.C. 525

As

	520·0	Æ 1·4	Head of Janus, laureate; above, I	ROMA below Prow r.; above, I; before, V

[D'Ailly, *Mon. rom.*, pl. cxi., no. 1.]

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[1] This is the only instance of the half-victoriatus of Roman type bearing the mark or initial of a mint.

No bronze coins are known with the monogram VB, but it is not improbable that those with the letter V, in spite of the change in form of the indication of the mint, may also belong to Vibo.

[2] Being of the light sextantal or uncial standard these bronze coins correspond in date to the victoriati with the monogram VB, which appear to be of the heavy and light issues. If the coins bearing the initials CA (see below, p. 205) and the letter C (see above, p. 187), are both to be attributed to Canusium, we should in this case have another instance of a change in the mode of indicating the mint-place (see also coins with K, p. 208). Another possible suggestion is Vibonium in Apulia, not far from Luceria. It was a place of some importance, as Hannibal established his camp there, and thence laid waste the neighbouring cities. D'Ailly (*Mon. rom.*, p. 763) says, "it is uncertain whether it is the mark of a gens or of a town," but on account of the fabric of the *as* he was inclined to look upon it as the latter. He adds, "that piece is of a style, like coins of Luceria, which declares its fabric to be somewhat unusual, impossible to describe, but which the eye seizes easily, and which is not met with on coins which can be attributed with some probability to a Roman family." This remark of D'Ailly is applicable to much of the coinage attributed to local issues.

There are no silver coins known with the letter V only.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Semis	
238	268·0	Æ 1·05	Head of Jupiter r., laureate; behind, S	Similar; above prow, S; before, V **[Pl. lxxxv. 18 rev.]**
239	125·0	Æ ·9	Similar.	Similar.[1] **[Pl. lxxxv. 19.]**
			Triens	
240	151·0	Æ ·95	Head of Minerva r., wearing crested Corinthian helmet; above, ••••	Similar; ROMA above prow; below, ••••; before, V **[Pl. lxxxvi. 1.]**
			Sextans[2]	
241	75·0	Æ ·8	Head of Mercury r., wearing winged petasus; above, ••	Similar; below prow, ••; before, V **[Pl. lxxxvi. 2.]**
			И	
			(NOLA ?[3])	
			Circ. B.C. 229; A.U.C. 525	
			Victoriatus[4]	
242	50·6	R ·7	Head of Jupiter r., laureate, of coarse work; below, И	ROMA (in exergue). Victory standing r., placing wreath on trophy, &c., similar to no. 144; the trophy is without cuirass but shows the greaves. **[Pl. lxxxvi. 3.]**

[1] Struck on a small flan.

[2] D'Ailly (*Mon. rom.*, pl. cxi., no. 6) figures the quadrans also of this issue. The reverse type, with the exception of the marks of value, is the same as those of the triens and sextans. D'Ailly does not mention the uncia.

[3] This coin is of almost barbarous workmanship, and its attribution to Nola, in Apulia, is uncertain. There are small autonomous bronze coins of that place, but of an earlier date.

[4] The victoriatus from its weight is probably of the early issue before B.C. 217. D'Ailly (*Mon. rom.*, pl. cviii., no. 11) figures a quadrans with the mint-marks N : on the reverse, but it belongs to a later issue, as it is of the light uncial or semuncial standard.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			CROT	
			(CROTON[1])	
			Circ. B.C. 217; A.U.C. 537	
			Victoriatus	
243	54·5	AR ·7	Head of Jupiter r., laureate, in low relief and with indentation at back of head.	ROMA (in exergue). Victory standing r., placing wreath on trophy, &c., similar to no. 144; the trophy is without cuirass but shows the greaves; in the field, CROT (Blacas Coll.)
244	50·2	AR ·7	Similar.	Similar. (de Salis Coll.)
245	51·2	AR ·7	Similar.	Similar; ROMA **[Pl. lxxxvi. 4.]**
			M	
			(Uncertain mint[2])	
			Circ. B.C. 217; A.U.C. 537	
			Victoriatus[3]	
246	49·7	AR ·75	Head of Jupiter r., laureate, in low relief.	ROMA (in exergue). Victory standing r., placing wreath on trophy, &c., similar to no. 144; the trophy is without cuirass but shows the greaves; in the field, M

[1] Croton or Crotona, in Bruttium, one of the most celebrated of the Greek colonies in Southern Italy, fell into the hands of the Romans *circ.* B.C. 277, during the war with Pyrrhus. Before that date, from *circ.* B.C. 550—300, it struck a very large and remarkable series of autonomous silver and bronze money, which appears to have come to an end on its capture by Agathocles, tyrant of Syracuse, in B.C. 299 (Head, *Hist. num.*, pp. 79 f.). During the second Punic war the town became a stronghold of the Carthaginians, but it suffered so severely that in B.C. 194 a colony of Roman citizens was sent there to recruit its exhausted population. It is possible that the victoriatus, which is the only denomination known, was struck there during the second Punic war before its capture by the Carthaginians, as it is of the later type. Borghesi (*Œuvres compl.*, t. i., p. 304), who considered that the legend CROT was the cognomen of a moneyer, has attributed these coins to M. Metilius, who was tribune of the plebs B.C. 217 and legate B.C. 212, or preferably to T. Metilius Croto, the legate of Appius Claudius, praetor in Sicily B.C. 215, but the initials are those of a city and not of a member of a Roman gens.

[2] The city or cities of which these are the initials have not been identified. D'Ailly (*Mon. rom.*, p. 722) suggests that the monogram may be of a moneyer, for example *Marcus Porcius* or *Publius*, or preferably the initials of two confederate cities.

[3] The only other denomination known of this issue is the denarius (Borghesi, *Œuvres compl.*, t. ii., p. 298). D'Ailly (*op. cit.*, p. 719) saw a specimen which was in the possession

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
247	46·2	Æ ·65	Similar.	Similar. (de Salis Coll.)
248	45·0	Æ ·7	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. lxxxvi. 5.] (de Salis Coll.)
249	41·0	Æ ·67	Similar.	Similar.
250	35·5	Æ ·65	Similar.	Similar.
251	42·2	Æ ·7	Similar.	Similar; ROMA [Pl. lxxxvi. 6.] (Blacas Coll.)

C — M

(Uncertain mints[1])

Circ. B.C. 217; A.U.C. 537

Victoriatus

252	47·5	Æ ·7	Head of Jupiter r., laureate, in low relief; behind, C	ROMA (in exergue). Victory standing r., placing wreath on trophy, &c., similar to no. 142; the trophy is without greaves or base; in the field, M [Pl. lxxxvi. 7.] (Blacas Coll.)
253	47·2	Æ ·65	Similar.	Similar; trophy with small base.
254	44·7	Æ ·65	Similar.	Similar.
255	42·4	Æ ·6	Similar.	Similar.
256	42·3	Æ ·65	Similar.	Similar.

of Borghesi, and procured an impression of it, which he unfortunately mislaid. From recollection he, however, states that it was of the usual type, and that the monogram was on the reverse, below the feet of the foremost horse. Mommsen (*Hist. mon. rom.*, t. ii., p. 246), however, records that this coin was of the usual type, that its epigraphy showed the letter A (in ROMA), and that it was well preserved and weighed 60·5 grs. (3·90 gram.). It would probably belong to an early issue like the denarii of other local mints.

The as figured by D'Ailly (*op. cit.*, pl. cviii., no. 5) and attributed by him to this issue is a misread piece of the moneyer, L. Sempronius Pitio (see vol. i., p. 96, no. 718). D'Ailly notes two specimens in his collection, but Oberst Bahrfeldt, who has examined them, states that on each the legend PITIO is clearly traceable on the obverse above the head of Janus.

[1] This is a joint-issue of two cities whose initials were C and M. They may be of Cumae and Misenum, in Campania. During the Hannibalic war Cumae acted with unvarying fidelity to the republic. It was only six miles from Misenum, which in early times the Cumaeans used as a naval station. The only denomination known is the victoriatus, which being of light weight and having the obverse type in low relief could not have been issued before B.C. 217.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Γ : Γ — Γ	
			(PALIO[1])	
			Circ. B.C. 217; A.U.C. 537	
			As	
257	270·0	Æ 1·2	Head of Janus, laureate; above, —[2]; below, Γ	ROMA below Prow r.; above, I; before, Γ **[Pl. lxxxvi. 8.]** (Blacas Coll.)
258	243·0	Æ 1·3	Similar.	Similar.
			Dextans	
259	200·0	Æ 1·05	Head of Ceres r., with corn-wreath; behind, Γ	ROMA below Quadriga r., driven by Victory; horses galloping; Victory holds reins in r. hand and goad in l.; in the exergue, S•••• ; before, Γ **[Pl. lxxxvi. 9.]**
260	254·0	Æ 1·15	Similar.	Similar; no initial of mint. **[Pl. lxxxvi. 10.]**
			Semis	
261	180·0	Æ 1·05	Head of Jupiter r., laureate; behind, S; below, Γ	ROMA below Prow r.; above, S and Γ **[Pl. lxxxvi. 11.]**

[1] The coins with this mint-initial have been assigned to Paestum, in Lucania, or Perusia, in Etruria (D'Ailly, *Mon. rom.*, p. 738), but as they are usually found between Luceria and Bari, and especially in the neighbourhood of Ruvo (Riccio, *Repertorio*, note 50, p. 8), a transfer to Palio, which was situated near the last city, seems admissible. Little, however, is known of this place. Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*, iii. 11, 16) enumerates the Palionenses among the "populi" of the interior of Apulia. The site is probably indicated by the modern village of Palo, about five miles south of Bitonto (Butuntum). The attribution of these coins to Palio rather than to Paestum is strengthened by their great resemblance in fabric to those of Luceria and to the following pieces with the mint-letters CA, which may be of Canusium (see D'Ailly, *op. cit.*, p. 737). It will also be noticed that on all three coinages the mark of value on the obverse of the as is placed horizontally instead of vertically above the head of Janus, and that like Canusium Palio struck the semuncia with other coins which are of the uncial standard. As in the case of Luceria Palio struck the dextans and quincunx, but both of the uncial standard. This attribution to Palio is supported by the *as* figured by Bahrfeldt (*Ält. röm. Münzwesen*, pl. iv., no. 16) with Γ below the head of Janus and Ⱶ before the prow. This coin would belong to a joint-issue between Palio and Luceria. Its fabric is very similar to the coins with Γ only, and the mark of value above the head of Janus is placed horizontally. Specimens are in the Bahrfeldt and Naples collections. D'Ailly (*op. cit.*, p. 729) thought that some of the denominations, the as, dextans, and quincunx, are of the semuncial standard, and a still lighter as of the quarter-uncial standard, but these differences in weight are probably only accidental. A strict adherence to weight-standards was not maintained in most of these local issues.

[2] D'Ailly (*op. cit.*, pl. cix., no. 1) figures a variety with the mark of value placed vertically.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Quincunx[1]	
262	115·0	Æ ·9	Head of Apollo, r., laureate; behind, Γ	ROMA below the Dioscuri on horseback charging r., with couched spears (usual type of the denarius); in the exergue, ••••• **[Pl. lxxxvi. 12.]**
			Triens[2]	
263	96·0 (*worn*)	Æ ·9	Head of Minerva r., wearing crested Corinthian helmet; above, ••••; below, Γ	[ROMA] above Prow r.; below, ••••; before, Γ
			Quadrans	
	69·0	Æ ·8	Head of young Hercules r., wearing lion's skin; behind, ⋮ and Γ	Similar; below prow, •••; before, Γ

[D'Ailly, *Mon. rom.*, pl. cviii., no. 16.]

			Sextans	
264	86·0	Æ ·85	Bust of Mercury r., wearing chlamys and winged petasus; above, ••; below, Γ	Similar; below prow, initial of mint between marks of value, •Γ• **[Pl. lxxxvi. 13.]**

[1] The quincunx is without the mint-initial on the reverse, and D'Ailly (pl. cviii., no. 13) figures a dextans with this omission.

[2] The single specimen of this denomination in the National Collection is too much worn for illustration.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Uncia[1]	
	58·0	Æ ·6	Head of Roma r., wearing crested helmet with visor; behind, •	Similar; below prow, initial of mint and mark of value, Γ•

[D'Ailly, *Mon. rom.*, pl. cxiii., no. 10.]

Semuncia

	33·0	Æ ·6	Bust of Mercury r., wearing chlamys and winged petasus.	Similar; below prow, mark of value, S (*semis*) and Γ

[D'Ailly, *Mon. rom.*, pl. cviii., no. 19.]

CA — CA

(CANUSIUM?[2])

Circ. B.C. 217; A.U.C. 537

As

265	330·0	Æ 1·2	Head of Janus, laureate; above, —; below, CA	ROMA below Prow r.; above, —; before, CA **[Pl. lxxxvii. 1.]**

[1] A variety of the uncia has the mark of value behind the initial of the mint below the prow (see D'Ailly, *op. cit.*, pl. cxiii., no. 11).

[2] It is very difficult to determine the locality of these coins, whether Canusium or Capua. D'Ailly (*Mon. rom.*, p. 637) was in favour of Capua, but the initial letter of that city appears to have been always K (see next coins with K), though it might be suggested that this monogram may have been changed into CA. The coins already attributed to Canusium (see above, pp. 187-190) have only the initial C, and some with that letter may be contemporary with those having CA. If, however, we take into account the fabric of the coins, the balance of evidence is strongly in favour of Canusium, for in that respect they are precisely similar to those attributed to Luceria and Palio. The resemblance is so striking that it might be even supposed that the dies for the coins of all three cities were executed by the same engravers, if not struck at the same mint. In the case of the *as* it is still more remarkable, as the mark of value on the obverse is placed horizontally and not vertically, a variation which does not appear to occur in any other series, whether struck in Rome or locally. This issue, which is of the uncial standard, and therefore would date from B.C. 217, may have occurred during the second Punic war, after the disaster at Cannae, when the remnant of the Roman army took refuge in Canusium. This city was always faithful to Rome, and at no time was Hannibal able to make himself master of it.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Semis	
266	268·0	Æ 1·1	Head of Jupiter r., laureate; behind, S; below, CA	Similar; above prow, S; before, CA **[Pl. lxxxvii. 2.]** (Payne Knight Coll.)
267	193·0	Æ 1·05	Similar.	Similar.
			Triens[1]	
268	116·0	Æ ·9	Head of Minerva r., wearing crested Corinthian helmet and necklace of pendants; above, ••••; below, CA	Similar; ROMA above prow; below, ••••; before, CA
269	110·0	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar.
270	106·0	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. lxxxvii. 3.]**
271	97·0	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. lxxxvii. 4.]** (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.)
272	96·0	Æ ·85	Similar.	Similar.
			Quadrans[2]	
	92·0	Æ ·85	Head of young Hercules r., wearing lion's skin; behind, ⁘	Similar; below prow, •••; before, CA

[D'Ailly, *Mon. rom.*, pl. ci., no. 11.]

[1] Riccio (*Catalogo*, p. 17, nos. 25-32) mentions five specimens of the triens in his collection overstruck on coins of Epirus and Oeniadae, in Acarnania. J. Neudeck (*Num. Zeit.*, 1877, p. 122), describes a specimen with ROM before the head of Minerva. This may be a double-struck piece.

[2] A variety of the quadrans has the marks of value above the head of Hercules, and the mint-initials CA under the chin (D'Ailly, *op. cit.*, pl. ci., no. 12).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Sextans	
	71·0	Æ ·7	Bust of Mercury r., wearing chlamys and winged petasus; above, ••; behind, CA downwards.	Similar; below prow, ••; before, CA

[D'Ailly, *Mon. rom.*, pl. ci., no. 13.]

			Uncia[1]	
	68·0	Æ ·7	Head of Roma r., wearing crested helmet with visor; behind, •; below, CA	Similar; below prow, •; before, CA

[D'Ailly, *Mon. rom.*, pl. ci., no. 14.]

			Semuncia[2]	
	29·0	Æ ·5	Bust of Mercury r., wearing chlamys and winged petasus; below, CA	Similar; no mark of value; below prow, CA

[D'Ailly, *Mon. rom.*, pl. ci., no. 16.]

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[1] On the uncia the initial-letters and the mark of value are sometimes placed together under the prow (D'Ailly, *op. cit.*, pl. ci., no. 15).

[2] The occurrence of the semuncia in the uncial issue is exceptional, but it is also met with in the issue with the letter Γ (see above, p. 205) and in the following one with Ϟ.

SERIES III.

With initials of mint and symbol

No.	*Weight*	*Metal and Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
			K AND EAR OF CORN[1]	
			(CAPUA)	
			AFTER B.C. 217; A.U.C. 537	
			As	
	360·0	Æ 1·3	Head of Janus, laureate; above, I	ROMA below Prow r.; above, I and ear of corn; before, K

[D'Ailly, *Mon. rom.*, pl. lxxxi., no. 16.]

Semis

	196·0	Æ 1·0	Head of Jupiter r., laureate; behind, S	Similar; above prow, S and ear of corn; before, K

[D'Ailly, *Mon. rom.*, pl. lxxxi., no. 18.]

[1] The attribution of these coins to Capua seems fairly certain. It is to this mint that the Romano-Campanian coins in gold, silver, and bronze are usually assigned (see above, pp. 116 f.). The initial letter of this city is generally K and not C, which is in favour of the attribution of these coins to Capua rather than to Canusium. The ear of corn as a symbol is not infrequently met with on early Capuan coins.

The bronze coins are of the uncial standard, and it is therefore possible that they may have been issued after the capture of Capua by the Romans in B.C. 211. The uncial standard

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Triens	
273	180·0	Æ ·9	Head of Minerva r., wearing crested Corinthian helmet; above, ••••	Similar; ROMA; above prow, ear of corn; before, IC (for K). [Pl. lxxxvii. 5.] (Blacas Coll.)
			Sextans	
274	93·0	Æ ·85	Head of Mercury r., wearing winged petasus; above, ••	Similar; ROMA; above prow, ear of corn; before, K
275	92·0	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar.
276	89·0	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. lxxxvii. 6.] (Blacas Coll.)
277	88·0	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. lxxxvii. 7 rev.]
278	85·0	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar.
279	83·0	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar.
280	81·0	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar; initial of mint, IC
			Semuncia[1]	
	17·5	Æ ·45	Female head r., hair collected into a knot at back.	Similar; above prow, ear of corn; before, K

[D'Ailly, *Mon. rom.*, pl. cxii., no. 8.]

was not introduced till B.C. 217, and it is not probable that these coins could have been struck between B.C. 216—211, when Capua was either occupied by the Carthaginians or was in open revolt against the Romans. D'Ailly (*op. cit.*, pl. lxxxi., no. 19; lxxxii., nos. 1, 2, 12) figures a variety of the semis with the mark of value to left and not to right of the ear of corn; others of the triens with the mint-mark K (not IC); and another of the sextans with the prow to l. The marks of value are omitted on the reverses of the triens and the sextans. The quadrans and the uncia do not appear to be recorded. D'Ailly (*op. cit.*, pl. lxxxi., nos. 14, 15) also figures a semis and a sextans with the ear of corn above the prow, but before it the letter C. He attributes these to Capua. The two pieces in his own collection were the only specimens known to him.

[1] This semuncia, if correctly described, must belong to this issue. D'Ailly (*op. cit.*, p. 776) says that the specimen in his collection is in poor condition, and that there are traces of the legend ROMA on the reverse. He attributes this coin to the sextantal standard.

PERIOD II.

Circ. B.C. 217—197; A.U.C. 537—557

THE coins which are assigned to local issues included in this Period are those which usually bear the symbols or initials of moneyers, as distinguished from such as give the initials only of mints. These last have been described in the preceding pages (see above, pp. 177 f.). One of the chief distinctions between the two series is that in the case of the moneyers the principal silver coin was the denarius, but with the mints, as we have seen, it was the victoriatus.

DENOMINATIONS AND TYPES.—The denominations, standards, and types correspond precisely to those of contemporaneous issues of the mint at Rome (see vol. i., pp. 44, 45). Those of silver are the denarius and the victoriatus, and those of bronze, the as and its divisions to the sextans. It is possible that the uncia was also struck; but to the present time that denomination has not been met with in connection with any of the local issues of moneyers assigned to this Period. There is also no instance of the quinarius or the sestertius. It is therefore probable that, as in the case of the central mint, their issue had ceased before B.C. 217, when the silver standard was reduced, the denarius being struck at $\frac{1}{84}$ instead of $\frac{1}{72}$ to the Roman pound, and the bronze money lowered from the sextantal to the uncial standard.

The types of the various denominations remained unchanged; the denarius still showing the helmeted head of Roma on the obverse and the Dioscuri on horseback on the reverse, and the victoriatus the head of Jupiter and Victory crowning a trophy. There are slight modifications in the denarius, more especially in the obverse type, apart from its reduction in weight, which serve to identify it with the coinage of this Period. The use of symbols and initials as special marks becomes more general; the number of coins without such marks being proportionally less. According to Count de Salis's classification these special marks are those of moneyers and not of mints, although a certain number of the symbols are found as the main types of autonomous coins of South Italian cities.

Only the initials of the moneyers are given; these are separate or in monogram. They occur on four issues only of this Period, in three of which they consist of the *cognomen* only, and in the fourth of the *praenomen*, *nomen*, and *cognomen*. The indication of the three names is not met with at the Roman mint till a considerably later date.

CLASSIFICATION.—Taking the denarius as the basis for determining the sequence of the issues of this Period, it will be seen that the obverse shows certain modifications not met with on similar pieces of the central mint, where the uniformity of type is somewhat remarkable. This uniformity is not preserved

in the local money, a fact due mainly to the circumstance that the coins were struck in various localities.

The obverse type of the denarii presents two somewhat marked variations of the head of Roma, which admit of their separation into two series. On coins of Series I. the head of Roma has a realistic appearance; the features are life-like, well modelled, and in somewhat high relief; but in Series II. the head is smaller, and the features are more angular and give to the portrait a stiff conventional appearance. In the former case the head is inclined forward, so that a vertical line starting from the point of the neck would cut the ear and the centre of the helmet; in the latter the line would cut the eye and the inner peak of the visor. Coins of Series I. are more similar in style to those attributed to the latter part of the previous Period, whilst those of Series II. present characteristics of denarii of the next Period.

Added to distinct signs of provincial workmanship in the way of crude style and poor fabric there are slight modifications which are not met with on contemporary denarii of the central mint. On the obverse the visor of the helmet is not uniform in shape, being composed of three, two, or one piece only, usually peaked. When the visor is not peaked, the pieces of which it is composed are even at the ends or of different lengths. The earring, with one exception (see no. 308, p. 215), consists of a single drop, generally plain, but sometimes in the form of a series of globules to represent pearls or beads. This slight variety occurred on the coins struck at the central mint. On the reverse the Dioscuri are often of rude design, and the legend ROMA is placed on a tablet, or within two lines, or below an exergual line. In the legends on the silver coins the form A, instead of Ⱥ with variants, is frequently met with (which is not the case with those of the central mint), and also L instead of ⅃.

The victoriatus does not show any special features. Those assigned to this Period have the head of Jupiter in low relief, and usually indented at the back, peculiarities recognised on similar coins of local mints which appear to have been struck after B.C. 217.

Although these slight differences are important in considering the sequence of the issues and in determining questions of chronology, yet the chief criteria for separating these coinages from those of the central mint used by Count de Salis were fabric and style.

During this Period there is a notable instance of the serration of the edge of the denarius; it occurs in the issue which has for symbol a wheel (see below, p. 215). With a single exception of some coins of C. Juventius Talna (see vol. i., p. 102), this mode of treating the edge of the denarius was not practised at Rome before *circ.* B.C. 92, and then only occasionally (see vol. i., p. 159). Its occurrence locally at this early date seems quite inexplicable. If we exclude the serrated pieces of M. Sergius Silus attributed to *circ.* B.C. 99-94, which appear to be more accidental than intentional, these denarii with the symbol of the wheel are the only serrated ones assigned by Count de Salis to local issue.

SERIES I.[1]

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Without moneyers' symbols or initials	
			Denarius	
281	58·7	Æ ·75	Head of Roma r., wearing winged helmet, ornamented with gryphon's head; the visor in three pieces and peaked; earring of single drop, and necklace; hair tied and falling in three symmetrical locks;[2] behind, X	ROMA (on tablet). The Dioscuri on horseback charging r.; each holds couched spear and wears chlamys, cuirass, and pileus, surmounted by star.
282	52·2	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. lxxxvii. 8.]**
283	50·2	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar; ROMA
284	45·4	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar.
			Triens[3]	
285	103·0	Æ ·9	Head of Minerva r., wearing crested Corinthian helmet and necklace; above, ••••	ROMA above Prow r.; below, •••• **[Pl. lxxxvii. 9.]**
286	91·0	Æ ·9	Similar.	Similar; ROMA[4] (Rev. G. J. Chester)
			Quadrans	
287	100·0	Æ ·9	Head of young Hercules r., wearing lion's skin; behind, ⁘	Similar; ROMA; below prow, •••

[1] For the characteristics of the denarii of this series see the preceding page.

[2] This is the general type of the head of Roma on the denarii of this series or group. Occasionally some slight modifications occur, as the types are not quite so uniform as in the case of the coins of the Roman mint.

Count de Salis has not classed any victoriati without symbols or initials with these denarii. It is, however, possible that some of the victoriati which are given as prototypes of those issued at the mints may belong to this series (see above, pp. 178, 179).

[3] The triens and quadrans are the only denominations of the uncial standard without symbols or letters which Count de Salis has attributed to local issues. Bronze coins of other values were no doubt also struck, but none appear to be in the National Collection. The pieces described above are of rude fabric and light weight, and may have been issued after B.C. 200.

[4] This coin is overstruck on one of the Acarnanian league (B.C. 229—168), with the head of Zeus on the obverse, and that of Acheloüs on the reverse. For similar overstruck coins see above, pp. 171, 189.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
288	98·0	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar; ROMA **[Pl. lxxxvii. 10.]**
289	90·0	Æ ·9	Similar.	Similar.
290	62·0	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar.
291	52·0	Æ ·7	Similar.	Similar.
292	66·0	Æ ·8	Similar; club below neck.	Similar. **[Pl. lxxxvii. 11.]**
			With moneyers' symbols	
			PENTAGON[1]	
			Denarius	
293	55·8	Æ ·75	Head of Roma r., wearing winged helmet with visor in three separate pieces of unequal length, not peaked,[2] &c. (*cf.* no. 281); earring of single drop; behind, X	ROMA (on tablet). The Dioscuri on horseback charging r., &c., similar to no. 281; below horses, pentagon. **[Pl. lxxxvii. 12.]** (de Salis Coll.)
294	54·8	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar.
			ANCHOR[3]	
			Denarius	
295	58·0	Æ ·75 (*plated*)	Head of Roma r., wearing winged helmet with visor in three pieces, and peaked, &c., similar to no. 281; earring of single drop; behind, X	ROMA (on tablet). The Dioscuri on horseback charging r., &c., similar to no. 281; below horses, anchor r. **[Pl. lxxxvii. 13.]**
296	57·8	Æ ·7	Similar.	Similar.
297	54·8	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar; ROMA in exergue.

[1] There are at least one if not two previous issues with this symbol (see above, p 163); the earliest consisting of the denarius of Series I. (B.C. 240—217), and the sixty-sestertii piece; the other probably of the denarius of Series III. and the victoriatus. The form of the helmet, the general fabric, and the weight show that the above coinage could not have occurred before B.C. 217. To this particular issue no bronze coins can be classed.

[2] The visor of the helmet of Roma varies somewhat from that on other denarii classed to this Period. It is in three pieces, not peaked, and of unequal length.

[3] There were at least four issues with this symbol; two of which have been attributed to the Roman mint (see vol. i., pp. 42, 62), and a similar number to local issues (see above, p. 155). In each series the two issues are of approximate dates. The bronze coins now described differ from those of the same period given to the Roman mint in being of rude fabric. As they are of the uncial standard they could not have been struck before B.C. 217.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			As	
298	449·0	Æ 1·3	Head of Janus, laureate; above, I	ROMA below Prow r.; above, I; before, anchor. **[Pl. lxxxvii. 14.]**
299	359·0	Æ 1·25	Similar.	Similar.
			Semis	
300	173·0	Æ 1·05	Head of Jupiter r., laureate; behind, S	Similar; ROMA; above prow, S; before, anchor. **[Pl. lxxxvii. 15.]**
			Quadrans	
301	58·0 (*chipped*)	Æ ·7	Head of young Hercules r., wearing lion's skin; behind, ⁝	Similar; ROMA; above prow, •••; before, anchor. **[Pl. lxxxvii. 16.]**
			TRIDENT[1]	
			Denarius	
302	59·0	Ar ·75	Head of Roma r., wearing winged helmet with visor in three pieces, and peaked, &c., similar to no. 281; earring of single drop; behind, X	ROMA (on tablet). The Dioscuri on horseback charging r., &c., similar to no. 281; below horses, trident r.
303	57·0	Ar ·75	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. lxxxviii. 1.]**
			HUMAN EAR[2]	
			Denarius	
304	54·1	Ar ·75	Head of Roma r., wearing winged helmet with visor in three pieces, and peaked, &c., similar to no. 281; earring of single drop; behind, X	ROMA (in exergue). The Dioscuri on horseback charging r., &c., similar to no. 281; below horses, human ear. **[Pl. lxxxviii. 2.]**

[1] There was another issue with this symbol, but the denarius being of better fabric it has been assigned by Count de Salis to the mint at Rome (see vol. i., p. 53). No bronze coins with the symbol, a trident, have been met with.

[2] This symbol occurs on later issues of the Roman mint as a mint-mark. In the above instance it is undoubtedly a moneyer's sign. The cognomen Auricula was borne by Q. Pullius Q. f. (*C.I.L.*, xii., no. 2810), and that of Oricula, or Oriculo, by L. Trebonius (*C.I.L.*, iii., Pt. i., no. 74), and L. Calvisius P. f. (*C.I.L.*, v., Pt. i., no. 3267). The ear may therefore be a *symbole parlant*.

The denarius only is recorded of this issue.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			STAFF AND FEATHER[1]	
			Denarius[2]	
305	60·5	Æ ·7	Head of Roma r., wearing winged helmet with visor in three pieces, but slightly peaked, &c. (*cf.* no. 281); earring of single drop; lock of hair on l. shoulder; behind, X; before, staff.	ROMA (on tablet). The Dioscuri on horseback charging r., &c., similar to no. 281; below horses, feather l. (de Salis Coll.)
306	53·0	Æ ·7	Similar.	Similar.
307	46·0	Æ ·65	Similar.	Similar; ROMA (in exergue). **[Pl. lxxxviii. 3.]**
			WHEEL[3]	
			Denarius[4]	
308	64·0	Æ ·75	Head of Roma r., wearing winged helmet with visor in three pieces, and peaked, &c., similar to no. 281; earring of double drop; behind, X	ROMA (on tablet). The Dioscuri on horseback, charging r., &c., similar to no. 281; below horses, wheel of six spokes; *edge serrated*.[5] **[Pl. lxxxviii. 4.]** (de Salis Coll.)
309	60·8	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar; ROMA in exergue. (Blacas Coll.)

[1] The staff as a symbol has already been met with on earlier coins struck locally (see above, p. 161), and also on some struck at Rome (vol. i., pp. 37, 53). The symbol, a feather, is not easily accounted for. On later denarii it takes the place of the wing on the helmet of Roma (see coins of Q. Lutatius Cerco, Babelon, vol. ii., p. 157). D'Ailly (*Mon. rom.*, p. 464) calls it a *juba*, but that word appears to have been applied more to a horse's mane, to the crest of a helmet, or to the feathers around the neck of a cock. Babelon (vol. i., p. 47) describes the symbol as a palm.

[2] The denarius is the only denomination known bearing these two symbols together. They may have been thus used to show that the issue was a joint one of two moneyers, each being represented by a separate sign. D'Ailly (*op. cit.*, p. 465) suggests that the staff (*haste*) may indicate a member of the Junia or Nonia gens, and the feather (*juba*) the surname, Crinitus, which was borne by members of the Ulpia gens.

[3] The wheel in this instance is more probably the sign of a moneyer than of a mint, though it occurs as the main type on the aes grave of Campania and Central Italy, and also on early coins of Luceria and Tarentum.

[4] The denarius is the only denomination of this issue. Mommsen (*Hist. mon. rom.*, t. ii., p. 221) thought that it was struck on the standard of $\frac{1}{72}$ to the Roman pound, and he therefore assigned it to a date before B.C. 217. On account of the form of the helmet and general style Count de Salis has placed it a little later. It is certainly somewhat heavier than most of the denarii of this Period.

[5] This is the earliest occurrence of the serrated edge on Roman Republican denarii, and the only instance on anonymous pieces. With one exception this peculiar manner of treating the edge of the coin is not met with at the Roman mint till a much later date (see above, p. 211, and vol. i., p. 159, where its mode of execution and purpose is discussed).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
310	62·5	Æ ·75	Similar; earring of single drop.	Similar.
311	60·5	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar; ROMA on tablet and wheel of eight spokes. **[Pl. lxxxviii. 5.]**

SHIELD AND CARNYX[1]

Denarius

312	60·9	Æ ·8	Head of Roma r., wearing winged helmet with visor in three pieces, and peaked, &c., similar to no. 281, but the back of the helmet is slightly Phrygian in form; earring of single drop; lock of hair on l. shoulder; behind, X	KOMA (*sic*) (on tablet). The Dioscuri on horseback charging r., &c., similar to no. 281; below horses, oblong shield and carnyx in saltire. **[Pl. lxxxviii. 6.]**
313	53·7	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar; ROMA in exergue. (Sambon)

FEMALE HEAD[2]

Denarius

314	55·6	Æ ·8	Head of Roma r., wearing winged helmet with visor in three pieces, and peaked, &c., similar to no. 281; earring of single drop; behind, X	ROMA (on tablet). The Dioscuri on horseback charging r., &c., similar to 281; below horses, female head r. **[Pl. lxxxviii. 7.]**

[1] The carnyx, the military trumpet of the Gauls, is not an uncommon symbol as a mint-mark on later republican coins, and in conjunction with the Gaulish oblong shield occurs as the reverse type of coins struck by Decimus Brutus to commemorate his campaign in Gaul (see vol. i., p. 507). The head of the trumpet was in the form of an animal's head, which rendered its notes sharp and piercing.

The restoration of the above coins by Trajan (see Babelon, vol. ii., p. 576, no 20) enables us to identify at least the family of the moneyer by whom they were originally issued, as in that case the name of Decius Mus is added to the obverse type (Mommsen, *Hist. mon. rom.*, t. ii., p. 219). These symbols therefore probably record the battle of Sentinum in B.C. 295, when Publius Decius Mus, seeing his troops recoil before the attack of the Gauls, dedicated himself and the enemy to the gods of the dead, and thus fell a sacrifice for his country, imitating the example of his father in the Latin war at the battle of Capua, B.C. 340. It is therefore probable that these coins were struck by a member of the Decia gens. The denarius is the only denomination known of this issue.

[2] As in the case of the preceding issue this denarius was also restored by Trajan (Babelon, vol. ii., p. 577, no 23). As this restoration bears the name of Cocles on the obverse, it connects the moneyer of these early anonymous coins with the Horatia gens (see vol. i., p. 94, note 1). The female head may therefore be that of Horatia, the betrothed of one of the Curiatii, who fell a victim to her brother's resentment (Bahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1896, p. 134).

Of this coinage the denarius only is known.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
315	54·0	AR ·8	Similar.	Similar. (de Salis Coll.)
316	37·9	AR ·7 (*plated ?*)	Similar.	Similar; ROMA (Blacas Coll.)

BUTTING BULL[1]

Denarius

317	59·6	AR ·7	Head of Roma r., wearing winged helmet, with visor in three pieces and peaked, &c., similar to no. 281; earring of single drop; behind, X	ROMA (between two lines). The Dioscuri on horseback charging r., &c., similar to no. 281; below horses, bull butting r. **[Pl. lxxxviii. 8.]**
318	44·0	AR ·75	Similar.	Similar.
319	54·0	AR ·75	Similar.	Similar; bull butting l.
320	51·8 (*broken*)	AR ·75	Similar.	Similar.
321	50·9	AR ·75	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. lxxxviii. 9.]** (Townley Coll.)
322	47·3	AR ·7	Similar.	Similar.

OWL[2]

Denarius

323	69·0	AR ·75	Head of Roma r., wearing winged helmet, with visor in three pieces and peaked, &c., similar to no. 281; earring of single drop; behind, X	ROMA (on tablet). The Dioscuri on horseback charging r., &c., similar to no. 281; below horses, owl standing towards r., head facing. **[Pl. lxxxviii. 10.]**

[1] The rushing bull was the *type parlant* of the Thoria gens, and at a later period appeared as the main reverse type of the denarius of L. Thorius Balbus (see vol. i., p. 225). It was the chief type of the coins of Thurium in Lucania, where it was also the *type parlant* of the city, indicating the fountain Θουρία, from which it may have derived its name. The city was garrisoned by the Romans in B.C. 213, but in the following year after the fall of Tarentum, the inhabitants betrayed the Roman troops into the hands of the Carthaginians. From that time till B.C. 204 the city was held by Hannibal. These denarii may have been struck during the occupation of that place in B.C. 213—212, but as the coins assigned to this series bear symbols of moneyers, not of cities, it seems more probable that the bull is the mark of a moneyer and not of a mint. The denarius is the only denomination known. This issue appears to be distinct from that with the standing bull, of which D'Ailly (*Mon. rom.*, pl. lxxxiv., no. 11) figures the as. The symbol, a bull standing, occurs on coins assigned to the Roman mint, with the moneyer's initials MO (Durmius?; see vol. i., p. 69). D'Ailly also figures, after Morelli, a denarius with the symbol, a bull couchant (*op. cit.*, pl. lxxxiv., no. 17.)

[2] D'Ailly (*Mon. rom.*, p. 334), following the suggestion of Cavedoni (*Ripostigli*, p. 162, note 143; p. 239) attributes the issue of these denarii to a member of the Caedicia gens, a

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
324	66·5 (*broken*)	Æ ·7	Similar.	Similar; ROMA (Blacas Coll.)
325	54·7	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar.
326	58·3 (*broken*)	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar; ROMA

GRYPHON[1]

Denarius

327	59·6	Æ ·75	Head of Roma r., wearing winged helmet, with visor in three pieces, much peaked, &c. (*cf.* no. 281); earring of single drop; behind, X	ROMA (on tablet). The Dioscuri on horseback charging r., &c., similar to no. 281; below horses, gryphon r. (Sambon)
328	58·3	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. lxxxviii. 11.]**
329	55·0	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar.
330	53·7	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar.
331	60·7	Æ ·8	Similar; the visor of the helmet is in one piece only.	Similar. **[Pl. lxxxviii. 12.]** (Townley Coll.)

As

332	472·0	Æ 1·35	Head of Janus, laureate; above, I	ROMA below Prow r.; before, I; above, gryphon r., beneath which, hare's head (?). (Blacas Coll.)
333	403·0	Æ 1·25	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. lxxxviii. 13.]**
334	392·0	Æ 1·3	Similar.	Similar.

cognomen of which was Noctua (*i.e.* owl). Q. Caedicius Noctua Q. f. was consul in B.C. 289 and censor in B.C. 283, and Q. Caedicius Noctua Q. f. Q. n, consul in B.C. 256. This cognomen appears to have been assumed by the Caedicia gens, because M. Caedicius informed the tribunes of the people that on the spot in the Via Nova, where at a later time a chapel was placed on the site of the temple of Vesta, he had heard in the silence of the night a superhuman voice commanding him to inform the magistrates that the Gauls were coming (Livy, v. 32). The owl, the vigilant bird of the night, would be a fitting symbol of this supernatural warning. This bird also occurs as a type on autonomous coins of Tarentum in Calabria, of Velia in Lucania, and of other cities of Italy. Both the cities mentioned took an active part in the second Punic war. It is, however, more probable, as in the case of previous issues, that the owl is the sign of a moneyer rather than of a mint.

The denarius is the only denomination known of this issue.

[1] This is also most probably a moneyer's sign. The gryphon occurs as the reverse type of a large series of denarii struck by L. Papius Celsus (see vol. i., p. 371). The object below the gryphon is an animal's head; probably that of a hare.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Semis	
335	153·0	Æ 1·05	Head of Jupiter r., laureate; behind, S	Similar; before prow, S; above, gryphon r. and hare's head. **[Pl. lxxxviii. 14.]**
			Quadrans[1]	
336	87·0	Æ ·8	Head of young Hercules r., wearing lion's skin; behind, ⁝	Similar; before prow, ⁝; above, gryphon r., and hare's head **[Pl. lxxxviii. 15 rev.]**
			TORQUE[2]	
			Victoriatus	
337	48·8	R ·8	Head of Jupiter r., laureate, in low relief; head with indentation at back.	ROMA (in exergue). Victory draped, standing r., and placing wreath on trophy, with greaves but without cuirass; in the field, torque. **[Pl. lxxxviii. 16.]** (Townley Coll.)
			EAR OF CORN[3]	
			Victoriatus[4]	
338	48·8	R ·65	Head of Jupiter r., laureate, in low relief; similar to no. 337; head with indentation at back.	ROMA (in exergue). Victory standing r. and placing wreath on trophy, &c., similar to no. 337; the trophy has a cuirass and broad base, but is without greaves; in the field, ear of corn. **[Pl. lxxxviii. 17.]**

[1] Other denominations are the triens and sextans (D'Ailly, *Mon. rom.*, pl. lxxxiv., nos. 15, 17, 18).

[2] This symbol is somewhat uncertain. D'Ailly (*Mon. rom.*, p. 574) has identified it as a torque, and has suggested that it may be a *symbol parlant* of the cognomen Torquatus. He further suggested that the moneyer may have been T. Manlius Torquatus, who was consul B.C. 165. As the coin was struck about B.C. 217, or soon after, it cannot be connected with that member of the Manlia gens. The victoriatus is the only denomination with this symbol.

The globule or pellet in the centre of the reverse is not a part of the symbol, but was more probably produced in centering the die when it was engraved.

The occurrence of the victoriatus at this time with the symbols of moneyers is somewhat exceptional, as most of them struck only denarii in silver.

[3] This symbol occurred at an earlier date on local coins, consisting of the twenty-sestertii piece in gold, and bronze coins of the sextantal standard (see above, p. 163). It was also met with on coins probably struck at Capua (see above, p. 208). In the above issue it appears to be the sign of a moneyer and not of a mint.

[4] This victoriatus is of the reduced weight, *i.e.* struck after B.C. 217. There are no bronze coins which can be attributed to the same issue.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			AMPHORA?[1]	
			Victoriatus	
339	50·6	Æ ·65	Head of Jupiter r., laureate, in somewhat higher relief than no. 337; head slightly indented.	ROMA (in exergue). Victory standing r., and placing wreath on trophy, &c., similar to no. 337; the trophy is without cuirass but has greaves; in the field, amphora. **[Pl. lxxxviii. 18.]**
			VICTORY[2]	
			Triens	
340	138·0	Æ ·95	Head of Minerva r., wearing crested Corinthian helmet, earring of single drop and necklace; hair tied with band; above, ••••	ROMA above Prow r.; below, ••••; above legend, Victory r. with wreath. **[Pl. lxxxviii. 19.]**
341	129·0	Æ ·95	Similar.	Similar.
342	117·0	Æ ·9	Similar.	Similar.
343	113·0	Æ ·95	Similar; earring of triple drop.	Similar; ROMA
			Quadrans	
344	94·0	Æ ·85	Head of young Hercules r., wearing lion's skin; behind, ⋮	Similar; ROMA; below prow, •••; above, Victory r. with wreath. **[Pl. lxxxix. 1.]**
			Sextans[3]	
345	61·0	Æ ·75	Bust of Mercury r., wearing chlamys and winged petasus; above, ••	Similar; ROMA; below prow, ••; above, Victory r. with wreath. **[Pl. lxxxix. 2.]**

[1] This symbol is uncertain. It has all the appearance of an amphora, but it may be a disconnected portion of the dress of Victory. Though the head of Jupiter slightly differs in style from that on the two preceding issues, this victoriatus is of the later period, *i.e.* B.C. 217—197.

[2] This symbol, as well as the following ones of the hammer and cap and the caduceus, have occurred on earlier bronze coins of the sextantal standard, and are described above on pp. 156, 158, 159. As the coins now described are of the uncial standard, they may belong to a later date; but it is possible that, though of reduced weights, they formed part of the earlier issues. We may, however, assume that the moneyers of both series were connected with the same families.

[3] D'Ailly (*Mon. rom.*, pl. lxxxvii., no. 1) figures also the semis of this issue.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			HAMMER AND FLAMEN'S CAP (*Apex*)[1]	
			Triens	
346	109·0	Æ ·9	Head of Minerva r., wearing crested Corinthian helmet; above, ••••	ROMA below Prow r.; before, ⋮; above, hammer and flamen's cap (*apex*). **[Pl. lxxxix. 3.]**
			CADUCEUS[2]	
			Triens	
347	92·0	Æ ·9	Head of Minerva r., wearing crested Corinthian helmet; above, ••••	ROMA below Prow r.; before, ⋮; above, caduceus r. **[Pl. lxxxix. 4.]**
			Quadrans	
348	80·0	Æ ·8	Head of young Hercules r., wearing lion's skin; behind, ⋮	Similar; before prow, ⋮; above, caduceus r. **[Pl. lxxxix. 5.]**
			With moneyers' initials	
			Q. L. C[3]	
			(QUINTUS LUTATIUS CERCO?)	
			Denarius	
349	65·4	Æ ·85	Head of Roma r., wearing winged helmet, with visor in two pieces and peaked, &c. (*cf.* no. 281); earring of single drop; behind, X	ROMA (on tablet). The Dioscuri on horseback charging r., &c., similar to no. 281; below horses, Q L C (Nott)
350	55·9	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. lxxxix. 6.]** (Blacas Coll.)

[1] For heavier coins of the sextantal standard with these symbols, see above, p. 158. As in the case of the previous coins with Victory and the following with a caduceus, the moneyers of the two series may have been members of the same families. D'Ailly (*Mon. rom.*, pl. lxx., nos. 10, 12-14) figures semisses which may belong to this issue.

[2] This symbol is found on two issues of a somewhat earlier date, both of which included the denarius. The earlier bronze pieces are of the sextantal standard (see above, p. 159). D'Ailly (*op. cit.*, pl. lxxiv., no. 3) figures the sextans of this issue.

[3] These are evidently the initials of a moneyer, who has been identified as Quintus Lutatius Catulus, an ancestor of Q. Lutatius Catulus, the consul of B.C. 102 (Babelon, vol. ii., p. 155). The initials may, however, be those of Quintus Lutatius Cerco, a not unusual cognomen of the

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			VR [1]	
			(VARRO)	
			Denarius	
351	67·0	AR ·8	Head of Roma r., wearing winged helmet, with visor in two pieces and peaked (*cf.* no. 281); earring of single drop; behind, X	ROMA (on tablet). The Dioscuri on horseback charging r., &c., similar to no. 281; below horses, VR **[Pl. lxxxix. 7.]**
352	57·6	AR ·7	Similar.	Similar.
353	56·6	AR ·7	Similar.	Similar. (de Salis Coll.)
			D [2]	
			(Uncertain)	
			Denarius	
354	58·3	AR ·8	Head of Roma r., wearing winged helmet, with visor in two pieces and peaked (*cf.* no. 281); earring of single drop; behind, X	ROMA (in exergue). The Dioscuri on horseback charging r., &c., similar to no. 281; below horses, D
355	55·6	AR ·8	Similar.	Similar; ROMA on tablet. [**Pl. lxxxix. 8.**] (de Salis Coll.)

Lutatia gens. There was a consul of that name in B.C. 241, who was censor in B.C. 236; and later also a quaestor, whose coins are attributed by Count de Salis to local issue (see Coinage of Italy, *circ.* B.C. 90; Babelon, vol. ii., p. 156; Mommsen, *Hist. mon. rom.*, t. ii., p. 250, note 3).

Only denarii are known with these initials. The visor of the helmet of Roma varies in being in two pieces instead of in three.

[1] As neither the praenomen nor nomen of this moneyer is given, his identification is uncertain. He was probably a member of the Terentia gens. Other coins reading C. VR and VRO are attributed to the Roman mint (see vol. i., pp. 35, 68). In the former instance the moneyer has been identified with Caius Terentius Varro, who was consul B.C. 216, and in the latter with Aulus Terentius Varro, possibly the praetor of B.C. 184. Only denarii of the above issue have been met with. The helmet of Roma is precisely the same as that on previous coins with the initials Q L C. The fabric of the coins of these two issues is so similar that they could have emanated from the same place, and it might be suggested that the dies for each were made by the same engraver.

[2] Mommsen (*Hist. mon. rom.*, t. ii., p. 248) says that this letter is the initial of a mint. D'Ailly (*Mon. rom.*, p. 643) was uncertain whether it was of a mint or of a moneyer. But, he adds, "the fabric shows that these coins were struck at some mint other than that at Rome." Taking the evidence of the other coins assigned to this period into consideration, more especially the similarity of the obverse type to those of the coins with the initials Q L C and VR, we are disposed to look upon it as the signature of a moneyer, but of which family we cannot offer any suggestion. Only denarii are known of this issue. They are of rude fabric.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
356	51·9	Æ ·85	Similar.	Similar.
357	47·7	Æ ·75	Similar; earring of single drop, the end in form of cross.	Similar; ROMA

GR [1]

([TIBERIUS SEMPRONIUS] GRACCHUS)

Denarius

358	62·6	Æ ·75	Head of Roma r., wearing winged helmet, with visor in three pieces and peaked, &c., similar to no. 281; earring of single drop; behind, X	ROMA (in exergue). The Dioscuri on horseback charging r., &c., similar to no. 281; below horses, GR [Pl. lxxxix. 9.] (Blacas Coll.)
359	56·5	Æ ·7	Similar.	Similar.
360	55·1	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar. (Nott)
361	50·8	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar.
362	55·8	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar; ROMA on tablet.
363	55·0	Æ ·85	Similar.	Similar.

SERIES II.[2]

Without moneyers' symbols or initials

Denarius

364	62·5	Æ ·75	Head of Roma r., wearing winged helmet, ornamented with gryphon's head; the visor in three pieces and peaked; earring of single drop, and necklace; hair tied and falling in three symmetrical locks; behind, X	ROMA (on tablet). The Dioscuri on horseback charging r.; each holds couched spear and wears chlamys, cuirass, and pileus, surmounted by star.

[1] This moneyer has been identified as the distinguished general during the second Punic war, Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, who was killed at Campi Veteres in Lucania in B.C. 212. He was the son of the consul of the same name in B.C. 238, and was himself curule aedile in B.C. 216, and consul in B.C. 215 and 213 (Babelon, vol. ii., p. 429). It is, however, more probable that the moneyer was the son of the consul of B.C. 215, 213. He was elected augur in B.C. 203. Mommsen (*Hist. mon. rom.*, t. ii., p. 254) thought that the specimen of this issue in the Blacas collection read C. R; but the illustration on pl. lxxxix. 9 shows very distinctly that the legend is GR.

The only denomination known of this issue is the denarius.

[2] Count de Salis has separated this small series of silver coins from those previously

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
365	60·5	Æ ·7	Similar.	Similar (*of rude design and fabric*). (Townley Coll.)
366	54·7	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. lxxxix. 10.]**
367	48·8	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar.
			Victoriatus[1]	
368	44·5	Æ ·65	Head of Jupiter r., laureate, in low relief; back of head with indentation; hair in loose locks.	ROMA (in exergue). Victory standing r., and placing wreath on trophy, which has a cuirass but no greaves. **[Pl. lxxxix. 11.]** (de Salis Coll.)
369	39·9	Æ ·6	Similar.	Similar.
370	39·8	Æ ·65	Similar.	Similar.
			With moneyer's symbol HELMET[2]	
			Denarius[3]	
371	55·9	Æ ·9	Head of Roma r., wearing winged helmet, with visor in three pieces and peaked, &c., same as no. 364; earring of single drop; behind, X	ROMA (on tablet). The Dioscuri on horseback charging r., &c., similar to no. 364; below horses, helmet r., with cheek-pieces and crest in form of crescent. **[Pl. lxxxix. 12.]** (de Salis Coll.)

assigned to this period on account of a slight difference in the form of the head of Roma. On those given to Series I. the head of Roma is inclined forward, so that the point of the neck is vertically on a line with the ear and the centre of the helmet. On the denarii of Series II. the point of the neck is vertical with the eye and the visor of the helmet, thus giving to the portrait a stiff and angular and less life-like appearance. This style of head occurs also on denarii with the symbol a helmet (see below), and is emphasised on those which are assigned to Period III. A similar change in the head of Roma was noted on the denarii struck at the same time at the Roman mint (see vol. i., p. 45). This second series forms a connecting link between the denarii of this and the next period, when we meet with an occasional change in the reverse type, Diana or Luna in a biga taking the place of the Dioscuri.

[1] These victoriati without any moneyer's mark are assigned to a somewhat later date than those already described in this period (see above, pp. 219, 220), on account of their strong resemblance in design and fabric to those which bear the symbol a helmet (see below, p. 225), which in turn cannot be separated from the denarii with the same symbol.

[2] This is the symbol of a moneyer. As the shape of the helmet is Gaulish, it may, like the shield and carnyx (see above, p. 216), record some event which occurred in Gaul in connection with an ancestor of the moneyer. In this instance, however, there is no "restoration" by Trajan, which would tell us to what family the moneyer belonged.

[3] The denarius and victoriatus of this issue are precisely similar in fabric, style, and in the details of the types to the preceding pieces (nos. 364, 368) without a symbol.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Victoriatus	
372	46·4	Æ ·65	Head of Jupiter r., laureate; similar to no. 368; the head is indented at back, and the hair is in loose locks.	ROMA (in exergue). Victory standing r. and placing wreath on trophy, similar to no. 368; in the field, helmet r., with cheek-pieces and crest in form of crescent. **[Pl. lxxxix. 13.]**
373	33·5 (*worn*)	Æ ·65	Similar.	Similar. (Nott)
			As	
374	414·0	Æ 1·35	Head of Janus, laureate; above, I	ROMA below Prow r.; before, I; above, helmet r., with cheek-pieces and crest in form of crescent. **[Pl. lxxxix. 14.]**
			Semis [1]	
	254·0	Æ 1·05	Head of Jupiter r., laureate; behind, S	Similar; ROMA; before prow, S; above, helmet (as on no. 374).

[D'Ailly, *Mon. rom.*, pl. lxxiv., no. 9.]

[1] D'Ailly (*op. cit.*, p. 315) thought that these coins were of the sextantal series. Each denomination varies a good deal in weight.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse.	Reverse
			Triens	
	194·0	Æ ·9	Head of Minerva r., wearing crested Corinthian helmet; earring of single drop and necklace; above, ••••	Similar; ROMA above prow; below, ••••; before, helmet (as on no. 374).

[D'Ailly, *Mon. rom.*, pl. lxxiv., no. 11.]

			Quadrans	
	135·0	Æ ·8	Head of young Hercules r., wearing lion's skin.; behind, ⁝	Similar; below prow, •••; before, helmet (as on no. 374).

[D'Ailly, *Mon. rom.*, pl. lxxiv., no. 12.]

			Sextans	
	84·0	Æ ·75	Bust of Mercury r., wearing chlamys and winged petasus; above, ••	Similar; below prow, ••; before, helmet (as on no. 374).

[D'Ailly, *Mon. rom.*, pl. lxxiv., no. 14.]

PERIOD III.

Circ. B.C. 196—173; A.U.C. 558—581

THE local issues of coins of the Roman Republic hitherto described have consisted of two series: one, struck by duly accredited moneyers; the other, issued under a specially delegated authority by cities under Roman domination. From the evidence of the coins themselves this second series does not appear to have continued long after the close of the second Punic war, as there are none which can be assigned to a date corresponding with that of our Period III. From B.C. 196 onwards the local coinages only consist therefore of those of the moneyers, who were evidently in close touch with the central mint, and, as has been suggested, received their appointment under conditions similar to those who were engaged in superintending the coinage in the capital (see above, p. 153). There exists throughout a close relationship between the central and the local coinages, the changes and the modifications in the former being reflected in the latter.

DENOMINATIONS AND TYPES.—These are precisely the same as are met with in the central coinage (see vol. i., pp. 66, 67). The victoriatus still occurs, but rarely; the uncia in bronze is met with in one instance only. Coins without symbols or initials of the moneyers are on the decrease.

The denarius receives the new reverse type of Diana or Luna in a biga.[1]

In the series struck at Rome there were two varieties of this new type at this epoch: on one the goddess, draped from the neck, restrains the horses, which appear to be cantering; on the other she is naked to the waist, holds a goad in her right hand, and urges on her horses at full speed. This second type is the later of the two, and is not met with on denarii of the local issues assigned to Period III.; but it occurs in a single instance on those classed to the next one. The type of Diana or Luna is exceptional, the Dioscuri still forming the chief reverse of the denarius.

CLASSIFICATION.—The denarii again fall into two series which differ from each other chiefly in the style and details of the head of Roma.

The denarii of Series I. are similar in style and fabric to those immediately preceding. The head of Roma is angular, and the profile is straight, which give to the features a conventional appearance. In the case of the denarii of Series II. there is a slight return to the style and form of head approaching that shown on coins of Series I. of the preceding Period (see

[1] On the first occurrence of this type at the Roman mint (see vol. i., p. 66) no particular motive was adduced for its introduction. Mr. G. F. Hill has since suggested that the figure in the chariot is Luna and not Diana, and that the type may refer to the reform of the calendar which took place by the provisions of the *Lex Acilia de intercalatione*, proposed by the consul Mn. Acilius Glabrio in B.C. 191, when the intercalary months were restored. This event corresponds with the probable date of the issue of these coins.

above, p. 211), the features assuming a more life-like appearance. In these characteristics the local issues do not follow closely the coins of the central mint, where the portrait of Roma shows throughout a want of expression and is conventional in form. The two styles of head occur on the coinage of Juventius Talna (see below, p. 232). On those which have the monogram Ⱥ the head characteristic of Series I. is met with; but on those with the monogram Ⱥ we have the head found in Series II. It would almost therefore appear as if this coinage formed the connecting link between the two series. The types of Diana or Luna and the Dioscuri occur in both series. The change in the form of the earring from a plain single drop to one triangular in form, which was a somewhat special feature of the denarii struck at Rome at this time (see vol. i., p. 67), occurs in one instance only, viz. on the coins of Sextus Quinctilius, who, however, makes use of both forms. It is therefore quite the exception.

In other respects the local denarii correspond with those of the central mint; some are without any special marks, some have symbols, whilst others bear the moneyers' names in monogram or in the form of separate initials only.

There are no epigraphic changes of any importance except that A is more frequent than any other form, such as Λ or ∧, and in the monogram of Juventius Talna, ⊦ for L occurs. This is the usual form of that letter on coins of the Roman mint of this time.

SERIES I.[1]

No.	*Weight*	*Metal and Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
			Without moneyer's symbol or initial	
			Denarius	
375	55·4	Ⱥ ·8	Head of Roma r., wearing winged helmet, ornamented with gryphon's head; the visor in three pieces and peaked; earring of single drop, and necklace; hair tied and falling in three symmetrical locks; behind, X	ROMA (on tablet). Diana or Luna, draped, her head surmounted by crescent, in biga r., horses cantering; she holds the reins in both hands and restrains the horses.[2] **[Pl. xc. 1.]**

[1] The head of Roma on denarii of this series is very similar to that on like pieces of Series II. of the previous period (see above, p. 223).

[2] This type of Diana or Luna in a biga occurs also on contemporary denarii struck at the Roman mint. During this period in the local issues the goddess is only represented in the attitude of restraining the horses of her chariot. The other type, the fast biga with horses

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			With moneyer's symbol	
			FLY[1]	
			Denarius	
376	60·6	AR ·8	Head of Roma r., wearing winged helmet, with visor in three pieces and peaked, &c., similar to no. 375; earring of single drop; behind, X	ROMA (on tablet). Diana or Luna, draped, in biga r., &c., similar to no. 375; below horses, fly r.
377	56·1	AR ·85	Similar.	Similar.
378	57·2	AR ·7	Similar.	Similar; ROMA **[Pl. xc. 2.]**
379	54·6	AR ·8	Similar.	Similar.
380	56·8	AR ·8	Similar.	Similar; ROMA in exergue.
			Victoriatus	
381	37·5 (*chipped*)	AR ·7	Head of Jupiter r., laureate, in low relief; back of head with indentation.	ROMA (in exergue). Victory, draped, standing r., and placing wreath on trophy, which shows cuirass and greaves; in the field, fly (upwards). **[Pl. xc. 3.]**
			As	
382	436·0	Æ 1·35	Head of Janus, laureate; above, I	ROMA below Prow r.; before, I; above, fly r. **[Pl. xc. 4.]**

galloping, does not seem to have been adopted locally at this particular time. It is, however, met with in a single instance on the coinage assigned to a slightly later date (see below, p. 240).

[1] The bronze coins of the sextantal standard and bearing this symbol are attributed to the mint at Rome (see vol. i., p. 40), where it is mentioned that the *musca* may be a rebus of the cognomen Musca, borne by members of the Sempronia gens. T. Sempronius Musca was one of the five commissioners appointed in B.C. 168 to settle the disputes between the Pisani and the Lunenses.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Sextans[1]	
383	73·0	Æ ·85	Head of Mercury r., wearing winged petasus; above, ••	ROMA above Prow r.; below, ••; before, fly (upwards). **[Pl. xc. 5.]**
			With moneyers' monograms ℞ ([FURIUS] PURPUREO[2])	
			Denarius	
384	60·1	Æ ·75	Head of Roma r., wearing winged helmet, with visor in three pieces and peaked, &c., similar to no. 375; earring of single drop; behind, X	ROMA (on tablet). The Dioscuri on horseback charging r.; each holds couched spear, and wears chlamys, cuirass, and pileus, surmounted by star; below horses, ℞
385	58·7	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. xc. 6.]**
			As	
	520·0	Æ 1·25	Head of Janus, laureate; above, I	ROMA below Prow r.; before, I; above, ℞

[Bahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1900, pl. iii., no. 62.]

[1] The only other denomination of the uncial standard with this symbol recorded by D'Ailly is the quadrans (*Mon. rom.*, pl. lxxxxi., no. 3).

[2] This moneyer was possibly a son of L. Furius Purpureo, who was a military tribune B.C. 210, praetor B.C. 200, and consul B.C. 196. For his signal victory over the Boii in this last year, and also for previous successes, he vowed three temples to Jupiter, one of which was dedicated in B.C. 194, the other two in B.C. 192. He was later a candidate for the censorship, B.C. 184. Babelon (vol. i., p. 519), having placed this issue *circ.* B.C. 217, has identified the moneyer with the consul of B.C. 196, but as Count de Salis has assigned the coins to a somewhat later date, this identification, if he was right, would not be possible.

There are two series of bronze coins with this cognomen, one reading ℞, the other, ΓVR. Babelon (vol. i., pp. 520, 521) has classed both series to the same issue, but Count de Salis separated them, assigning those with ΓVR with the denarii bearing the moneyer's name ΓVR on the reverse (see below, p. 240). Mommsen (*Hist. mon. rom.*, t. ii., pp. 241, 266) makes the same division, but he mentions only the denarius and the as with the monogram ℞.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Semis	
	130·0	Æ 1·0	Head of Jupiter, r., laureate; behind, S	Similar; before prow, S; above, ℞

[Babelon, vol. i., p. 521, no. 9.]

Quadrans

	127·0	Æ ·8	Head of young Hercules r., wearing lion's skin; behind, ⁝ [1]	Similar; before prow, ⁝; above, ℞

[Babelon, vol. i., p. 521, no. 11.]

Uncia [2]

	33·0	Æ ·55	Female bust r., draped.	Prow r.; before, ℞

[Babelon, vol. i., p. 521, no. 12.]

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[1] The illustration should have three dots for marks of value on the obverse as well as on the reverse.

[2] The triens and sextans of this issue do not appear to have been met with. According to Samwer (*Num. Zeit.*, 1896, p. 125) there is an example of the triens in the D'Ailly collection weighing 126·7 grs., but he may have confused this piece with one reading ↱℞, as there is no specimen of this denomination in that cabinet. Cohen (*Mon. rép. rom.*, p. 145, no. 5) describes a specimen, but as he does not figure it, it is possible that he may have fallen into the same error. Bahrfeldt (*Num. Zeit.*, 1896, pp. 123-127) gives some interesting particulars about the coins with ℞ and ↱℞ as to their weights and the collections in which they are to be found. The National Collection does not contain any bronze coins with the monogram ℞. The exceptional type of the uncia is an indication that this issue was not minted at Rome. Babelon (*loc. cit.*) identifies the bust on the obverse as of Venus. The *as* figured above is the one in the Olivieri collection.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			A OR A	
			([JUVENTIUS] TALNA[1])	
			Denarius	
386	53·7	AR ·75	Head of Roma r., wearing winged helmet, with visor in three pieces and peaked, &c., similar to no. 375; earring of single drop; behind, X	ROMA (in exergue). Diana or Luna, draped, in biga r., horses cantering, &c., similar to no. 375; below horses, A **[Pl. xc. 7.]**
387	56·8	AR ·7	Similar; head of Roma, less angular and features more realistic, similar to no. 388.	Similar; below horses, A **[Pl. xc. 8.]**
			As	
	410·0	Æ 1·2	Head of Janus, laureate; above, I	ROMA below Prow r.; before, I; above, A

[Babelon, vol. ii., p. 122, no. 2.]

[1] This moneyer is uncertain. Babelon (vol. ii., p. 122), who placed the issue *circ.* B.C. 209, would identify him with T. Juventius Talna, or Thalna, who was praetor B.C. 194, and who in B.C. 172 was sent with two other commissioners to Apulia and Calabria to purchase corn for the Roman army then operating against Perseus of Macedon (Livy, xxxiv. 42, 43; xlii. 27). There was, however, another member of this gens, who served in Spain in B.C. 185 as legate to the praetor Calpurnius Piso (Livy, xxxix. 31, 38). It is rather to the latter that these coins may be assigned.

Similar variations in the form of the monogram having A for A are met with on denarii of the Roman mint, but of a slightly later date (B.C. 172-151), the moneyers being in those cases Atilius Saranus and C. Juventius Talna, their signatures being SAR or SAR and C. A or C. A (see vol. i., pp. 99, 102). The C. Juventius Talna of the Roman mint may have been the son of the above moneyer. Babelon (vol. ii., pp. 122, 123) does not appear to have remarked the differences in the monogram. Mommsen (*Hist. mon. rom.*, t. ii., p. 250) classes the coins with the monograms A and A to the same issue, but they belong to separate ones; those with A having been attributed by Count de Salis to the mint at Rome (see vol. i., p. 105).

This issue with A or A is a connecting link between the denarii of Series I. and II. of this period. Those with A are similar in fabric and in the type of the head of Roma to the preceding denarii, and Babelon (vol. ii., p. 122) has noted their great resemblance to the pieces with the symbol a fly (see above, p. 229). The denarii with A, on the other hand, are in these respects similar to those which immediately follow, some being without special marks, others having symbols or initials of moneyers.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Semis	
	345·0	Æ 1·15	Head of Jupiter r., laureate; behind, S	Similar; before prow, S; above, A

[Babelon, vol. ii., p. 123, no. 3.]

Triens[1]

	188·0	Æ ·9	Head of Minerva r., wearing crested Corinthian helmet and necklace; above, ••••	Similar; ROMA above prow; below, ••••; before, A

[Babelon, vol. ii., p. 123, no. 4.]

Quadrans

	132·0	Æ ·8	Head of young Hercules r., wearing lion's skin; behind, ⁝	Similar; below prow, •••; before, A

[Babelon, vol. ii., p. 123, no. 5.]

[1] Varieties of the triens and quadrans have the monogram A above the prow, the legend ROMA below, and the marks of value before (Bahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1896, p. 169; Babelon, vol. ii., pp. 123, 124). A for A does not seem to occur on the bronze coins, but only on the silver. There are no bronze coins of this issue in the British Museum.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Sextans[1]	
	97·3	Æ ·75	Bust of Mercury r., wearing chlamys and winged petasus; above, ••	Similar; below prow, ••; before, A

[Babelon, vol. ii., p. 124, no. 6.]

SERIES II.

Without moneyers' symbols or initials

			Denarius[2]	
388	60·7	Æ ·75	Head of Roma r., wearing winged helmet, ornamented with gryphon's head; the visor in three pieces and peaked; earring of single drop and necklace; hair falling in three symmetrical locks; behind, X	ROMA (on tablet). The Dioscuri on horseback charging r.; each holds couched spear, and wears chlamys, cuirass, and pileus, surmounted by star.
389	58·7	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar.
390	58·1	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. xc. 9.]
391	56·3	Æ ·7	Similar.	Similar. (Nott)
392	49·8	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar.

[1] The weights of the bronze coins of this issue vary a good deal. Those given are of the specimens in the D'Ailly collection.

[2] These denarii, as mentioned above (see p. 227), differ slightly in style and fabric from those classed to Series I. The head of Roma is more realistic, the features less angular, and the profile not so straight. This change is not met with on denarii of the same date assigned to Rome. This particular variety of type is fairly closely adhered to on the remaining denarii of this period, which are as a rule of coarse work. But for the reverse type being of somewhat debased work it would be difficult in some cases to distinguish the denarii without symbols or moneyers' initials from those struck at Rome.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Victoriatus[1]	
393	37·5	Æ ·6	Head of Jupiter r., laureate, in low relief; back of head with deep indentation.	ROMA (in exergue). Victory draped, standing r., and placing wreath on trophy; which is without greaves. **[Pl. xc. 10.]**
			With moneyer's symbol	
			FEATHER[2]	
			Denarius[3]	
394	59·0	Æ ·7	Head of Roma r., wearing winged helmet, with visor in three pieces and peaked, &c., similar to no. 388; earring of single drop; behind, X	ROMA (on tablet). Diana or Luna, draped, with crescent above her head, in biga r., horses cantering; she holds the reins in both hands, &c., similar to no. 375; below horses, feather r. **[Pl. xc. 11.]**
395	58·9	Æ ·7	Similar.	Similar.
396	56·3	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar.
397	54·8	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. xc. 12.]**
398	40·5 (*chipped*)	Æ ·7	Similar.	Similar. (de Salis Coll.)

[1] There are no special features in this victoriatus. It belongs to the later issue, *i.e.*, that with the head of Jupiter having a deep indentation at the back, and in low relief. The reverse type is very similar in the minor details to that of others with the moneyer's monogram ⋀A (see below, p. 236).

[2] This symbol has already occurred on local coins (see above, p. 215), but only in connection with a staff.

[3] The denarius appears to be the only denomination known of this issue. Many of the silver coins of this and other issues of this time are carelessly struck, and in some cases the fabric is exceptionally rude.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			With moneyers' monogram or initials ΜΑ[1]	
			(MATIENUS?)	
			Denarius[2]	
399	60·8	Æ ·7	Head of Roma r., wearing winged helmet, with visor in three pieces and peaked, &c., similar to no. 388; earring of single drop; behind, X	ROMA (on tablet). The Dioscuri on horseback charging r., &c., similar to no. 388; below horses, ΜΑ **[Pl. xc. 13.]**
400	53·5	Æ ·7	Similar.	Similar.
401	48·3	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar.
402	48·2 (*chipped*)	Æ ·65	Similar.	Similar.
403	47·0 (*chipped*)	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar.
404	54·3	Æ ·7	Similar.	Similar; ROMA in exergue.
405	51·5	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar; ROMA in exergue. **[Pl. xc. 14.]** (de Salis Coll.)
406	50·7	Æ ·7	Similar.	Similar.
			Victoriatus	
407	42·6	Æ ·6	Head of Jupiter r., laureate, in low relief; back of head with deep indentation.	ROMA (in exergue). Victory standing r., placing wreath on trophy, &c., similar to no. 393; in the field, ΜΑ
408	39·2	Æ ·65	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. xc. 15.]**

[1] This monogram occurs also on bronze coins which are assigned to the Roman mint (see vol. i., p. 82), where reasons are given for separating the two issues, viz. the variations in the form and in the position of the moneyer's signature. This member of the Matiena gens is uncertain. He may be the M. Matienus who was praetor in Spain in B.C. 173, or the same moneyer who had an appointment at Rome.

[2] The fabric of these denarii is very rude, and they are often very carelessly struck (see also the next pieces with ΜΑ). Babelon (vol. ii., p. 208, no. 1) figures a variety with ΜΑΙ, and Bahrfeldt (*Num. Zeit.*, 1897, p. 18) mentions an example in the Windisch-Gratz collection. This monogram seems to connect the moneyer with the Matiena gens. Bahrfeldt (*loc. cit.*) also remarks on the rude work of the denarii with ΜΑ, and on the variation in the form of the letter A as Λ in the monogram as well as in the legend ROMA.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			As	
409	393·0	Æ 1·3	Head of Janus, laureate; above, I	ROMA below Prow r.; before, I; above, ΛΑ [Pl. xc. 16.]
			Quadrans[1]	
410	154·0	Æ ·85	Head of young Hercules r., wearing lion's skin; behind, ⁝	Similar; ROMA above prow; below, •••; before, ΛΑ
411	151·0	Æ ·9	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. xci. 1.]
			ΛΤ (MATIENUS?[2])	
			Denarius	
412	55·9	Ar ·85	Head of Roma r., wearing winged helmet, with visor in three pieces and peaked, &c., similar to no. 388; earring of single drop; behind, X	ROMA (on tablet). The Dioscuri on horseback charging r., &c., similar to no. 388; under horses, ΛΤ [Pl. xci. 2.]
413	54·0	Ar ·75	Similar.	Similar. (Blacas Coll.)
414	52·3	Ar ·85	Similar.	Similar.
415	46·8	Ar ·65	Similar.	Similar. (de Salis Coll.)

[1] Other denominations of this issue with the monogram before the prow are the triens and sextans (Bahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1897, p. 19).

[2] It is very probable that these denarii may belong to the issue with the moneyer's monogram ΛΑ. They are all of very rude work and often badly struck. Babelon (vol. i., pp. 53, 258) classes them with the pieces bearing "uncertain monograms." These coins must not be confused with the quinarii and victoriati bearing the same monogram which are of earlier date (see above, p. 197). In that instance it was probably the monogram of a mint; in the present one that of a moneyer. There appear to be no bronze coins with ΛΤ.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			SX . Q	
			(SEXTUS QUINCTILIUS?[1])	
			Denarius[2]	
416	62·0	Æ ·75	Head of Roma r., wearing winged helmet, with visor in three pieces and peaked, &c., similar to no. 388; earring of single drop; behind, X	ROMA (on tablet). The Dioscuri on horseback charging r., &c., similar to no. 388; below horses, SX · Q [Pl. xci. 3.] (Nott)
417	57·2	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar; ROMA (Blacas Coll.)
418	53·2	Æ ·75	Similar; earring of triangular form.[3]	Similar; ROMA [Pl. xci. 4.]
419	52·2	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar.

[1] Babelon (vol. ii., p. 397) was of opinion that this moneyer was a member of the Quinctilia or Quintilia gens rather than that of the Quinctia; as the praenomen Sextus is not met with in connection with the latter, but frequently in the case of the former. He therefore identifies him as probably a son of P. Quinctilius Varus, who was praetor B.C. 203, and who had Ariminum as his province. In conjunction with the proconsul M. Cornelius he defeated Mago, the brother of Hannibal, in the territory of the Insubrian Gauls. Babelon (vol. i., p. 368, and vol. ii., p. 398) has also suggested that he was a colleague at the mint of L. Coilius, Cn. Calpurnius Piso, and Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, but Count de Salis has attributed the issues of these three moneyers to the Roman mint (see vol. i., pp. 81, 82).

[2] The denarius is the only denomination known of this issue.

[3] This is the only instance we have met with of this shaped earring on coins of local striking. It was general at this particular time on denarii of the Roman mint (see vol. i., p. 67).

PERIOD IV.

Circ. B.C. 172—151; A.U.C. 582—603

THE coins struck locally, which are assigned to the above dates, are limited to three issues only. Two of these bear moneyers' names, the third is without any name or symbol.

DENOMINATIONS AND TYPES.—The denominations are the same as those struck at Rome, being in silver the denarius only, and in bronze the as and its divisions to the uncia. As at Rome there is no instance of the victoriatus, showing that locally also the striking of this coin had ceased.

The types of the denarius are also the same as at Rome, but with slight variations in those of the reverse. These are Diana or Luna in a biga, and Victory also in a biga. That of Diana or Luna depicts the horses in full gallop urged on by the goddess, who holds the reins in both hands and a goad in the right. On the coins of the Roman mint she holds the reins in the left hand only. The type of Victory is also varied. On the denarii without any name or symbol the horses are represented abreast, as on the pieces with Diana or Luna; but on those with the moneyer's name, C. Maianius, the further horse is slightly in advance of the near one. The latter form is also found on contemporary coins of the Roman mint. Another slight variation in the denarii of C. Maianius is that the name of ROMA on the reverse is placed below an exergual line, which does not, as usual, extend throughout the breadth of the field. Moneyers' symbols as separate signs do not occur. A symbol is only met with in one instance, and then in conjunction with the moneyer's name as a *symbole parlant*.

CLASSIFICATION.—The denarii on account of a slight variation in the obverse type are separated into two series. On the first the head of Roma is similar to that on the later pieces of the previous Period, whilst the reverse type consists of Diana or Luna in a biga of the later variety with the horses in full gallop. This variety did not occur on the local coins assigned to B.C. 197—173, but it was met with at Rome (see vol. i., p. 66). The denarii of the second series reveal a slight change in the head of Roma, which is in somewhat higher relief, the features being more in the round and having a life-like expression. The earring is either composed of three drops or one only. With these two shapes of earring we have the two forms of the type of Victory, the horses being abreast, or the further one a little in advance of the near one. As the first form of the Victory type is in respect of the position of the horses similar to that of Diana or Luna, it seems to be a connecting link between denarii of Series I. and those of Series II.

These slight variations in the types seem to mark the following coins as being of local issue. As a rule they are less rude in style and fabric than those which precede or follow.

In the inscription ROMA, so far as the coins in the National Collection show, the form A with one exception is exclusively used.

SERIES I.[1]

No.	*Weight*	*Metal and Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
			With moneyer's monogram ΓVR OR ΓV ([FURIUS] PURPUREO[2]) **Denarius**	
420	72·0	Æ ·75	Head of Roma r., wearing winged helmet, ornamented with gryphon's head; the visor in three pieces and peaked; earring of single drop and necklace; hair falling in three symmetrical locks; behind, X	ROMA (on tablet). Diana or Luna naked to the waist, her head surmounted by crescent, in biga r., horses galloping abreast; she holds reins, which are crossed, in both hands, and goad in r.;[3] below horses, ΓVR; above, murex. [Pl. xci. 5.]
421	52·8	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar. (Cracherode Coll.)
422	48·7	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar. (Cracherode Coll.)
423	49·9	Æ ·7	Similar.	Similar; the goddess does not hold a goad.

[1] The denarii of this series resemble in style and fabric those assigned to Series II. of the previous period (see above, p. 234).

[2] This moneyer may have been a son of the Furius Purpureo who a few years earlier struck coins with the monogram VR (see above, p. 230). Babelon (vol. i., p. 522) having attributed this coinage to *circ.* B.C. 214, has identified the moneyer as probably the son of L. Furius Purpureo, who was consul B.C. 194, but if Count de Salis's attribution of the issue to a date not earlier than B.C. 172 is correct, this identification would not be possible.

[3] This reverse type is similar to that found on denarii attributed to a slightly earlier date at the Roman mint (see vol. i., pp. 66, 67). It is the later variety of this type, showing Diana or Luna in a chariot drawn by two horses, which she is urging on at full speed. The coins of local issue, however, vary somewhat, as the goddess holds the reins, which are crossed, in both hands. The murex, from which purple die was obtained, is a *symbole parlant* of the cognomen *Purpureo*. The addition of a symbol to the moneyer's name is met with in several issues of this period at the Roman mint.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			As[1]	
424	404·0	Æ 1·25	Head of Janus, laureate; above, I	[ROM]A below Prow r.; before, I; above, ΓVR[1]
425	395·0	Æ 1·2	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. xci. 6.]**
			Semis[2]	
	140·5	Æ ·9	Head of Jupiter r., laureate; behind, S	Similar; before prow, S; above, ΓVR

[Bahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1896, p. 126.]

			Triens	
426	129·0	Æ ·95	Head of Minerva r., wearing crested Corinthian helmet; above, ••••	Similar; before prow, ⁝; above, ΓVR **[Pl. xci. 7.]**
			Quadrans	
427	75·0	Æ ·8	Head of young Hercules r., wearing lion's skin; behind, ⁝	Similar; before prow, ⁝; above, ΓVR **[Pl. xci. 8.]** (Townley Coll.)

[1] It has been mentioned (see above, p. 230) that Babelon (vol. i., pp. 520, 521) has classed the bronze coins with VR and ΓVR to the same issue, but Mommsen (*Hist. mon. rom.*, t. ii., pp. 241, 266) and Bahrfeldt (*Num. Zeit.*, 1896, pp. 123 f.), like Count de Salis, have separated them into two series. Mommsen also attributes the denarii with ΓVR to the same issue as the bronze coins with ΓVR.

[2] Bahrfeldt (*Num. Zeit.*, 1896, p. 126; 1900, p. 48) mentions four specimens of the semis of this issue, as being in the Turin, Gnecchi, Bignami (now Capitoline Museum), and Hunter collections. The piece figured is that in the Capitoline Museum.

SERIES II.

No.	*Weight*	*Metal and Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
			Without moneyer's symbol or initial	
			Denarius[1]	
428	61·8	*R* ·75	Head of Roma r., wearing winged helmet, with visor in three pieces and peaked, &c., similar to no. 420, but in higher relief; earring of three drops, the centre one long; behind, X	ROMA (on tablet). Victory naked to the hips in biga r., horses galloping abreast; she holds goad in r. hand and reins in l. **[Pl. xci. 9.]**
429	58·0	*R* ·7	Similar; the side drops of the earring are represented by a single pearl	Similar; ROMA (Felix Slade Coll.)
430	59·8	*R* ·7	Similar.	Similar; ROMA
431	57·0	*R* ·7	Similar.	Similar. (Townley Coll.)
432	43·3	*R* ·7 (*plated*)	Similar.	Similar.
433	63·4	*R* ·7	Similar; earring of single drop.	Similar. **[Pl. xci. 10.]**

[1] These denarii are probably the latest locally struck without a moneyer's symbol or initial, with the exception of those which have for reverse type Roma seated on shields, the wolf and twins at her feet, &c., which are assigned to *circ.* B.C. 92 (see Babelon, vol. i., p. 72). The head of Roma differs from that on the preceding pieces in being in somewhat higher relief, and in the features being well modelled and having the profile less stiff and angular. She wears an earring with three drops, which is similar to that on contemporary coins of the Roman mint, and which shows similar slight variations in its form. The reverse type of Victory differs somewhat from the representation on coins struck in the Capitol in giving her a goad and not a whip with a thong, and in representing the horses abreast and not with the further one slightly in advance of the near one. In this respect these denarii are like the preceding ones with the legend ΓVR.

Though the type of Victory may have a general signification, as it occurs frequently on subsequent issues, yet, as it was introduced *circ.* B.C. 172, it may in the first instance have special reference to the recent victories of Rome in the East over Antiochus III. of Syria, and in the West over the Ligurians in Northern Italy, and also to the conquest of Northern Spain.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			With moneyer's name	
			C. MAIAVI	
			(CAIUS MAIANIUS[1])	
			Denarius	
434	64·2	AR ·75	Head of Roma r., wearing winged helmet, with visor in three pieces and peaked, &c., similar to no. 428; earring of single drop; behind, X	ROMA (in exergue). Victory naked to the hips, in biga r., horses galloping; the further one being in advance of the near one; Victory holds whip with long loose thong in r. hand and reins in l.;[2] below horses, C · MAIAVI (Cracherode Coll.)
435	61·3	AR ·75	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. xci. 11.] (Nott)
436	61·2	AR ·75	Similar.	Similar.
437	55·2	AR ·7	Similar.	Similar.
438	59·8	AR ·7	Similar.	Similar; the horses are in very high-stepping attitude.
			As	
439	428·0	Æ 1·25	Head of Janus, laureate; above, I	[ROMA] below Prow r.; before, I; above, C·MAIAVI
440	369·0	Æ 1·3	Similar.	Similar. (Blacas Coll.)
441	342·0	Æ 1·2	Similar.	Similar. (Blacas Coll.)
442	287·0	Æ 1·3	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. xci. 12.]
443	278·0	Æ 1·25	Similar.	Similar. (Blacas Coll.)

[1] The Maiania gens is almost unknown to history. This moneyer cannot therefore be identified. Babelon (vol. ii., p. 165) remarks on the similarity of style between the denarii of C. Maianius and those of Atilius Saranus and C. Juventius Talna, but Count de Salis has classed the issues of these last two moneyers to the Roman mint (see vol. i., pp. 99, 102).

[2] This type occurs also on contemporary pieces struck at Rome, but the style and fabric are local. The legend ROMA is below a line which does not extend beyond the hind-legs of the horses. This variety, peculiar at this time to local issues, occurred on earlier coinages.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Semis	
444	209·0	Æ 1·05	Head of Jupiter r., laureate; behind, S	Similar; before prow, S; above, C · AAIAI [Pl. xci. 13.]
			Quadrans[1]	
445	88·0	Æ ·75	Head of young Hercules r., wearing lion's skin; behind, ⁘	Similar; before prow, ⁘; above, C · AAIAI [Pl. xci. 14.]

[1] Other denominations are the triens and uncia (Babelon, vol. ii., p. 167, nos. 4, 6). A specimen of the semis in the Turin collection has the mark of value ƨ for S (Bahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1897, p. 10).

PERIOD V.

Circ. B.C. 150—125; A.U.C. 604—629

THE local issues which extend over the period from B.C. 150—125 are, as compared with the coinage of the Roman mint, very limited in number. They evidently occurred at rare intervals and under special circumstances. In the main, as before, they follow the lines of the coinages of the Roman mint, but their coarse fabric and style show that they do not belong to the central coinage. These features are very marked on the following coins.

DENOMINATIONS AND TYPES.—In these respects the local issues are similar to those of the Roman mint. In silver there is the denarius only, and in bronze the semis and its divisions, probably to the uncia. The issue of the as was suspended locally as well as at Rome. This circumstance shows that there must have been a direct relationship between the moneyers engaged at the Roman mint and those who had charge of the local coinages. Though no specimens of the sextans and uncia have been met with in connection with the following issues, yet it is quite possible that they were struck. Of most of the moneyers who struck in bronze as well as in silver, the semis, triens, and quadrans are known. In the types there is also a tendency to follow those of the Roman mint. That of the obverse is always the head of Roma, and those of the reverse, though varied, are of a general character, such as would be suitable to pieces issued for the use of the army, as the Dioscuri, or Jupiter or Victory in a quadriga. At Rome, besides these general types, many of a personal nature relating to the history of the families of the moneyers were now introduced, but these do not occur till somewhat later in the local issues. The earring worn by Roma continues to vary in shape. At first, as at Rome, it consists of a number of globules, which take the shape of a bunch of grapes. This form is superseded by one consisting of a single or double cross, which continues to the end of the Period, but was not met with on pieces of the central mint. The change in the mark of value of the denarius from X to XVI, occasionally noted on the coins of Rome, does not occur locally.

All the issues bear the names of the moneyers by whom they were struck. There are none without these names or with symbols only. The forms of the names are precisely similar to those on the central coinage (see vol. i., p. 117), with the exception that in one instance the *cognomen* only is given. In other cases we have the *praenomen* and *nomen* or *cognomen*, the *nomen* and *cognomen*, or all three names, and in one instance the patronymic initials.

In the legends A survives all the other forms of that letter; L is still ⅃, and P is Ꝑ only.

CLASSIFICATION.—The denarii are divided into two series, into which the various issues seem to group themselves. Those of the first series are in low

relief, and the types, both obverse and reverse, are wide-spread. The letters of the legends are large and usually somewhat straggling. These peculiarities were noticed in connection with the contemporary coins of Rome. Those of the second series have the head of Roma smaller and in somewhat higher relief, and the letters are neater, though still large, and more compactly set out. The workmanship of many of these coins is very rude.

Though we have till now no actual evidence of a triumvirate of moneyers, there is, however, so much similarity of style between several of the issues that, though the types of the reverse vary, it would seem that most of the coins were struck in the same locality. It is therefore probable that the coins were issued at one of the chief military centres, and that a succession of moneyers employed the same engravers to execute their dies. These similarities enable us to establish a certain sequence of moneyers in the case of C. Plutius, C. Porcius Cato, Q. Minucius Rufus, and M. Fannius C. f. In the next Period we have evidence of three separate monetary triumvirates.

In separating these local coins from those struck at Rome our principal guide, as before, is fabric. This becomes even more marked in succeeding Periods.

SERIES I.[1]

No.	*Weight*	*Metal and Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
			A/ . RVF	
			(AURELIUS RUFUS[2])	
			Denarius	
446	60·2	*R* ·8	Head of Roma r., wide-spread, wearing winged helmet, ornamented with gryphon's head; the visor in three pieces and peaked; earring of pellets in form of bunch of grapes and necklace; hair arranged in three symmetrical locks; another lock on l. shoulder; behind, X; fillet border.	ROMA (on tablet). Jupiter naked to the hips, his mantle floating back from l. arm, in quadriga r., horses galloping; he hurls thunderbolt with r. hand and holds in l. long sceptre and reins; below horses, A/ RVF
447	58·4	*R* ·85	Similar.	Similar.
448	56·4	*R* ·8	Similar (*of coarse work*).	Similar. **[Pl. xcii. 1.]**

[1] For the characteristics of the denarii of this series see above.

[2] The identification of this moneyer is uncertain, as no Aurelius Rufus appears to be known to history. The monogram A/ might equally be the initials of Anfidius, and if read as AN might be Annius or Antonius, as Rufus was a cognomen of all four gentes. These coins are so similar in type and fabric to those of C. Papirius Carbo, next described, that they may have been issued in the same locality and under the same circumstances. Babelon (vol. i., p. 242) has drawn attention to the similarity of style between the coins of this issue and those of

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			CARB	
			([PAPIRIUS] CARBO[1])	
			Denarius	
449	61·3	Æ ·8	Head of Roma r., wide-spread, wearing winged helmet, with visor in three pieces and peaked, &c., similar to no. 446; lock of hair on l. shoulder; earring in form of cross; behind, X	ROMA (on tablet). Jupiter in quadriga r., &c., similar to no. 446; below horses, CARB **[Pl. xcii. 2.]** (Blacas Coll.)
450	60·7	Æ ·85	Similar.	Similar.
451	59·3	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar.
452	59·7	Æ ·85	Similar (*of coarse work*).	Similar. **[Pl. xcii. 3.]**
453	59·5	Æ ·85	Similar.	Similar.
			Semis	
	89·0	Æ ·8	Head of Jupiter r., laureate; behind, S	CARB below Prow r.; above, S and star.

[Babelon, vol. ii., p. 289, no. 8.]

L. Trebanius, which are assigned by Count de Salis to the Roman mint (see vol. i., p. 136). The reverse type of Jupiter in a quadriga, like that of Victory in a biga (see above, p. 242), may record some recent victories of the Roman army, especially as these denarii are of the nature of a camp-coinage. This reverse type appears to have been adopted from the Romano-Campanian coins with obverse, head of Janus (see above, p. 132).

[1] This moneyer may be Caius Papirius Carbo, who was consul B.C. 120, and who previous to that date held several important offices in the state, or he may be his brother Cnaeus, who was consul a few years later, B.C. 113. The absence of the praenomen renders the identification uncertain.

Count de Salis has separated these coins from those which bear the moneyer's name M. CARBO (see below, p. 252). Mommsen (*Hist. mon. roma.*, t. ii., p. 299) was originally of opinion that the two series belonged to separate issues, but out of deference to the views of Señ. Zobel he placed them together. Babelon (vol. ii., p. 288) has adopted the same classification, but he adds, "the difference of style which exists between these two groups of coins would lead us to suppose that they were issued by two moneyers, the second being perhaps the son or brother of the first." This was the opinion of Count de Salis, and the separation of the two issues by a short interval is borne out by the style and fabric of the coins. On those inscribed CARB only, the head of Roma is more wide-spread and in lower relief; there is a difference in the forms of the earring and the visor, and the letters of the

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Quadrans[1]	
	57·5	Æ ·85	Head of young Hercules r., wearing lion's skin; behind, ⋮	ROMA below Prow r., the keel of which is inscribed CARBO; before, ⋮; above, thunderbolt.

[Babelon, vol. ii., p. 289, no. 9.]

SERIES II.[2]

C. PLVTI
(CAIUS PLUTIUS[3])

Denarius

454	60·2	AR ·7	Head of Roma r., wearing winged helmet, with visor in three pieces and peaked, &c., similar to no. 446, but less spread and in higher relief; the earring is in the form of a cross; no lock of hair on l. shoulder; behind, X; usual border of dots.	ROMA (on tablet). The Dioscuri on horseback charging r.; each holds couched spear and wears cuirass, chlamys, and pileus, surmounted by star; below horses, C. PLVTI [Pl. xcii. 4.]

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legends are larger. There is therefore sufficient difference between the coins reading CARB and those with M. CARBO to justify their being classed to separate issues. Zobel (*Ann. dell' Inst. arch.*, 1863, p. 41) has also noted some of these differences, remarking that those with the legend CARB are of flatter fabric. Babelon (*loc. cit.*) has drawn attention to the similarity of the denarii of Carbo and those of Aurelius Rufus and L. Trebanius.

There is a hybrid consisting of the obverse of this denarius and of the reverse of that with the moneyer's name M. CARBO (Bahrfeldt, *Zeit. f. Num.*, 1877, p. 30).

[1] Though the moneyer's name is spelt differently on the quadrans and the semis, yet the presence on each of a symbol seems to justify their being assigned to the same issue. The absence of the praenomen precludes the quadrans being placed with the denarii reading M. CARBO. These appear to be the only denominations in bronze of this issue which have been recorded, and the only specimens known are the semis in the Paris collection and the quadrans in that at Berlin. The fabric of the denarius and the absence of the legend ROMA on the semis, together with the special symbols, are evidence that these coins belong to a local issue.

[2] The denarii of this series differ from those of Series II. in the head of Roma being somewhat smaller, not so wide-spread, and in higher relief. The letters of the legends are neater and more upright.

[3] The Plutia gens is unknown in history. Mommsen (*Hist. mon. rom.*, t. ii., p. 300) says that this moneyer must not be considered as belonging either to the Plautia or Plotia gens. The workmanship and style of the coins of C. Plutius, and those of C. Cato, Q. Minucius Rufus, and M. Fannius are very similar. Their fabric is particularly crude. They, however, vary in the reverse types, and also show slight differences in the treatment of the head of Roma and in the arrangement of her hair.

There are no bronze coins of this issue.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
455	60·0	AR ·75	Similar.	Similar.
456	59·6	AR ·7	Similar.	Similar. (Nott)
457	59·0	AR ·7	Similar.	Similar.
458	58·2	AR ·7	Similar.	Similar. (Blacas Coll.)
459	59·6	AR ·7	Similar (*of coarse fabric*).	Similar. **[Pl. xcii. 5.]**
460	59·5	AR ·7	Similar.	Similar.

C. CATO

(CAIUS [PORCIUS] CATO[1])

Denarius

461	61·0	AR ·75	Head of Roma r., wearing winged helmet, with visor in three pieces and peaked, &c., similar to no. 454; earring in form of cross, but composed of four globules only; hair in three straggling locks; behind, X	ROMA (on tablet). Victory, naked to the hips, in biga r., horses galloping; she holds whip with close thong in r. hand, and reins in l.; below horses, C. CATO **[Pl. xcii. 6.]**
462	60·7	AR ·7	Similar.	Similar. (Cracherode Coll.)
463	59·9	AR ·8	Similar.	Similar.

[1] The first member of the Porcia gens to assume the cognomen Cato was M. Porcius Cato Censorius. He was consul B.C. 195 and censor B.C. 184. He is known to history as Cato the Ancient, or Cato the Censor, as he filled that office with extraordinary repute. This moneyer may have been his grandson, C. Porcius Cato, who was consul B.C. 114. In his youth he was a follower of the Gracchi. Babelon (vol. ii., p. 367) notices the similarity in style of the coins of C. Cato, Q. Minucius Rufus, and M. Fannius (see below, pp. 250, 251).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Quadrans[1]	
	74·0	Æ ·7	Head of young Hercules r., wearing lion's skin; behind, ⁝	ROMA below Prow r., before, ⁝; above, C·CATO

[Babelon, vol. ii., p. 368, no. 2.]

Q. MINV. RVF

(QUINTUS MINUCIUS RUFUS[2])

Denarius

464	61·0	Æ ·7	Head of Roma r., wearing winged helmet, with visor in three pieces and peaked, &c., similar to no. 454; earring in form of double barred cross; hair in three straggling locks; under chin, X; behind head, RVF	ROMA (on tablet). The Dioscuri on horseback charging r., &c., similar to no. 454; below horses, Q·MINV [Pl. xcii. 7.]
465	60·6	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar. (Cracherode Coll.)
466	60·0	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar.
			Quadrans[3]	
467	68·0	Æ ·8	Head of young Hercules r., wearing lion's skin; behind, ⁝	ROMA below Prow r.; before, ⁝; above, Q·MINV RVF [Pl. xcii. 8.]

[1] The quadrans seems to be the only denomination in bronze known of this moneyer.

[2] This moneyer may have been Quintus Minucius Q. f. Rufus, who with his brother, Marcus Minucius Q. f. Rufus, acted as arbiter between the inhabitants of Genua and the Viturii B.C. 117 (*C.I.L.*, v., no. 7749). He was consul B.C. 110, and obtained a triumph for his victories in Thrace over the Scordisci and the Triballi. As a memorial of his triumph he built the Porticus Minucia, near the Circus Flaminius. We have noticed the similarity between the denarii of this moneyer and those of C. Plutius, C. Cato, and M. Fannius (see above, pp. 248, 249).

[3] The quadrans seems to be the only recorded denomination in bronze of this issue.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			M.FAI.C.F	
			(MARCUS FANNIUS CAII FILIUS[1])	
			Denarius	
468	62·0	Æ ·75	Head of Roma r., wearing winged helmet, with visor in three pieces and peaked, &c., similar to no. 454; earring in form of cross; hair in three straggling locks; under chin, X; behind head, ROMA	M·F·CAI·F (in exergue). Victory, naked to the hips, in quadriga r., horses galloping; she holds wreath in r. hand and reins in l. **[Pl. xcii. 9.]** (Townley Coll.)
469	59·8	Æ ·7	Similar.	Similar. (de Salis Coll.)
470	52·8	Æ ·7	Similar.	Similar.
			Semis[2]	
471	160·0	Æ ·85	Head of Jupiter r., laureate; behind, S	ROMA below Prow r.; before, S; above M·FAI·C·F

Quadrans

	77·0	Æ ·65	Head of young Hercules r., wearing lion's skin; behind, ⋮	Similar; before prow, ⋮; above, M·FAI·C·F

[Babelon, vol. i., p. 492, no. 3.]

[1] Marcus Fannius appears to have been a son of Caius Fannius, who was tribune of the plebs in B.C. 187. He could not well have been the father of C. Fannius M. f., who was consul in B.C. 122 (Mommsen, *Hist. mon. rom.*, t. ii., p. 302). He is the only member of the Fannia gens of whom coins are known. His denarii are similar in style to those of C. Plutius, C. Cato, and Q. Minucius Rufus. Zobel (*Ann. dell' Inst. arch.*, 1863, p. 42) considered this to be the earliest occurrence of the name of "Roma" on the obverse of the denarius, its place on the reverse being occupied by that of the moneyer. The issue of these coins was probably contemporary with those of C. Minucius Augurinus, which were struck at Rome, and on which the name of "Roma" also occurs on the obverse (see vol. i., p. 135). The denarii of M. Fannius were counterstruck by Vespasian (Bahrfeldt, *Zeit. f. Num.*, 1876, p. 359).

[2] The specimen of the semis in the British Museum is too much worn for illustration in the plate. A drawing is therefore substituted. The semis and the quadrans are the only denominations in bronze known of this moneyer.

No.	*Weight*	*Metal and Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
			M. CARBO	
			(MARCUS [PAPIRIUS] CARBO[1])	
			Denarius	
472	60·3	*AR* ·75	Head of Roma r., wearing winged helmet, similar to no. 454; the visor is in two pieces, even at the ends; earring of plain single drop; hair loose and straggling; under chin, X; behind head, laurel-branch.	ROMA (on tablet). Jupiter in quadriga r., horses galloping; he hurls thunderbolt with r. hand and holds sceptre and reins in l.; similar to no. 446; below horses, M CARBO **[Pl. xcii. 10.]**
473	60·0	*AR* ·75	Similar.	Similar. (Cracherode Coll.)

[1] Marcus Papirius Carbo may be a brother of [Caius] Papirius Carbo, who filled the office of moneyer a few years earlier (see above, p. 247). M. Carbo is mentioned by Cicero as having fled from Sicily (*ad Fam.*, ix. 21). We have given reasons for assigning to different issues the denarii reading CARB and M · CARBO, the latter evidently being of a somewhat later date.

The bronze coins reading CARB and CARBO are classed to the earlier issue (see above, p. 247).

There are hybrids in the Bahrfeldt and the Manuel Vidal Quadras y Ramón (Barcelona) collections, consisting of the obverse of the above denarius of M. Carbo and of the reverse of that bearing the moneyer's name CARB only (Bahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1897, p. 29).

PERIOD VI.

Circ. B.C. 124—103; A.U.C. 630—651

THE local coinage of this Period consisted of three series of issues only, each one struck by a triumvirate of moneyers.

DENOMINATIONS AND TYPES.—The denominations are the same as in the previous Period. The issue of the *as* was still suspended, but there was no attempt, as at Rome, to introduce the bes and the dodrans (see vol. i., p. 138).

There was no change in the obverse type of the denarius, which is still the helmeted head of Roma, but each college of triumvirs employed a separate reverse type. These types do not appear to be of a personal nature, as in the case of many contemporary issues of the Roman mint. This was due to the special circumstances in which the coins were struck. Bronze money was issued by only one of the three triumvirates of moneyers. The reverse types of these bronze coins are all of an exceptional character, the prow of a ship being changed in the case of each denomination for an attribute or attributes connected with the divinity, whose bust is shown on the obverse.

All the coins bear moneyers' names, and as sometimes more than one is given on the reverse they are much abbreviated. In one instance the initials only occur. Each moneyer is distinguished by his *praenomen* and *nomen*, or his *praenomen* and *cognomen*.

In the letters the forms A and L (not Λ or its variants or ⅂) are alone met with. The legend ROMA, when it occurs in its usual place on the reverse, is with one exception in the exergue and not on a tablet. The mark of value of the denarius is X or Ж. From these particulars it will be seen that most of the minor variations in the types of the coins classed to Rome during the same period are met with in the local issues. For chronology this is of importance.

CLASSIFICATION.—Hitherto, both in the series of coins issued at the Roman mint and locally, it has occasionally been suggested that similarity of type and fabric may be indications of a triumvirate of moneyers. It is, however, not until now that we have certain evidence of the existence of such a combination, for during this period in the local coinage there are three separate instances, quite independent of each other. These groups and the names of those who formed them are:—(1) Marcus Calidius, Quintus Caecilius Metellus, and Cnaeus Foulvius; (2) Caius Fabius, Lucius Roscius, and Quintus Marcius; (3) Quintus Curtius, Marcus Junius Silanus, and Cnaeus Domitius. These are the only moneyers whose coins have been attributed by Count de Salis to local issue during B.C. 124—103. In the first two groups the coinages are exclusively joint ones, and they consist of the denarius only. In the case of the third group, Quintus Curtius and Marcus Junius Silanus struck a joint silver coinage, and

Cnaeus Domitius a separate one, but the names of all three moneyers occur together on the bronze.

The order assigned to these groups of moneyers appears to be that of their appointment. The points of connection are as follows:—The head of Roma on the coins of the first triumvirate (nos. 474—476) is of coarse design, and is very similar to that seen on the denarii of M. Fannius, which are attributed to a slightly earlier date (see above, p. 251). In nos. 477, 478 a slight improvement in style and form is noticeable, the head of Roma being less crude in design, and her hair more symmetrically rendered. This style corresponds closely to that of the denarii of the next group, Caius Fabius, Lucius Roscius, and Quintus Marcius. Again on nos. 480, 481 of this second group the style of head does not undergo any change, but there is an additional lock of hair on the left shoulder which is found on all the denarii of the third one. A slight improvement in workmanship would again connect these last pieces with those of the early issues of the next Period. These characteristics, taken in conjunction with the reverse types, appear to supply strong evidence of the order of these three groups of moneyers: and they also seem to suggest that all the coins were struck in the same locality, and if they are, as we suppose them to be, "military money," at the same military centre. The reverse types, which are not of a personal nature, support this view, as they are such as would recommend themselves to the Roman army. The reasons, therefore, for assigning these coinages to local issues and to this particular time are, that they are of somewhat coarse work, that they vary in some details from those attributed to the Roman mint, and that, like these last coins, the mark of value of the denarius is ✠ for X. If any further evidence is needed it will be found in the exceptional reverse types of the bronze coins struck by the third group of moneyers, Q. Curtius, M. Junius Silanus, and Cn. Domitius.

We have discussed at some length the classification of the coins of this Period, as they illustrate, perhaps, more clearly than any previously described, the criteria used by Count de Salis in arranging this section of the Roman Republican money, when history helps but little, when there are no changes in the denominations and standard, and when the evidence of finds is still wanting.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			M.CALID: Q.ΜΕ: CNFL: OR CNFOV: M.CA: Q.ΜΕ (MARCUS CALIDIUS; QUINTUS [CAECILIUS] METELLUS; CNAEUS FOULVIUS[1]) **Denarius**	
474	61·0	AR ·7	Head of Roma r., in high relief, wearing winged helmet, ornamented with gryphon's head; the visor in three pieces and peaked; earring of plain single drop and necklace; hair falling down the neck in three thick locks; under chin, X; behind head, ROMA	Victory, naked to the waist, in biga r., horses galloping; she holds wreath in extended r. hand and reins in l.; below the horses, M·CALID; in the exergue, Q·ΜΕ·CNFL **[Pl. xcii. 11.]**
475	57·8	AR ·7	Similar.	Similar. (Cracherode Coll.)
476	62·2	AR ·75	Similar.	Similar; below the horses, CNFOV; in the exergue, M·CA·Q·ΜΕ
477	60·0	AR ·7	Similar; head of Roma smaller, in lower relief, and style less crude; hair in somewhat thinner and more carefully arranged locks.	Similar. **[Pl. xcii. 12.]** (Townley Coll.)
478	60·0	AR ·75	Similar.	Similar.

[1] The first of the three triumvirates of moneyers, to whom the local issues of this period are assigned, consisted of Marcus Calidius, Quintus Caecilius Metellus, and Cnaeus Foulvius or Fulvius. Their identification is somewhat uncertain. The issue was a joint one, and consisted of the denarius only.

In describing the coins attributed to Quintus Caecilius Metellus Pius struck at the Roman mint (see vol. i., p. 156) we were disposed to assign the above issue to his father, Quintus Caecilius Metellus Numidicus, who was one of the chief leaders of the aristocratic party at Rome, was praetor *circ.* B.C. 112 (Drumann, *Gesch. Roms*, vol. ii., p. 31), and consul B.C. 109 with M. Junius Silanus (see below, p. 257). In B.C. 107 he celebrated a splendid triumph for his victories in Numidia over Jugurtha and received the name of Numidicus. Being involved in disputes with Marius and the tribune Saturninus he was expelled the senate and retired to Rhodes, whence mainly by the efforts of his son, Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius, he was recalled in B.C. 99. If the above coins bearing the name of Q. Metellus were struck soon after B.C. 124, the moneyer may be identified with Q. Caecilius Metellus Numidicus; but if they should be of a somewhat later date (Babelon, vol. i., p. 271, puts them at *circ.* B.C. 108), then this identification is open to question. Another suggestion may be that they were struck by Quintus Metellus Nepos, the grandson of the celebrated Macedonicus, who was consul B.C. 98, and who also exerted himself to bring about the recall of his kinsman Q. Caecilius Metellus Numidicus.

Babelon's identification (vol. i., p. 282) of M. Calidius with the orator of that name, who

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			C·F: L·R: Q·M: OR Q·MR: C·F: L·R· (CAIUS FABIUS; LUCIUS ROSCIUS; QUINTUS MARCIUS?[1])	
			Denarius	
479	60·2	AR ·75	Head of Roma r., wearing winged helmet, with visor in three pieces and peaked, &c., similar to no. 477; earring of plain single drop; hair symmetrically arranged in three locks; behind, X	C·F·L·R·Q·M (in exergue). Victory draped, in quadriga r., horses galloping; she holds wreath in extended r. hand and reins in l.; below the horses, ROMA [Pl. xcii. 13.]
480	58·4	AR ·7	Similar; lock of hair on l. shoulder.	Similar; in the exergue, Q·MR·C·F·L·R [Pl. xcii. 14.] (Nott)
481	58·3	AR ·75	Similar.	Similar. (Nott)

was praetor B.C. 57, and governor of Cisalpine Gaul *circ.* B.C. 49, is not admissible if the above coins are to be attributed to *circ.* B.C. 124. There was a Q. Calidius who was tribune of the plebs B.C. 99, and who, having supported the cause of Q. Caecilius Metellus Numidicus, carried a law for his recall. The moneyer may have been his brother. These are the only coins struck by a member of the Calidia gens.

Cnaeus Fulvius was probably a son of M. Fulvius Flaccus, who was consul B.C. 125. Cavedoni (*Ripostigli*, p. 248) suggested that he may have been a son of Cn. Fulvius Gillo, who was praetor B.C. 167. Cn. Fulvius is the only member of his family of whom coins are known.

The reverse type of Victory in a biga does not appear to have any special reference to any of the three moneyers or to their families. If, however, these are camp coins, it would be a fitting one for such a class of money. A similar type was used by the triumvirate of moneyers whose coins are next described.

The denarii of this issue are all of somewhat coarse work, and the obverse type shows some variation in its details. We have already mentioned certain characteristics which seem to connect these denarii with those of previous and later issues (see above, pp. 253, 254).

In the name of the moneyer M·CALID we meet with the earliest instance of the use of the tall I for EI on Roman republican coins. It is found not unfrequently on coins of the Roman mint struck at a later date (see above, p. 57), and also in inscriptions from the beginning of the first century B.C., but its occurrence at the end of the second century B.C. seems exceptional.

The variety of the denarius with the moneyer's initials Q·MR first in order on the reverse (*i.e.* below the horses) described by Babelon (vol. i., p. 272, no. 37), appears to be given in error (Bahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1896, p. 65). Babelon copied the description from Mommsen (*Hist. mon. rom.*, t. ii., p. 358, no. 166*b*), but expressed some doubt as to its accuracy.

[1] The solution of the initials of two of these moneyers is very ambiguous, but the third must be read Quintus Marcius. There was a Caius Fabius Hadrianus, who was propraetor in Africa about B.C. 87—84, and who was burnt to death in his own praetorium at Utica, having incurred the hatred of the Roman colonists and the merchants on account of his oppressive government. Lucius Roscius Fabatus was a moneyer in Rome *circ.* B.C. 70 (see vol. i., p. 422). He subsequently commanded under Caesar in Gaul, was praetor B.C. 49, and acted as special envoy between Pompey and Caesar. He was slain in B.C. 43 in the first of the battles near Mutina between M. Antony and the legions of the senate. The moneyer,

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Q. CVRT: M. SIA	
			(QUINTUS CURTIUS; MARCUS [JUNIUS] SILANUS[1])	
			Denarius	
482	60·8	*AR* ·75	Head of Roma r., wearing winged helmet, with visor in three pieces, even at the ends and not peaked, &c. (cf. no. 477); earring of plain single drop, with lock of hair above; hair falling in two straggling locks down the neck; another on l. shoulder; behind, X; before, Q · CVRT	ROMA (on tablet). Jupiter, naked to the waist, in quadriga r., horses galloping; with r. hand he hurls thunderbolt, and holds sceptre in l.; below horses, M · SIA; above, lituus. **[Pl. xcii. 15.]**
483	53·7	*AR* ·7	Similar; the visor of the helmet is peaked; no lock of hair on l. shoulder.	Similar; ROMA below exergual line.

who was a member of the above triumvirate, may have been his father. Quintus Marcius, whose name only of the triumvirate is recognisable from the inscription, may have been a son of Q. Marcius Libo, who was a moneyer at Rome a few years before (see vol. i., p. 94). He could not well have been a son of the military tribune Quintus Marcius, who fell in battle against the Boii in B.C. 193 (Babelon, vol. ii., p. 189).

The general fabric of these denarii shows that they are of local issue. The chronological position of this triumvirate of moneyers in relation to the two other issues assigned to this period has already been indicated (see above, p. 254). It may, however, be noticed that there is a change in the order of the moneyers' names on the denarii of this group just as on the denarii of the preceding one.

The reverse type is similar to that used by M. Calidius, Q. Caecilius Metellus, and Cn. Fulvius, Victory, however, being in a quadriga instead of a biga. It has no doubt no special reference to the moneyers themselves.

Of the above issue there appear also to be no bronze coins.

[1] Quintus Curtius, Marcus Junius Silanus, and Cnaeus Domitius formed the third triumvirate of moneyers to whom the local issues of this period are assigned. The first two triumvirates issued a joint silver coinage only, but of the third triumvirate two members struck a joint-coinage in silver and the third a separate one, but they all three unite in issuing one in bronze. It is therefore from this last coinage that we know that these three moneyers formed a triumvirate. Quintus Curtius may have been the father of Quintus Curtius who was a friend of Verres, and who *circ.* B.C. 70 discharged the duties of *judex quaestionis* (Cicero, *in Verr.*, i. 61), or it may even have been the moneyer himself who held that office. Marcus Silanus may have been a son of Marcus Junius Silanus, who with Quintus Caecilius Metellus Numidicus was consul in B.C. 109, and who in B.C. 103 was accused by Cnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus, possibly the moneyer of the following coins, of mismanagement of the war against the Cimbri, which took place during his consulship.

The similarity in the obverse type of the denarii of Q. Curtius and M. Silanus to those of the preceding triumvirate of moneyers has already been noticed (see above, p. 254).

Eckhel (*Doct. num. vet.*, t. v., p. 200) has suggested that Q. Curtius, M. Silanus, and Cn. Domitius were triumvirs for establishing a colony with the right to issue coins in their joint or separate names, but with the evidence of the coins of the two preceding triumvirates it is scarcely probable that they were invested with such a high office. It is, however, quite possible, as we have suggested, that these issues were of a military character, struck specially for the use of the army, which would to some extent explain the types of the reverses. The lituus may refer to the office of augur held by an ancestor of M. Silanus, whose name occurs only on the reverse. There can be no question that the coinage of this triumvirate was of local issue, for besides being of coarse fabric, the reverse types show a

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
484	60·4	AR ·8	Similar; the visor of the helmet is in three pieces, even at the ends and not peaked; hair in three thin locks behind head; another on l. shoulder.	Similar.
485	58·3	AR ·8	Similar; the hair falls in two locks behind the head.	Similar; ROMA on tablet. **[Pl. xcii. 16.]**
486	57·5	AR ·8	Similar; hair in three locks.	Similar; ROMA in exergue.
487	56·5	AR ·8	Similar.	Similar.
488	59·5	AR ·75	Similar; the visor is in three pieces and peaked.	Similar; the hind-legs of the horses are straight as if standing, whilst the fore-legs are raised as if galloping. **[Pl. xcii. 17.]**
489	60·8	AR ·8	Similar.	*Incuse of obverse.* (Cracherode Coll.)

CN. DOMI

(CNAEUS DOMITIUS [AHENOBARBUS][1])

Denarius

490	60·7	AR ·8	Head of Roma r., wearing winged helmet, with visor in three pieces and peaked, &c., similar to no. 477; earring of plain single drop, with lock of hair above; hair falling in four straggling locks down the neck; another on l. shoulder; behind, X; before, ROMA	CN·DOMI (in exergue). Jupiter, naked to the waist, holding branch in r. hand and thunderbolt in l., in quadriga r.; the fore-legs of the horses are represented in the attitude of walking, but the hind-legs as if galloping. **[Pl. xcii. 18.]** (Blacas Coll.)

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crudeness of design which would not have occurred at the Roman mint, and the bronze money, which was struck in the names of all three moneyers, has reverse types which are quite exceptional. Bahrfeldt (*Num. Zeit.*, 1896, p. 107) has noticed the abnormal variations in the obverse and reverse types of the denarii of Q. Curtius and M. Silanus.

The return to the older form of the mark of value X for ✠ is of no chronological significance. Even at Rome at this time the two forms of this sign were used indiscriminately.

[1] This moneyer may be identified with Cnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus, who was consul B.C. 96, and who appears to have filled shortly before the office of moneyer at the Roman mint (see vol. i., p. 151). As shown by the following bronze coins he formed a triumvirate with Q. Curtius and M. Silanus, but whilst striking bronze money in conjunction with his colleagues he also issued a separate coinage in silver. Why he acted independently of his colleagues in this respect it is difficult to say, but it may be noticed that on the bronze money his name always occurs on the obverse, and those of his colleagues on the reverse. He may have been the

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
491	60·0	AR ·8	Similar; hair in three locks behind head.	Similar.
492	59·5	AR ·8	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. xcii. 19.] (Cracherode Coll.)

Joint-Coinage

CN. DOMI: M. SILA: Q. CVRTI

(CNAEUS DOMITIUS; MARCUS [JUNIUS] SILANUS; QUINTUS CURTIUS[1])

Semis

	163·0	Æ 1·0	Head of Saturn r., laureate; behind, S; before, CN·DOMI	Harpa l.; above, M·SILA; below, Q·CVRTI

[Bahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1896, p. 164.]

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chief member of the triumvirate. Is it, however, possible that we have here an indication of the rivalry between the Domitia and the Caecilia gentes, which shortly afterwards manifested itself in the action taken by Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, whom we would identify with the moneyer, against the former consul, Marcus Junius Silanus, mentioned above, who may have been the father of his colleague as triumvir? The action against M. Junius Silanus was brought by Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus during his tribunate in B.C. 104, so that he must have held the office of moneyer a few years before.

The denarii of Cn. Domitius are of even coarser fabric than those of his colleagues, and the reverse type which, as we have noted, may not be of a personal nature (*i.e.* relating to the history of his family), is very similar to that of the almost contemporary pieces of Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius struck at Rome (see vol. i., p. 156).

Comm. F. Gnecchi (*Riv. Ital.*, 1889, p. 163) describes a specimen with the moneyer's name reading CN. DMI. Riccio (*Mon. prim.*, Suppl., pp. 8, 9) mentions a denarius having the obverse type of that of Q. Curtius, and the reverse type of that of Cn. Domitius. This is not precisely a hybrid, but probably only a blunder on the part of the moneyer, who made use of a wrong obverse die, since no doubt the coins of all three moneyers were struck at the same local officina.

[1] It is from these bronze coins that we obtain absolute evidence that these three moneyers formed a triumvirate. The name of Domitius always occurs on the obverse, as though he was president or chief of the college, but those of Silanus and Curtius on the reverse are in some instances interchanged. On the denarii that of Curtius was always placed on the obverse. The exceptional reverse types of this joint-coinage show clearly that it was not struck at the Roman mint but locally. Instead of the usual prow on the reverse there is, in the case of each denomination, a type which consists of an attribute or attributes connected with the head on the obverse. Bahrfeldt (*Num. Zeit.*, 1896, p. 164) has made an important identification in connection with the semis, on the reverse of which, from the specimen in the Bignami collection

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Triens	
	149·0	Æ ·95	Head of Minerva r., wearing crested Corinthian helmet; above, ••••; before, CN · DOMI	The aegis, around which, M · SILA Q · CVRTI

[Babelon, vol. ii., p. 105, no. 11.]

			Quadrans [1]	
493	98·0	Æ ·85	Head of young Hercules r., wearing lion's skin; above, •••; before, CN · DOMI	Club l. between bow above and arrow l. below; above bow, M · SILA; below arrow, Q · CVRTI [Pl. xcii. 20.]
			Sextans	
	78·2	Æ ·8	Bust of Mercury r., wearing chlamys and winged petasus; above, ••; before, CN · DOMI	Winged caduceus between M · SILA on l. and Q · CVRTI on r.

[Babelon, vol. ii., p. 106, no. 13.]

now in the Capitoline Museum, he has recognized a harpa, and not as Cavedoni did (*Rev. Num.*, 1857, p. 354), a thunderbolt, or as Babelon (vol. ii., p. 105, no. 10) a club. The head on the obverse is therefore of Saturn, not Jupiter (see denarii of L. Memmius Galeria, vol. i., p. 204). The head on the obverse of the uncia is of Apollo, not Venus, as a lyre occurs on the reverse.

[1] There are at least four varieties of the reverse of the quadrans, which show different positions of the moneyers' names and the symbols—as above, or with the moneyers' names transposed, or with the symbols transposed and turned to r. On a variety of the uncia the moneyers' names on the reverse are also transposed. Bahrfeldt (*Num. Zeit.*, 1896, pp. 164, 165; 1900, p. 59) mentions the following collections in which some of these rare bronze coins occur:—semis (Capitoline Museum, Paris, and Mancini); quadrans (British Museum, Paris, Berlin, Copenhagen, Milan, and Bahrfeldt); uncia (Paris, Vienna, and Mancini).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Uncia	
	50·7	Æ ·7	Head of Apollo r., diademed; behind, •; before, CN · DOMI	Lyre between M · SILA on r., and Q · CVRTI on l.

[Cf. Babelon, vol. ii., p. 106, no. 14.]

PERIOD VII.

Circ. B.C. 102—92; A.U.C. 652—662

THE coins assigned to local issue during this Period follow very closely in their denominations and in the nature of their types those which were struck at the same time at the Roman mint (see vol. i., pp. 158 f.). A marked difference of fabric and style and certain variations in the types, however, permit of their separation from the main series.

DENOMINATIONS.—The only denomination in silver is the denarius. The quinarius, which had been revived at Rome under the provisions of the *Lex Clodia*, does not appear at first to have found any favour with the local moneyers, and it is not met with till nearly the close of the coinage. The bronze money consisted still of the semis and its divisions to the uncia, the last piece occurring more frequently than formerly. The issue of the as was still in abeyance, and the dodrans, which occurred in one instance at Rome, was not adopted locally. The weights of the bronze coins are in most cases below the uncial standard.

TYPES.—The helmeted head of Roma continued to be the prevailing obverse type of the denarius, but strict uniformity in the details was no longer observed, and the helmet instead of having a wing at the side is sometimes ornamented with a feather or aigrette, or with a crest instead of a gryphon's head. On one issue the bust of Roma is shown helmeted and armed with spear and shield, and in some cases her head is displaced for those of other divinities, Mars and Janus (see below, pp. 281, 283). In one instance a conventional portrait is introduced in illustration of the reverse type (see below, p. 277). These changes in the obverse type occurred more frequently in the local coinages than in those struck in the capital, where greater uniformity was still observed.

In the previous Period, owing mainly to the circumstance that the silver coinages consisted of the issue of three triumvirates of moneyers, no personal element could be attached to the reverse types of the denarius. During this Period there is no evidence of an actual triumvirate of the mint, but each moneyer adopted a special type commemorating some event connected with his family. The local coinage in this respect falls into line with that struck at Rome. The old type of the Dioscuri and those of Victory and Jupiter having a general significance disappear, but when they do occur they have some special application to the history of the moneyers' families.

The mark of value on the denarius has no fixed form, and it occurs indiscriminately as X, ✕ or ✱. In three cases it is placed on the reverse, and in one it is omitted. The use of symbols and letters as privy marks (see vol. i., p. 159), which was introduced into the coinage of the Roman mint at the time of the revival of the quinarius, did not extend to local issues till a somewhat

later date, but we meet with an exceptional occurrence of the serration of the edge of the denarius in the issue of M. Sergius Silus (see below, p. 269), which appears to have been due to accident rather than to have been intentional, as most of the coins of that moneyer have the edges plain.

The formula EX S. C. (*Ex senatus consulto*), showing that the coins which bear it belong to a special issue struck under the immediate direction of the Senate, now occurs for the first time. Its adoption at the Roman mint followed a few years later, when an occasional increased output of coins was needed. This early occurrence on local coins leaves no doubt as to its purport. Mommsen (*Hist. mon. rom.*, t. ii., p. 168) has assigned its first appearance to *circ.* B.C. 114, when "the name of Roma and the indication of its value were still to be met with on the denarius." As Count de Salis has classed most of the issues of this epoch to somewhat later dates, he places it at the turn of the century, *circ.* B.C. 99. Two of the moneyers, M. Sergius Silus and L. Torquatus, who used this formula, issued their coinages in their official capacity as quaestors.

In the bronze coinage there is a marked increase in the changes of the types, a feature rarely met with in that of the Roman mint. Some of the moneyers use the ordinary reverse type of the prow, but add special symbols; some employ new types, whilst others not only use the ordinary type of the prow, but issue a separate series with special types. The last pieces are usually of very light weight, and probably correspond to some local standard. These changes of type point to local issue.

The moneyers' names are still much varied in form, there being as usual no fixed one. Each moneyer signed himself or even varied his signature according to his fancy. As a rule the *praenomen* and *nomen* are given, but to these are occasionally added the *cognomen* and the patronymic initial. One issue is unsigned, *i.e.* it is without a moneyer's name (see below, p. 284). There are no epigraphical changes. A and L are of the usual forms, and P continues to be Ꝑ.

Classification.—In ascertaining the sequence of the issues and their approximate dates we have now, as in the case of the Roman mint, the additional evidence of finds, but this factor cannot be brought into account till towards the end of the Period. Apart from such evidence the coins from their fabric and general style seem to fall into three series or groups. The groups synchronise with similar divisions of coins of the Roman mint, but between the two coinages there are marked differences, which are apparent when they are placed side by side. The denarii of Series II. of the Roman mint are distinguished by a peculiar shaped head of Roma. It is in high relief and the features are straight, which produces a stiff and conventional appearance. This form of head is not found on local issues, but one of quite different aspect was used. Taking principally therefore the obverse type of the denarius for our guidance in arriving at the sequence of the issues of Series I. and II., the following characteristics may be noted. In Series I. the head of Roma is very similar in style to that on coins of the previous Period. It is somewhat spread and in low relief; the ornaments of the helmet in one instance are varied, but no change occurs in the shape of the earring. The denarii of this group are mostly of exceptionally coarse work. In Series II., as a rule, the head of Roma is smaller, more life-like, and in consequence the *flan* is also smaller and thicker. The workmanship of this class is good,

and in some cases of almost a higher standard than that of contemporary coins of the Roman mint. Towards the end of this series in the coins of L. Flaminius Cilo we return to a somewhat flatter fabric, which is continued into Series III., though there exists a difference in style. The order of the issues of Series III. rests in the main on the evidence of finds, which supplies now practically the same criteria as in the case of the coinage of the Roman mint. The finds in question are those discovered at Maserà, Riccia, S. Giovanni Incarico, Roncarolo, and Pozoblanco. The light which they throw on the chronology of the local coins of this Period has already been pointed out when discussing the contemporary issues of Rome (see vol. i., pp. 161, 162). As instances, however, it may be mentioned that whilst the coins of C. Serveilius M. f. and of Ti. Veturius were present in nearly all the above hoards, those of M. Fourius L. f. Philus, and those without a moneyer's name (*obv.* head of Roma; *rev.* Roma seated with wolf and twins, &c.), were not met with at Maserà, Riccia, or S. Giovanni Incarico. This is therefore practically conclusive evidence that the first two issues preceded the other two by a short interval. Later it will be shown that no coins classed to a date after B.C. 92 occurred in any of the above hoards, but were met with in considerable numbers and in fine condition in those whose burial is fixed to a little later date.

SERIES I.[1]

Circ. B.C. 102—100; A.U.C. 652—654

No.	*Weight*	*Metal and Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
			Q . FABI . LABEO (QUINTUS FABIUS LABEO[2])	
			Denarius	
494	60·7	*R* ·7	Head of Roma r., wearing winged helmet, ornamented with gryphon's head; the visor in three pieces and peaked; earring of plain single drop and necklace; hair falling in three close locks; under chin, X; before head, LABEO; behind, ROMA	Q · FABI (in exergue). Jupiter, naked to the waist, in quadriga r., horses galloping; he hurls thunderbolt with r. hand and holds sceptre and reins in l.; under horses, prow r. [Pl. xciii. 1.]

[1] See above, p. 263, for particulars of the classification of this series.

[2] This moneyer may be the member of the Fabia gens who is mentioned by Cicero (*de Off.*, i. 10; *Brutus*, xxi. 81) as arbitrator in a dispute between the cities of Nola and Naples. He was a descendant of Quintus Fabius Labeo, who was quaestor urbanus B.C. 196, praetor B.C. 189, and consul B.C. 183. During his praetorship Quintus Fabius Labeo commanded the fleet which operated off Crete and on the coasts of Macedonia against Antiochus the Great of Syria, for which services he claimed a triumph. The reverse type of the denarius, Jupiter in a victorious quadriga, though it may have hitherto had a general signification, in this

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
495	60·4	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar.
496	60·2	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar. (Cracherode Coll.)
497	58·7	Æ ·8	Similar; the type more spread and of coarse work.	Similar. [Pl. xciii. 2.]
498	60·5	Æ ·75	Similar; ROMA	Similar; prow placed further to r.
499	59·8	Æ ·7	Similar.	Similar. (Townley Coll.)

Quadrans

Type I.

500	46·0	Æ ·7	Head of young Hercules r., wearing lion's skin; behind, ⋮	ROMA below Prow r.; before, ⋮; above, Q · FABI [Pl. xciii. 3.]

Type II.[1]

501	25·0	Æ ·55	Similar; head of Hercules l.; no marks of value.	Q · FAB above Club r. and strung bow. [Pl. xciii. 4.]

instance evidently refers specially to the victories of Quintus Fabius Labeo, as it is accompanied by a symbol, the prow of a vessel.

Babelon (vol. i., p. 480), who has assigned this issue to *circ.* B.C. 144, remarks on the similarity of fabric between the denarii of Q. Fabius Labeo and those of M. Baebius Q. f. Tampilus and C. Curiatius f. Trigeminus, which Count de Salis has given to the Roman mint (see vol. i., pp. 133, 134), but the resemblance is much more marked in connection with the preceding denarii of Q. Curtius, M. Junius Silanus, and Cn. Domitius, whilst the reverse type is almost a copy of that of the coins of the first two moneyers (see above, p. 257).

The denarii of Q. Fabius Labeo vary a good deal in workmanship. Nos. 494-496 are carefully struck, and the fabric is certainly good, but nos. 497-499 show much less skill on the part of the engravers, the head of Roma being wide-spread and somewhat rude in design, and the reverse type is coarsely executed.

There is a hybrid consisting of the reverse of the denarius of Q. Fabius Labeo and of the obverse of that of Q. Antonius Balbus, with head of Jupiter (see vol. i., p. 344). A specimen of this hybrid was in the Cadriano hoard (see vol. i., p. 414), and is described by Cavedoni (*Ripostigli*, p. 32, note 23). It is figured by Riccio (*Mon. fam. rom.*, pl. lvi., no. 1), who gives the mint-letter A before the head of Jupiter. Unlike the other denarii of Q. Antonius Balbus, it has not the edge serrated.

[1] Riccio (*Catalogo*, pl. vi., no. 24) figures a quadrans similar to this one, but in the text (p. 88) he describes the reverse as a prow to r.; before, three dots; above, Q . FABI; below, ROMA. In reproducing this coin Cohen (*Mon. rép. rom.*, p. 133, no. 18) falls into the same error of description, and on pl. liv., no. 5, supplies an incorrect illustration of the piece. This illustration is reproduced by Babelon (vol. i., p. 481, no. 3). The peculiar fabric of this quadrans, its type of reverse, and light weight, render its attribution to the above issue somewhat doubtful. It is possible that this moneyer may have issued two series of bronze coins of different types and standard, like M. Cipius M. f. (see below, pp. 273, 274), or that it may belong to the small series of bronze money attributed to Panormus bearing the magistrate's name Q . FAB, and having for types, *obv.* the head of Jupiter; *rev.* an armed figure (see

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			M. TVLLI (MARCUS TULLIUS[1])	
			Denarius	
502	60·6	AR ·85	Head of Roma r., wearing winged helmet, with visor in three pieces and peaked, &c., similar to no. 494; earring of plain single drop; lock of hair on l. shoulder; behind, ROMA	M·TVLLI (in exergue). Victory draped, in quadriga r., horses galloping; she holds palm-branch and reins in l. hand;[2] above horses, wreath; below, mark of value, X[3]
503	60·2	AR ·8	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. xciii. 5.]
504	60·2	AR ·8	Similar.	Similar. (Cracherode Coll.)
505	59·6	AR ·8	Similar.	Similar.
506	59·4	AR ·8	Similar.	Similar.
507	59·4 (*pierced*)	AR ·8	Similar.	*Incuse of obverse.* (Parkes Weber Coll.)

Cat. Gr. Coins, Brit. Mus., Sicily, p. 124, no. 35; Bahrfeldt, *Röm. Sicil. Münz.*, p. 65). These last coins may have been struck by the same Quintus Fabius who issued the above, but in the capacity of a local magistrate, not of a moneyer.

Riccio (*Catalogo*, p. 207) describes also the semis. It is of the usual type, but on the reverse the moneyer's name, Q. FABI, is below the prow, which is turned to the left, and the name of ROMA is omitted. Bahrfeldt (*Num. Zeit.*, 1896, pp. 113-115) is disposed to erase from this issue the semis as well as the quadrans of Type II., the former on the ground that it was not in the sale catalogue of the Riccio collection, the latter as being a provincial coin, and not belonging to the Roman series.

[1] Cavedoni (*Saggio*, p. 186) has identified this moneyer with Marcus Tullius Decula, who was consul with Cn. Cornelius Dolabella B.C. 81 during the dictatorship of Sulla, and attributes the issue of the above coins to *circ.* B.C. 94. Mommsen and Blacas (*Hist. mon. rom.*, t. ii., p. 311) would assign them to an earlier date, *circ.* B.C. 134, and supposed that the moneyer may have been the father of the consul. Count de Salis's classification coincides more closely with that of Cavedoni, and the general style and fabric of the coins certainly favour the later date. Nothing appears to be known of the early history of the consul M. Tullius, but twenty years could well have elapsed between his holding the appointment as a moneyer and his election to the consulate. He is the only member of the Tullia gens of whom we possess coins.

[2] The reverse type is an allusion to the triumph of Servius Tullius, an ancestor of the moneyer, for his victories over the Sabines. Servius Tullius was the first Roman citizen to receive a laurel-wreath (Dionysius, *Ant. Rom.*, iv. 3).

[3] M. Tullius, A. Manlius Q. f. Sergia, and L. Marcius Philippus (see below, pp. 268, 277) placed the mark of value of the denarius on the reverse, at the same time transferring the name of "Roma" to the obverse. These are in this respect the only exceptions to the general rule.

There is a considerable similarity of fabric and style between the denarii of M. Tullius, Q. Fabius Labeo, and Cn. Cornelius L. f. Sisena (see next coins), and it is probable that they were all struck in the same locality and about the same time; but we are unable to detect any direct evidence of an actual triumvirate of moneyers between M. Tullius, Cn. Cornelius L. f. Sisena, and A. Manlius Q. f. Sergia, as suggested by Babelon (vol. ii., p. 502). Cavedoni (*Ripostigli*, p. 196) proposed to associate with M. Tullius and A. Manlius Q. f. Sergia, P. Calpurnius, whose coins are assigned to the Roman mint (see vol. i., p. 140), and he adds that the last is the only one of the three to strike bronze coins. The differences between the denarii of P. Calpurnius and those of the other two moneyers are so marked that we are unable to accept Cavedoni's suggestion.

The denarius of M. Tullius was restored by Trajan. There are no bronze coins of this issue.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			CN . CORNEL . L . F . SISENA	
			(CNAEUS CORNELIUS LUCII FILIUS SISENA[1])	
			Denarius[2]	
508	58·7	*Æ* ·8	Head of Roma r., wearing winged helmet, with visor in three pieces and peaked, &c., similar to no. 494; earring of plain single drop; under chin, X; before head, ROMA; behind, SISENA	CN · CORNEL · L · F (in exergue). Jupiter, naked to the waist, in quadriga r., horses galloping; he hurls thunderbolt with r. hand, and holds sceptre and reins in l.; below horses, an anguipedic giant (Typhon), who, looking up at Jupiter, seizes with his r. hand a thunderbolt which has pierced his side, and raises his l. as if in pain or to ward off the god's further bolts; above horses, head of Sol l. and crescent moon; before, star. **[Pl. xciii. 6.]** (Nott)

[1] There appears to be no mention of this moneyer in history, nor of his father, Lucius Cornelius Sisena. He cannot have been the Cn. Cornelius Sisena who was proconsul in Macedonia B.C. 112, and whose name occurs in an inscription recently found at Delphi (Colin, *Bull. hell.*, xxiii., 1899, 20, 49), but he may have been connected with Lucius Cornelius Sisena, the historian, who was praetor B.C. 78.

[2] The type of the reverse of this denarius is somewhat difficult to explain. Cavedoni (*Ann. dell' Inst. arch.*, 1839, p. 298) interprets it as referring to the victories of L. Cornelius Scipio Asiagenus over Antiochus the Great of Syria at Magnesia and Mount Sipylus in B.C. 190. Scipio in the guise of Jupiter is hurling his thunderbolt at Antiochus, represented by the anguipedic giant, Typhon, who being desirous of usurping the sovereignty of the gods and of men, was after a severe struggle slain by the thunder of Jupiter. A similar representation of an anguipedic giant is seen on coins of L. Valerius Acisculus struck at a later date at the Roman mint (see vol. i., p. 536, no. 4114). The subject of the contest between Jupiter and Typhon was a favourite one with Greek and Roman artists, and was frequently illustrated on ancient sculpture and coins (see Overbeck, *Griech. Kunstmythol.*, vol. ii., pp. 339 f.; Preller, *Griech. Myth.*, 1884, vol. i., pp. 63 f.). On the famous altar of Zeus Soter from Pergamum at Berlin the giants are depicted pierced by the bolts of Zeus. The episode of the gigantomachia was frequently illustrated on coins of the Roman emperors as symbolising their victories and triumphs, Jupiter being given the title of *Fulgerator* (Babelon, vol. i., p. 393). The symbols of the sun, moon, and star may be emblematic of the East (see next coins of A. Manlius Q. f. Sergia), but in this particular instance they might also relate to the tradition that before the battle with the giants Zeus forbade the sun and Eos to shine, and offered up sacrifices to the sun, the heaven, and the earth.

The similarity in fabric and style of the denarii of Cn. Cornelius L. f. Sisena and of those of Q. Fabius Labeo and M. Tullius has already been noticed. It is most marked in the form of the head of Roma on the obverse. The coins of Cn. Cornelius L. f. Sisena are extremely rare, and no specimens appear to have occurred in any of the recorded finds except a single one in that of Hev-Szamos, which was buried *circ.* B.C. 78 (see vol. i., p. 362, and Tables of Finds). The denarius is the only denomination known of this issue.

Fabretti (*Raccolta Num.*, p. 108) gives the legend as CN · CORNEV · V · F, but the form of the letter L is not V but L, or rather L. The form V had for some considerable time fallen out of use on coins of the republic. Fabretti also says that there are two stars before the horses, but the above specimen shows only one star.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			A·MANLI·Q·F·SER	
			(AULUS MANLIUS QUINTI FILIUS SERGIA[1])	
			Denarius	
509	62·0	Æ ·8	Head of Roma r., wearing crested helmet, ornamented at the side with a feather or aigrette; earring of plain single drop and necklace; the visor of the helmet is in two short pieces, not peaked; before head, ROMA; behind, SER	A·MANLI·Q·F below Sol in quadriga facing, rising from the waves of the sea;[2] star on either side of horses; above, crescent moon and mark of value, X [Pl. xciii. 7.] (Blacas Coll.)
510	61·2	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar.
511	59·8	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar.

[1] This moneyer appears only to be known from his coins, for, if Count de Salis's classification is correct, he cannot be identified with A. Manlius, who was a legate of C. Marius in the war against Jugurtha B.C. 107, and who with Sulla was sent to Bocchus to negotiate the surrender of Jugurtha (Sallust, *Jugurtha*, 86, 90, 102). Babelon (vol. ii., p. 174), who has identified the moneyer with this member of the Manlia gens, has assigned the issue to *circ.* B.C. 135. Finds of coins do not assist in fixing the date of this issue, for with the exception of a single specimen in the Carbonara II. hoard, which was buried *circ.* B.C. 48 (see vol. i., p. 501), none occurred in any of the hoards of which analyses are given (see Tables of Finds).

Eckhel (*Doct. num. vet.*, t. v., p. 244) has with some hesitation interpreted the abbreviation SER as indicating that A. Manlius was a member of the Sergia tribe. Mommsen (*Hist. mon. rom.*, t. ii., p. 342) thought that the legend SER was preferably an abbreviation of the cognomen *Serenus* or *Serranus*, and adds, "Nous ne pouvons pas non plus adopter l'attribution de cette pièce aux branches célèbres de la famille Manlia, parceque le prénom de Quintus ne leur appartient pas." We know, however, from a coin of Segobriga in Spain, which bears the magistrate's name T. MANLIVS T. F. SERGIA, that members of the Manlia gens belonged to the Sergia tribe (Grotefend, *Uned. griech. u. röm. Münzen*, p. 28). Eckhel appears therefore to have been correct in his suggested interpretation of the legend SER.

[2] The reverse type of the denarius evidently refers to the successes of Cn. Manlius Vulso in Asia and Greece during his consulship B.C. 189 and his proconsulship in the following year. He brought into submission the Galatians, concluded a treaty with Antiochus III. of Syria, and overran Thrace, Macedonia, and Epirus. For these victories he received a triumph at Rome. The East is represented by the sun-god in his chariot, and the moon and star are also emblematic of the districts over which his conquests extended (see previous coins of Cn. Cornelius L. f. Sisena, p. 267). As Babelon (vol. ii., p. 175) remarks, the subject recalls the following lines of Virgil (*Aen.*, xii. 114):—

"Cum primum alto de gurgite tollunt
Solis equi, lucemque elatis naribus efflant."

The fabric and style of the denarii of A. Manlius Q. f. Sergia indicate that they are of local issue. The helmet of Roma, ornamented with a crest instead of a gryphon's head, the rude style of her head, and the occurrence of the mark of value on the reverse, as on the coins of M. Tullius (see above, p. 266), all favour local attribution. They resemble also the coins of Q. Fabius Labeo and Cn. Cornelius L. f. Sisena in having the name of Roma and the cognomen of the moneyer on the obverse.

There are no bronze coins of this issue.

SERIES II.[1]

Circ. B.C. 99—94; A.U.C. 655—660

No.	*Weight*	*Metal and Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
			M. SERGI. SILVS (MARCUS SERGIUS SILUS[2]) **Denarius**	
512	60·9	AR ·7	Head of Roma r., wearing winged helmet, ornamented with gryphon's head; the visor in three pieces and peaked; earring of plain single drop and necklace; hair compactly arranged in three locks; before head, EX · S · C (*Ex senatus consulto*); behind, ROMA and mark of value, ✱	M · SERGI below Horseman, helmeted and bearing shield, galloping l.; he holds in l. hand sword and head of a barbarian;[3] under horse's fore-feet, Q (*Quaestor*); in the exergue, SILVS [Pl. xciii. 8.] (Cracherode Coll.)

[1] As distinguished from denarii of Series I. those of Series II. are mostly of good style; the head of Roma is small and in high relief, and the general execution both of the obverse and reverse types is good. The flan is usually smaller, and in consequence somewhat thicker, than those of the preceding issues. Even in the same issue these characteristics are sometimes not strictly adhered to, and variations when of sufficient importance will be noticed. These variations were no doubt due to the employment of a different set of die engravers in different *officinae*, more than perhaps to the circumstance that the coins may have been struck in different localities.

[2] Babelon (vol. ii., p. 442) has suggested that this moneyer was the father of L. Sergius Catilina, the conspirator. Though we do not know his praenomen, or whether he ever held any public office, this identification is admissible. The inscriptions show that M. Sergius Silus issued these coins in his official capacity as quaestor (this is the first instance of this title on local issues), and under the direct mandate of the Senate, as indicated by the legend EX S. C. This inscription also occurs on the contemporary denarii of L. Manlius Torquatus and P. Cornelius Cetegus (see below, pp. 270, 271). M. Sergius Silus is the only member of his family of whom we have coins.

[3] The type of the reverse is an allusion to the bravery of M. Sergius Silus, the great-grandfather of Catiline, who distinguished himself during the second Punic war. Although he had lost his right arm and had received twenty-three wounds in two campaigns, M. Sergius Silus fought four times against the Carthaginians with his left hand only. He had made a right arm of iron, and during the time that he wore it he took Cremona by siege, relieved Placentia, and captured twelve camps of the enemy in Gaul (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, vii. 104-106). This is why he is represented holding his sword and a human head (that of a Gaul) in his left hand (Cavedoni, *Ripostigli*, p. 263). Only denarii are known of this issue.

In the Gotha collection there is a specimen of the denarius with the edge serrated (Bahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1897, p. 73). As the denarii of this issue are mostly with plain edges this piece, though ancient, may be a forgery. Bahrfeldt also draws attention to the difference in style and fabric of the coins of M. Sergius Silus, one series having a small head of Roma struck on a small thick flan, the other a large one on a broader flan. These differences are shown on the above coins, and are suggestive of local striking.

There are hybrids (Bahrfeldt, *Zeit. f. Num.*, 1877, pp. 32, 39) consisting of the reverse of the denarius of M. Sergius Silus and of the obverses of those of M. Varguntcius (see vol. i., p. 163) and L. Farsuleius Mensor (*ib.*, p. 403, no. 3306). Coins of this issue were countermarked by Vespasian.

No.	*Weight*	*Metal and Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
513	60·5	*AR* ·7	Similar.	Similar. (Claude Stewart Coll.)
514	60·2	*AR* ·75	Similar; head of Roma in lower relief and of inferior style.	Similar. **[Pl. xciii. 9.]**
515	60·1	*AR* ·75	Similar.	Similar.
516	60·0	*AR* ·75	Similar.	Similar.
517	59·0	*AR* ·59	Similar; head of Roma larger and of somewhat better style.	Similar. **[Pl. xciii. 10.]**

L. TORQVA

(LUCIUS [MANLIUS] TORQUATUS[1])

Denarius

518	61·0	*AR* ·75	Head of Roma r., wearing helmet, with visor in three pieces and peaked, &c., similar to no. 512; earring of plain single drop; under chin, X; behind head, ROMA; the whole within ornamented collar or *torques*.	L·TORQVA below Warrior on horseback galloping l.; he is helmeted and is armed with spear and shield;[2] behind horseman Q (*Quaestor*); in the exergue, EX·S·C (*Ex senatus consulto*). (Cracherode Coll.)
519	60·0	*AR* ·75	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. xciii. 11.]**
520	55·0	*AR* ·75	Similar.	Similar.
521	54·0	*AR* ·75	Similar.	Similar; moneyer's name, TORQVA (*the praenomen omitted*). **[Pl. xciii. 12.]**

[1] We are not certain of the identification of this moneyer, but it is possible that he was the father of L. Manlius L. f. Torquatus, who was consul B.C. 65, and who previous to that date was proquaestor to Sulla in the East, when he struck coins in his own name and in that of his general (see Babelon, vol. ii., p. 177, and COINAGE OF THE EAST, *s.a.* B.C. 82). Like M. Sergius Silus, L. Manlius Torquatus issued his coins in the capacity of quaestor, and under the special mandate of the Senate. The fabric of the coins of these two quaestors is also similar, which makes it possible that they were struck in the same district.

[2] The horseman on the reverse is T. Manlius Imperiosus Torquatus, who was dictator B.C. 353, 349, and consul B.C. 344, 340. In B.C. 361 he served under T. Quinctius Pennus in the war against the Gauls, and in this campaign earned immortal glory by slaying in single combat a gigantic Gaul, from whose dead body he took the collar (*torques*) which had adorned him, and placed it around his own neck. In consequence he received from his comrades the surname of Torquatus, which he continued to bear and handed down to his descendants. The torques is shown on the obverse of the denarii, which is the only denomination of this issue.

There is a hybrid consisting of the obverse of the denarius of L. Manlius Torquatus and of the reverse of that of L. Manlius, with Sulla in a quadriga and the legend L. SVLLA IMP. (Babelon, vol. ii., p. 178, no. 5; Bahrfeldt, *Zeit. f. Num.*, 1877, p. 33).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			CETEGVS	
			([PUBLIUS CORNELIUS] CETEGUS[1])	
			Denarius[2]	
	57·6	AR ·75	Head of Roma r., wearing Phrygian-shaped helmet ornamented with gryphon's head; no wing at side; visor in two pieces and peaked; under chin, X; behind, EX·S·C (*Ex senatus consulto*).	The shepherd, Atys, wearing Phrygian cap and bearing branch over his shoulder, riding on goat, galloping r.;[3] below, CETEGVS; in the exergue, ROMA; all within laurel-wreath.

[Babelon, vol. i., p. 395, no. 18.]

			M.CIPI.M.F	
			(MARCUS CIPIUS MARCI FILIUS[4])	
			Denarius	
522	60·0	AR ·7	Head of Roma r., wearing winged helmet, with visor in three pieces and peaked, &c., similar to no. 512; earring of plain single drop; behind head, X; before, M·CIPI·M·F	ROMA (in exergue). Victory, naked to the hips, in biga r., horses galloping; she holds palm-branch in r. hand and reins in l.; below horses, rudder l. [Pl. xciii. 13.] (Nott)

[1] Cetegus or Cethegus was a cognomen of the Cornelia gens, and this moneyer may have been Publius Cornelius Cethegus, the friend of Marius, who was praetor, and became involved in the events of B.C. 88. Being proscribed by Sulla he fled to Numidia with the younger Marius, but returning to Rome in the following year, he went over to Sulla and was pardoned (Appian, *Bell. civ.*, i. 60, 62, 80).

[2] It is difficult to assign a date to the issue of this denarius, first, because it differs somewhat from all others of this period in the shape of the helmet worn by Roma; secondly, on account of its extreme rarity, only one genuine specimen being recorded, in the Paris cabinet (Bahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1896, p. 95); and thirdly, because of its absence from all the finds, of which analyses are given. Mommsen, Babelon, and others agree in fixing its date to a little before B.C. 100, but Count de Salis gives it to a slightly later one, *circ.* B.C. 99-94. The mark of value X, the presence of the inscription EX S.C., and the general fabric show that it may have been contemporary with the coins of M. Sergius Silus and L. Manlius Torquatus. With the exception that it is without a wing the helmet worn by Roma is similar to that on coins of C. Caecilius Metellus and M. Aurelius Scaurus struck at Rome about this time (see vol. i., pp. 182, 184).

[3] Cavedoni (*Bull. dell' Inst. arch. di Roma*, 1844, p. 23) explains the reverse type as relating to the young shepherd, Atys, who was nourished by a goat, and whose cult was introduced into Rome in B.C. 204 by the consul M. Cornelius Cethegus, an ancestor of the moneyer. He was created pontifex maximus in B.C. 213. The cult of Atys was of Phrygian origin, which accounts for the shape of the helmet worn by Roma, and also for the head-dress of Atys.

There are no bronze coins of this issue.

[4] This moneyer has been identified with a certain Cipius, who gave rise to the proverb *Non*

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
523	53·5	Æ ·7	Similar.	Similar; ROMA
524	60·2	Æ ·65	Similar.	*Incuse of obverse type.*

Semis

Type I.[1]

	236·4	Æ 1·0	Head of Jupiter r., laureate; behind, S; before, M·CIPI·M·F	ROMA below Prow r.; before, S

[Bahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1896, pl. iv., no. 86.]

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omnibus dormio, and who was called the snorer (παραρέγχων), because he pretended to be asleep in order to facilitate his wife's acts of adultery (Festus, *s.v. Non omnibus dormio*; Cicero, *ad Fam.*, vii. 24). He appears to have filled at a later date the offices of tribune of the plebs and quaestor. The reverse type of his denarii refers to some naval successes of a member of the family, of which there appears to be no other record. In style, fabric, and in the form of the head of Roma these denarii are very similar to those of L. Manlius Torquatus. The denarii of M. Cipius were countermarked by Vespasian (Bahrfeldt, *Zeit. f. Num.*, 1876, p. 360).

[1] There are two series of bronze coins of this issue, one having for the reverse type the prow of a vessel, the other a rudder (Bahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1896, pp. 85-88). Of the first series there are the semis, triens, and quadrans, and of the second, the semis, quadrans, and uncia. The existence of these two series of bronze coins confirms Count de Salis's classification of the coins of M. Cipius to a district outside Rome. The coins with the rudder on the reverse are very similar in style and weight to those of various Roman magistrates, Mn. Acilius, Axius Naso, Furius Crassipes, &c., usually classed to Panormus in Sicily (see *Cat. Gr. Coins, Brit. Mus., Sicily*, pp. 126-127; Bahrfeldt, *Röm. Sicil. Münz.*, p. 18 *et pas*). It is therefore not improbable that M. Cipius may have served as quaestor in Sicily, and issued besides denarii two series of bronze money, one of Roman types and of the Roman standard, the other with a different reverse type and based on some local standard. For a similar change of type see the coins of Q. Fabius Labeo, p. 265.

Bahrfeldt (*loc. cit.*) gives some interesting particulars of the various specimens of these coins, stating in what collections he has met with them. The semis of Type I. is in the Paris and Vienna collections (the above illustration is from the latter). The semis of Type II. is in the Bahrfeldt collection; it is the Riccio specimen. The triens, of which only Type I. appears to be known, belonged to Fr. Capranesi, who purchased it of an Englishman, Mr. Faber (*Ann. dell' Inst. arch.*, 1839, p. 281). This coin is in the D'Ailly collection. The quadrans of Type I., formerly in the Fénélon-Farez collection, is also in the Bahrfeldt cabinet, and that of Type II. is in the British Museum, being the only bronze coin of this issue in the National Collection. Bahrfeldt also notices that the quadrans figured by Cohen, with the reverse type a rudder (*Mon. rép. rom.*, pl. liii., no. 4), and attributed by him to the Cornelia gens, should read CIPI·M· and not CINA, and therefore also belongs to the Cipia gens. Babelon (vol. i., p. 342, no. 2) is in error in attributing to the British Museum the semis of Type II., the illustration of which is copied from Cohen (*op. cit.*, pl. lii., no. 1). The coin to which Babelon should have referred is the quadrans (no. 525), which, however, he does not mention. It will be noticed that the uncia, with the exception of the mark of value, is of the same type as the quadrans of Type II.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type II.[1]	
	81·5	Æ ·75	Head of Jupiter r., laureate; behind, S	Rudder l.; above, ROMA; below, M·CIPI·M·F

[Cohen, *Mon. rép. rom.*, pl. lii., no. 1.]

Triens

Type I.

	114·0	Æ ·85	Head of Minerva r., wearing crested Corinthian helmet; above, ••••; before, M·CIPI·M·F.	ROMA below Prow r.; before, ⁝

[*Annali dell' Inst. arch.*, 1839, tav. S, no. 4.]

Quadrans

Type I.

	107·8	Æ ·85	Head of young Hercules r., wearing lion's skin; behind, ⁝; before, M·CIPI·M·F ⁝	ROMA below Prow r.

[Cohen, *Mon. rép. rom.*, pl. lii., no. 2.]

[1] Babrfeldt, who possesses the Riccio specimen of this semis, does not think it genuine. No other specimen appears to be recorded. Cohen's illustration is from the Riccio piece.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type II.	
525	63·0	Æ ·65	Head of young Hercules r., wearing lion's skin; behind, [⁘]	Rudder l.; above, ROMA; below, [M]·CIPI·M·F [Pl. xciii. 14.]
			Uncia [1]	
	59·0	Æ ·55	Similar; behind head of young Hercules, •	Similar; below moneyer's name, •

[Babelon, vol. i., p. 343, no. 6.]

Γ. NERVA

(PUBLIUS [LICINIUS] NERVA [2])

Denarius

526	61·0	Æ ·7	Bust of Roma l., wearing crested helmet, ornamented at each side with a feather or aigrette instead of a wing; the visor is peaked, and her earring consists of a single drop; she is armed with a spear, which she holds in her r. hand, and which is directed over her r. shoulder, and with a shield, ornamented with a horseman galloping; above her head, crescent; before, X; behind, ROMA	Γ·NERVA (in the field). View of the interior of the comitium with the *pons* in the foreground, on which are seen three togate figures; one on r. drops a *tabella* into a voting box or basket; another on l. advances to receive a *tabella* from a third figure (*rogator*), who who is seen *à mi-corps* beyond the *pons*; in the background are a tribune's seat (*scabellum*) and three parallel lines, denoting the barriers which divide the enclosures (*saepta*) allotted to the different tribes; on the *scabellum*, a *tabella* (?) inscribed Γ [Pl. xciii. 15.] (Townley Coll.)

[1] On account of the obverse type of the uncia being the same as that of the quadrans, head of Hercules instead of Roma, Bahrfeldt questions the genuineness of this coin (*Num. Zeit.*, 1896, p. 87).

[2] This moneyer has been identified with Publius Licinius Nerva, who was propraetor in Sicily at the time of the second Servile war B.C. 103 (Mommsen, *Hist. mon. rom.*, t. ii., p. 350).

No.	*Weight*	*Metal and Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
527	52·4	*Æ* ·7	Similar.	Similar.
528	49·3	*Æ* ·7	Similar.	Similar. (Cracherode Coll.)

Semis

	170·6	Æ 1·15	Head of Jupiter r., laureate; behind, S; before, Ꝑ NER VA	ROMA below Prow r.; before, S; above, female figure standing r.

[Babelon, vol. ii., p. 129, no. 8.]

If the date assigned to this issue by Count de Salis is correct, the moneyer was more probably a son of the propraetor. The type of the reverse of the denarius shows, as Mommsen and Babelon have remarked, that he was connected with the Licinia and not with the Silia gens, as has been supposed (Cohen, *Mon. rép. rom.*, p. 301, no. 1). Moreover, the Silia gens does not appear to have come into note before the end of the first cent. B.C., when P. Silius P. f. P. n. Nerva was consul B.C. 20. It was C. Licinius Crassus, the tribune, who in B.C. 145 first brought together the tribes into separate enclosures (*saepta*) to vote in the comitia (Varro, *Res rust.*, i. 2, 9), and a few years later, in B.C. 139, the ballot was introduced for the election of the magistrates. It is evident, therefore, that the moneyer intended to depict on the reverse of his denarius the mode of voting in the comitia. On the extreme right is seen a voter dropping into the ballot box or basket his *tabella*, or ticket, on which he had marked the name of the candidate whom he was supporting. Behind him is a narrow passage represented by cross-lines, and called the *pons*, over which only one person could pass at a time. To the left is another voter, who has just passed out of the enclosure set apart for his tribe, and who is receiving his *tabella* from the officer of the poll (*rogator*). In the distance parallel lines mark the limits in the enclosure in which the tribes assembled, and near which is placed the *scabellum* or chair of the tribune (Cavedoni, *Ripostigli*, p. 133). The object on the *scabellum* may be a *tabella* bearing the initial letter Ꝑ (*Provoco*), which was used in accordance with the provisions of the laws *de Provocatione*. These enactments gave to the people the right of appeal in criminal cases. A similar *tabella* is seen on coins of C. Poblicius Malleolus struck a few years later (see below, p. 308, no. 703), and the right of *provocatio* is also illustrated on coins of P. Porcius Laeca (see below, p. 301).

The obverse type of the denarius of P. Licinius Nerva shows some variation from the usual stereotyped design. Instead of the head of Roma with a winged helmet, her bust is shown wearing a helmet ornamented at each side with a feather, and she is armed with a spear and shield, a not unusual representation of Pallas, who stood in the same relation to the Athenians as Roma did to the Romans. The fabric of these denarii is very neat and the designs are well executed, in which respect they resemble those of M. Sergius Silus, L. Manlius Torquatus, and M. Cipius M. f. described above. Bahrfeldt (*Num. Zeit.*, 1900, p. 61) also remarks on the similarity of fabric of the coins of M. Cipius M. f. and P. Licinius Nerva, drawing special attention to the form of the "flan," which is small and thick, and to the position of the moneyers' names on the obverses of the bronze coins. From these similarities he concludes that these issues were contemporaneous, and that the moneyers were probably colleagues.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Triens	
	128·2	Æ ·9	Bust of Minerva r., draped, wearing crested Corinthian helmet; [above, ••••]; before, Γ · NERVA	ROMA below Prow r.; before, ⁝ ⁝
			[Babelon, vol. ii., p. 130, no. 9.[1]]	
			Quadrans[2]	
529	110·0	Æ ·85	Head of young Hercules r., wearing lion's skin; behind, ⁝ ; before, Γ · NER VA	ROMA below Prow r.; before, ⁝ ; above, horse r. **[Pl. xciii. 16.]** (Cracherode Coll.)
			T. DEIDI (TITUS DEIDIUS[3])	
			Denarius	
530	59·6	AR ·7	Head of Roma r., wearing winged helmet, with visor in three pieces and peaked, &c., similar to no. 512; earring of plain single drop; below, ✱; behind, monogram, ROMA (= ROMA).	T · DEIDI (in exergue). Two soldiers fighting; one is attacking with whip and holds shield; the other is defending himself with sword and shield.[4] **[Pl. xciii. 17.]**
531	55·0	AR ·75	Similar.	Similar. (Cracherode Coll.)

[1] Babelon cites this coin as being in the Fénélon-Farez collection. In the illustration the marks of value above the head of Minerva have been omitted.

[2] Bahrfeldt (*Num. Zeit.*, 1897, p. 3; 1896, pl. vii., no. 170) describes and figures a variety of the quadrans in the Bignami collection, now in the Capitoline Museum, which has a bird above the prow (see below, the quadrans of L. Marcius Philippus, p. 277, no. 535). The meaning or reference of these special symbols on the semis and the quadrans has not been explained.

[3] This moneyer has been identified with Titus Didius T. f. Sex. n., who was tribune of the plebs B.C. 103, with L. Aurelius Cotta, praetor B.C. 101, and consul B.C. 98 (Mommsen, *Hist. mon. rom.*, t. ii., p. 349), but he must have been another member of the Didia gens of about that time, whose name does not appear in history. He may have been a son of the consul. In style his denarii are very similar to those of M. Sergius Silus, L. Manlius Torquatus, and M. Cipius M. f. (see above, pp. 269—271), and the monogram of ROMA on the obverse would connect this issue with the following one of L. Marcius Philippus. This monogram only occurs on these two issues. Babelon (vol. i., p. 456) has suggested that T. Deidius, L. Marcius Philippus, and Mn. Aemilius Lepidus formed a triumvirate, but Count de Salis has classed the coins of the last moneyer to a slightly later date, B.C. 91 (see below, p. 291).

[4] This type of the reverse is supposed to refer to T. Didius, who was tribune B.C. 143, and

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			L. ΡHILIΡΡVS	
			(LUCIUS [MARCIUS] PHILIPPUS[1])	
			Denarius	
532	60·2	*R* ·75	Male head r. (Philip V. of Macedon), wearing the royal Macedonian helmet of skin ornamented with goat's horns, diadem, and cheek-pieces (*παραγναθίδες*); under chin, letter Φ (*Φίλιππος*); behind head, monogram, ROMA (= ROMA).	Equestrian statue r., horse prancing, the rider holding a branch over his r. shoulder; beneath the horse is a flower; the base of the statue is inscribed, L·ΡHILIΡΡVS; and below it, mark of value, X **[Pl. xciii. 18.]**
533	60·2	*R* ·75	Similar.	Similar. (Cracherode Coll.)
534	57·7	*R* ·85	Similar.	Similar.
			Quadrans[2]	
535	94·0	Æ ·85	Head of young Hercules r., wearing lion's skin; behind, ⁘; before, L·ΡHI ⁘ LIΡΡVS	ROMA below Prow r.; before, ⁘; on prow, cock standing r. (Blacas Coll.)
536	77·0	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. xciii. 19.]**

who about B.C. 138 was sent as practor to Sicily to put down the revolting slaves. He is represented as attacking a slave with a whip, disdaining to punish him with a more honourable weapon (Babelon, vol. i., p. 455).

There is a restoration of this denarius by Trajan. No bronze coins are known of this issue.

[1] According to Count de Salis's classification this moneyer cannot be L. Marcius Philippus, who was tribune of the plebs B.C. 104, consul B.C. 91, and censor B.C. 86, with whom he is usually identified (Babelon, vol. ii., p. 187). As in the case of T. Deidius, he must be sought for in some other member of the Marcia gens, of whom we appear to have no other record than his coins. The monogram of ROMA on the obverse connects this issue directly with that of T. Deidius, and the fabric of the denarii indirectly with other issues of this period.

The head on the obverse of the denarius is supposed to be of Philip V. of Macedon, and to relate to the mission of L. Marcius Q. f. Philippus, who concluded with that monarch a treaty of friendship, *privatum hospitium* (Livy, xlii. 38), of the advantages of which his son Q. Marcius Philippus availed himself when sent on a similar mission to Perseus, the successor of Philip. This portrait of Philip, however, does not bear any resemblance to that on his own coins struck in Greece.

The reverse type records the erection of an equestrian statue or monument to a member of the Marcia gens. Mommsen (*Hist. mon. rom.*, t. ii., p. 347, note 2) suggests that it may be of Q. Marcius Tremulus, which was erected in the Forum after his victory over the Hernici in B.C. 306, but Babelon (vol. ii., p. 187) prefers to see in it a monument erected to Q. Marcius Philippus, the conqueror of Perseus, and an ancestor of the moneyer. The reverse is very similar to that on later coins of the Marcia gens struck at the Roman mint (see vol. i., pp. 485, 486). On those the equestrian statue has been identified as of Q. Marcius Rex, who repaired and rebuilt the aqueducts inside and outside Rome, and the flower below it as the *arum martialis*, a punning allusion to the Marcia gens.

[2] The quadrans and the uncia appear to be the only bronze coins known of this issue.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Uncia[1]	
	68·0	Æ ·65	Head of Saturn r., bearded and laureate; behind, harpa; before, L · ΡHILIPPVS	ROMA below Dog standing r.; above, •

[D'Ailly Coll., Paris.]

L. FLAMINI. CILO
(LUCIUS FLAMINIUS CILO[2])

Denarius

537	60·9	Æ ·75	Head of Roma r., in low relief and wide-spread, wearing winged helmet ornamented with gryphon's head, the visor in two pieces, slightly peaked; earring of single drop; no necklace; under chin, X; behind head, ROMA	Victory, naked to the hips, in biga r., horses galloping;[3] she holds wreath in r. hand and reins in l.; below horses, L · FLAMI NI; in the exergue, CILO **[Pl. xciii. 20.]** (Cracherode Coll.)

[1] Babelon (vol. ii., p. 188, no. 15) describes a variety of the uncia of this issue, having for the reverse type a prow surmounted by a dog; below, ROMA. He cites it as being in the Museo Kircheriano, Rome, but Bahrfeldt (*Num. Zeit.*, 1897, p. 14) states that neither Dr. Julius Cahn nor Prof. Pigorini was able to find it in that collection. Riccio (*Mon. fam. rom.*, p. 139, no. 25, pl. lx, no. 6) appears to have been the first to publish the coin. He also notes that it was in the Museo Kircheriano.

There are several points of resemblance between the bronze coins of L. Marcius Philippus and P. Licinius Nerva (see above, pp. 275, 276). In each issue the moneyer's name occurs in the same position on the obverse, and each moneyer usually places a symbol above the prow on the reverse. These symbols in both cases have not been explained.

[2] This member of the Flaminia gens appears to be only known from his coins. He was probably an ancestor of L. Flaminius Chilo, who was one of a quatuorvirate of the mint *circ.* B.C. 43 (see vol. i., p. 565). The cognomen CILO furnishes us with another instance of the omission of the aspirate, which was not uncommon at this time. Other contemporary instances are met with in the names of CETEGVS for CETHEGVS (see above, p. 271) and PILIPVS for PHILIPPVS (see vol. i., p. 175). Earlier instances occur on coins struck at the Roman mint.

It is somewhat difficult to determine the date of issue of the coins of L. Flaminius Cilo. Though they are not uncommon, yet no specimens are recorded as having been met with in the Masera, Riccia, S. Giovanni Incarico, Roncarolo, and Pozoblanco hoards. Their fabric and the type of the reverse admit of their being assigned to the earliest years of the first cent. B.C. Their style is somewhat barbarous, and they vary from other denarii of this series in the head of Roma being in low relief and wide-spread. These characteristics are, however, in favour of their being assigned to local issue.

There is in the Berlin Museum a specimen of the denarius of L. Flaminius Cilo, which has been overstruck on one of P. Licinius Nerva (see above, p. 274), traces of the bust of Roma on the obverse, and of the *pons* on the reverse of the latter being distinctly shown. It is therefore probable that these two issues were only separated by a few years. Babelon (vol. i., p. 495) has suggested that L. Memmius and Mn. Aquillius were colleagues of L. Flaminius Cilo, but we are unable to trace any striking points of similarity between these three issues. Count de Salis has assigned the coins of the first two moneyers to a slightly later date, but both to local issue (see below, pp. 299, 300).

[3] The reverse type probably refers to the triumph which was accorded to C. Flaminius,

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
538	60·1	*R* ·75	Similar.	Similar. (Nott)
539	61·0	*R* ·8	Similar.	Similar; moneyer's name L · FLAMNI [Pl. xciv. 1.]

SERIES III.[1]

Circ. B.C. 93—92; A.U.C. 661—662

C. SERVEILI. M. F

(CAIUS SERVEILIUS MARCI FILIUS[2])

Denarius

540	62·1	*R* ·8	Head of Roma r., wearing winged helmet ornamented with gryphon's head; the visor in three pieces and peaked; earring of triple drop and necklace of pendants; hair in close falling locks; behind, laurel-wreath; below, X and ROMA	C · SERVEILI · M · F (in exergue). The Dioscuri on horseback galloping in contrary directions, but looking back at each other; their spears are pointed downwards, and above the head of each is a star. [Pl. xciv. 2.]

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the first member of his family who rose to eminence, for his successes in Gaul in B.C. 223, when he was consul with P. Furius Philus. He was afterwards slain in the battle of Lake Trasimene, B.C. 217.

Bahrfeldt (*Zeit. f. Num.*, 1877, p. 41) describes a hybrid which shows a combination of the reverse of the denarius of L. Flaminius Cilo and of the obverse of that of C. Considius Nonianus (see vol. i., p. 473). No bronze coins are known of this issue.

[1] From the point of view of similarity of types and style this series shows but slight connection with the two previous ones of this period. The head of Roma for the obverse type of the denarius occurs only in two instances, presenting no marked similarity to that on preceding issues, and in one case taking a somewhat new form. The other issues have exceptional obverse types. The dates and the order of the issues assigned to *circ.* B.C. 93 and 92 appear to be approximately fixed by the evidence of finds, which, as in the case of the coins of the Roman mint, now become an important chronological factor.

[2] Mommsen (*Hist. mon. rom.*, t. ii., p. 315) has identified this moneyer with C. Servilius M. f., who as augur accused Lucullus of bribery and malversation in his administration of Sicily B.C. 102. He was assassinated at Asculum B.C. 91, at which time he was proconsul (Appian, *Bell. civ.*. i. 38) or praetor (Vell. Paterc., *Hist. rom.*, ii. 15). He was the father of P. Servilius C. f. M. n. Vatia Isauricus, who was consul B.C. 79. Mommsen, in consequence, has assigned the issue of the above coins to *circ.* B.C. 124, and in support of this early date he remarks that specimens existed in large numbers in the Oliva hoard. According to Count de Salis's classification they may be given to a considerably later date, so much as thirty years. In favour of his view it may be urged—(i.) that as the Oliva hoard was buried *circ.* B.C. 90 (see vol. i., p. 191), we should expect to find in it a considerable number of coins which were struck only a year or two before (there were twenty-four specimens in the hoard); (ii.) that the obverse type is similar to that of the denarius of T. Cloulius struck at Rome *circ.* B.C. 100 (see vol. i., p. 165); and (iii.) that both obverse and reverse types were reproduced by the insurgents in the Social war, B.C. 91—88, who were more likely to imitate a coin of recent date than one which had been many years in circulation. The evidence of finds, too, strongly favours the more recent date, for in the Maserà hoard there were twenty-nine specimens, in that found at Riccia fifty-two, and in that of S. Giovanni Incarico six, mostly in

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
541	62·0	Æ ·85	Similar.	Similar. (Nott)
542	60·8	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar.
543	60·7	Æ ·85	Similar.	Similar.
544	60·5	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar. (Cracherode Coll.)
545	59·7	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar.
546	58·5	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar. (Townley Coll.)
547	56·7	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar.

Triens[1]

	63·2	Æ ·65	Head of Minerva r., wearing crested Corinthian helmet; behind, ⋮; below, ROMA	C · SERVEILI · M F below Prow r.; before, ⋮; above, staff with flag and wreath.

[Bahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1896, pl. xi., no. 250.[2]]

Quadrans

548	56·0	Æ ·65	Head of young Hercules r., wearing lion's skin; behind, ⋮; below, ROMA	Similar; before prow, ⋮ [Pl. xciv. 3.] (Cracherode Coll.)

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fine condition and some very fine. This would not have been the case with coins which had been long in circulation. From the particulars which we have given of these hoards (see vol. i., pp. 161, 162), and also from the Tables of Finds, it will be seen that the coins of C. Serveilius M. f. and those of Ti. Veturius were amongst the latest, if not actually the most recent, pieces issued before their burial. We are therefore unable to accept Mommsen's date for the issue of these coins, and we must in consequence seek for the moneyer in some other member of the Servilia gens. As they may have been struck in South Italy, he may perhaps be identified with C. Servilius, a Roman citizen, who resided in Sicily, and who was publicly scourged by Verres *circ.* B.C. 73. It is also to him that we have attributed some coins struck at the Roman mint about this time, but which have a different type of reverse (see vol. i., p. 179). This attribution is, however, somewhat conjectural.

Mommsen (*Hist. mon. rom.*, t. ii., p. 317) has suggested that the reverse type of the Dioscuri may be connected with the cognomen Geminus, which was borne by many members of the Servilia gens. We have no better solution to offer. The wreath on the obverse evidently commemorates some success or victory gained by an ancestor of the moneyer, who not impossibly might have been present at the battle of Lake Regillus.

[1] Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*, xxxiv. 13, 38) relates that the Servilii consecrated to the household lares a triens, which was religiously preserved in the family, and which in the course of ages alternately increased or diminished in size according to the fortunes of the family.

[2] This illustration is from the specimen in the Capitoline Museum. It came from the Borghesi and Bignami collections (Bahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1897, p. 73).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Sextans[1]	
549	40·5	Æ ·65	Bust of Mercury r., draped; wearing chlamys and winged petasus; behind shoulders, caduceus; above head, ••; below, ROMA	Similar; the marks of value are not visible.

TI. VE. B

(TIBERIUS VETURIUS BARRUS?[2])

			Denarius	
550	61·1	AR ·8	Bust of Mars r., with slight beard, wearing crested helmet, ornamented on each side with a feather or aigrette, and chlamys fastened on the shoulder; behind, X and TI · VE	A youth kneeling towards l. on l. knee between two warriors, who touch with their swords a pig, which the youth holds in his hands; the warrior on the r., to whom the youth turns his head, is in Roman dress, and leans with l. hand on spear; the warrior on the l. is bearded and naked to the waist; he also leans with l. hand on spear;[3] above the group, ROMA [Pl. xciv. 4.]

[1] The triens, quadrans, and sextans are the only denominations in bronze known of this issue. The specimen of the sextans in the British Museum is too much worn for illustration in the plates. A drawing is therefore supplied of it.

[2] There is no mention in history of this moneyer. The Veturia gens, the primitive form of which was Vetusia, was one of the most ancient of Rome. It was patrician and plebeian, and is said to have been of Sabine origin. Its members figure more prominently in the earlier days of Roman history. The Sabine, Mamurius Veturius, is said to have lived in the time of Numa, and to have made the eleven ancilia exactly like the one which was sent from heaven. P. Veturius Geminus Cicurinus was consul B.C. 499; T. Veturius Calvinus was twice consul, first in B.C. 334, and again in B.C. 321, when the disaster at the Caudine Forks occurred; and L. Veturius Philo was praetor B.C. 209 and consul B.C. 206. The initial B in the name of the moneyer suggests the cognomen *Barrus*, which was common to a large number of Roman families. Mommsen (*Hist. mon. rom.*, t. ii, p. 306, note 1) mentions that it recalls the name of T. Betutius Barrus, a citizen of Asculum, who lived *circ.* B.C. 94 (Cicero, *Brut.*, xlvi. 169), but he does not propose to identify him with the moneyer. Babelon (vol. ii., p. 533) suggests that Ti. Veturius had as colleagues C. Minucius Augurinus (see vol. i., p. 135) and Sextus Pompeius Fostlus (*ib.*, p. 131), but we are unable to trace any similarity of fabric or design between the coins of the first and those of the last two moneyers. Ti. Veturius is the only member of his family of whom coins are known.

[3] This reverse type represents the mode of taking an oath amongst the inhabitants of the Italian States, a precisely similar scene being depicted on the early Romano-Campanian gold coins (see above, p. 131). Mommsen (*loc. cit.*) was of opinion that it refers to the treaty of

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
551	60·4	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar. (Nott)
552	59·3	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar. (Nott)
553	60·1	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar; ROMA
554	59·2	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar.

Quadrans

	70·7	Æ ·75	Head of young Hercules r., wearing lion's skin; behind, ⁝	Strigil and oil-jar attached to thong, between TI · VETV on r. and ROMA on l.

[Babelon, vol. ii., p. 535, no. 2.]

	84·8	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar; moneyer's name, TI · VE · B[1]

[*Annali dell' Inst. arch.*, 1839, Tav. S., no. 10.]

Caudium, which followed the disaster at the Caudine Forks in B.C. 321, but that treaty was not confirmed by the Romans, and the consuls and others who were responsible for it were delivered up to the Samnites. Dr. Willers (*Corolla Num.*, pp. 321, 322), who considers that the Romano-Campanian gold coins commemorate the services rendered by the praetor L. Veturius in B.C. 209, in obtaining the assistance of some of the colonies against the Carthaginians, has also connected the type of the denarii with that event. For reasons already given (see above, p. 132), it may be suggested that this type, like that of the Romano-Campanian gold coins, records the close of the third Samnite war in B.C. 290, in which an ancestor of Ti. Veturius may have taken an active part. It is more probable that the moneyer would commemorate an event which added renown to Rome, than one which would be a record of a great disaster (Fr. Lenormant, *La Mon. dans l'Ant.*, vol. ii., p. 243, note 4).

As the types of these denarii were closely copied by the Confederates during the Social war, which followed soon after, and as they appear to have been amongst the latest pieces in the Maserà, Riccia, and S. Giovanni Incarico hoards, where they are described as being in "mint condition," or "little worn" (see vol. i., pp. 161, 162), we are supplied with an approximate date for their issue. The Riccia hoard contained no less than sixty specimens. It would therefore appear that the date B.C. 129 assigned to this issue by Mommsen is too remote, and that the earliest years of the first cent. B.C. would be more probable. The fabric of the denarii and the types of the bronze coins are suggestive of local striking.

[1] Francesco Capranesi appears to have been the first to publish this variety in the *Annali dell' Inst. arch.*, 1839, p. 283, and he suggested that the name of the moneyer may have been Tiberius Veturius Barrus, and that the reverse type recalls the *quadrante lavari*, which was the price to be paid by those who used the public baths (Cicero, *pro Coelio*, xxvi. 62; Horace, *Sat.* I.,

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			M.FOVRI.L.F.ΡILI	
			(MARCI FOURII LUCII FILII PHILI[1])	
			Denarius	
555	60·4	Ar ·75	M·FOVRI·L·F around Head of Janus, laureate.	ΡILI (=ΡHILI) in the exergue. Roma draped, and wearing helmet, standing l.; she holds sceptre in l. hand and places wreath on trophy with r., at the base and sides of which are two oblong Gaulish shields and two trumpets (*carnyces*); above the head of Roma, star; behind her, ROMA **[Pl. xciv. 5.]** (Claude Stewart Coll.)
556	59·8	Ar ·8	Similar.	Similar.
557	59·0	Ar ·85	Similar.	Similar.
558	58·7	Ar ·75	Similar.	Similar. (Woodhouse Coll.)
559	56·6	Ar ·85	Similar.	Similar.
560	60·4	Ar ·8	Similar; *of barbarous work.*	Similar; *of barbarous work.* **[Pl. xciv. 6.]** (de Salis Coll.)
561	58·1	Ar ·75	Similar.	Similar.

iii. 137; Juvenal, *Sat.*, vi. 447). Both Mommsen and Babelon have accepted this explanation of the type, which seems, however, a little fanciful. It may, however, be suggested that it contains a reference to some games or athletic contest, in which an ancestor of the moneyer may have taken a part. The quadrans is the only denomination in bronze known of this issue. Bahrfeldt (*Num. Zeit.*, 1897, p. 96) gives particulars of the various specimens which he has met with, and of the literature on them.

[1] Though the only record which we have of this moneyer is his coins, it is very possible that he was a son of L. Furius Philus, who was consul B.C. 136. His name is given in the genitive case.

The date of this issue is ascertainable from finds. As no specimens occurred in the Maserà, Riccia, and S. Giovanni Incarico hoards, but were present in those found at Roncarolo and Pozoblanco, their issue must have occurred *circ.* B.C. 92 (see vol. i., p. 162). In the Pozoblanco hoard there were no less than sixteen specimens, all *à fleur de coin*.

The reverse type has been supposed to refer to the successes of L. Furius Philus in Spain during his consulship in B.C. 136, but it is more probably a record of the victories of P. Furius Philus and C. Flaminius over the Gauls in the north of Italy in B.C. 223. Babelon (vol. i., p. 525) favours the first explanation. The head of Janus is no doubt complementary to that of Victory on the reverse. The mark of value does not occur on these denarii. This is the first instance of this omission on local coins.

The fabric of some of these denarii is very good, but the barbarous work of others shows that they were not struck at the mint in the Capitol. There are no bronze coins of this moneyer.

Babelon (*loc. cit.*) mentions a specimen in gold in the Cabinet de France. He considers it to be false. At this time no gold coins were struck either in Rome or in Italy.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Without moneyer's name	
			Denarius [1]	
562	60·3	*R* ·8	Head of Roma r., wearing crested and winged helmet; the visor in one piece and peaked; earring of single drop and necklace; hair falling in two thin locks down her neck; another is seen under her chin; behind head, X; below, ROMA	Roma, helmeted and wearing long drapery, seated r. on shields and leaning with l. hand on spear; before her, the Wolf and Twins; at her feet, helmet; on either side, a bird flying towards her. (Nott)

[1] Though these denarii are without the name of the moneyer or any other special sign, it seems possible to ascertain approximately the date of their issue. The crested helmet which adorns the head of Roma on the obverse is very similar to that worn by Mars, as seen on the preceding coins of Ti. Veturius (see above, p. 281). The general fabric of the two issues is also very similar, and both obverse types were copied by the moneyers of the Social war coins. The two issues were probably contemporaneous. Besides these points of resemblance we have also the evidence of finds to assist us in the classification. Though these coins are common at the present time, thus showing that they must have been struck in considerable numbers, no specimens were met with either in the Maserà, Riccia, S. Giovanni Incarico, or Roncarolo hoards, but one specimen *à fleur de coin* was present in that unearthed at Pozoblanco. In discussing the date of the hoards which relate to this period (see vol. i., pp. 161, 162), it was shown that the burial of the one discovered at Pozoblanco was slightly later than the others, but they were only separated by a short interval. The date assigned to the Pozoblanco hoard was *circ.* B.C. 92, and it is therefore to that year that these coins may be given. Had the coins been struck only a short time before, specimens would almost certainly have been included in the other hoards. Mommsen (*Hist. mon. rom.*, t. ii., p. 373, note 2) placed this issue at the beginning of his fourth period, *i.e. circ.* B.C. 114, but Blacas (*loc. cit.*) did not quite agree with this early attribution, and was of opinion that the presence of a specimen in fine condition in the Pozoblanco hoard was a sufficient reason for assigning the coinage to some years later, and he puts it rather at the end than the beginning of the period, *i.e. circ.* B.C. 104. Count de Salis's still later date is more in accordance with the evidence of finds, most of which were not known to him, as they were discovered after he had completed his classification.

The date assigned to these coins, viz. B.C. 92, seems to offer a clue to the explanation of the reverse type. At this time all the reverse types of the denarii have some special significance, referring in most cases to events connected with the family history of the moneyers. The absence of the moneyer's name renders in this instance such an explanation impossible, and the general nature of the type shows that this omission may have been intentional. Mommsen (*loc. cit.*) gives the following description, "Female figure wearing Phrygian helmet (the goddess Roma) seated on arms contemplating Romulus and Remus nourished by the wolf; in the field two birds, probably vultures, an allusion to the foundation of Rome." It would, however, seem on close examination that the type is capable of a more specific construction. The birds, with their long beaks and thin necks, do not appear to be vultures, but to belong to the genus of the *corvidae*, the raven and the crow, which were amongst those consulted at the auguries. If in their flight the raven appeared on the right, and the crow on the left, the omen was favourable (Cicero, *de Div.*, i. 39). In the absence of the moneyer's name and of any personal reference in the type, it may be possible that we have in the scene depicted a reference to the state of Italy which preceded the outbreak of the Social war. It may therefore be intended to represent Roma watching over her city, represented by the Wolf and Twins, and at the same time seeking to learn from the auspices the destiny of the State, and the result of the struggle which was imminent. The augury seems to promise a favourable issue, as the raven appears on the right and the crow on the left. This interpretation may seem somewhat hypothetical, but it would at least account for the absence of the moneyer's name, and would give to the type a specific signification.

There are no bronze coins which can be assigned to this issue. The denarius was restored by Trajan (Babelon, vol. ii., p. 571, no. 4), but on the reverse there are two prows instead of two birds.

No.	*Weight*	*Metal and Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
563	59·7	*AR* ·85	Similar.	Similar.
564	59·0	*AR* ·8	Similar.	Similar. (Payne Knight Coll.)
565	58·5	*AR* ·75	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. xciv. 7.]** (Cracherode Coll.)

PERIOD VIII.

Circ. B.C. 91—89; A.U.C. 663—665

WITH this Period we reach the limit of the coinage of the Roman Republic which Count de Salis has assigned to local issue in Italy (see above, p. 144). During the years B.C. 91—89 this local money is more assimilated to that of the Roman mint than at any previous epoch. It presents the same characteristics in the denominations as well as in the types.

DENOMINATIONS.—The chief silver coin is still the denarius, but before the close of the Period we meet with the quinarius, which had been revived at Rome at a somewhat earlier date under the provisions of the *Lex Clodia* (see vol. i., p. 158). This coin had not appeared locally during the previous Period, though it was issued in considerable profusion at Rome. Locally it is limited to two series, one of which bears a moneyer's name, the other seems to have been struck anonymously. Another revival was the as of the uncial standard, which also occurred simultaneously at Rome. The local pieces of this denomination and also the semis, and occasionally those of the lesser denomination, are of peculiar form, by which they may be easily distinguished from the urban coinage. They have the edges bevelled, so that one face of the coin presents a broader surface than the other. The broader surface occurs with both the obverse and reverse types. This peculiarity of form is met with in a marked degree in the bronze coinages of Syria and Egypt, and it was produced by the shape of the mould in which the blank was cast before the coin was struck. The casting of the blanks in this manner accounts for a certain amount of irregularity of weight.

TYPES.—In the previous Period the chief obverse type of the denarius continued to be the head of Roma wearing a helmet ornamented with a gryphon's head and with wings. This is now no longer the case. The head of the goddess occurs occasionally, but only once in its original form, for now it wears a crested helmet or it is bare but diademed. This departure from a stereotyped form occasioned a constant change of obverse type in the coinage of each moneyer. The marks of value on the denarius are X, ✕, or ⁕, which are used indiscriminately. In some instances the sign is omitted. Mint-marks consisting of letters, symbols, numbers, and fractional signs are found with some frequency, but the denarius with the serrated edge is not met with (see vol. i., p. 159).

The moneyers' names continue to show the same variations in form. There is one instance of a triumvirate in which all three moneyers struck a joint coinage in silver, but separate ones are only known of two members of the college (see below, pp. 306-311).

CLASSIFICATION.—We are met with the same difficulties in the classification of the local series of this time as with that of the Roman mint. The constant

change of type of the denarius, more especially that of the obverse, has broken the chain of continuity, which hitherto had been so very marked and which had served as an important factor in determining the sequence of the issues. For our chief guide we have therefore to turn to the evidence of finds, and also to the reappearance of the as, which is struck on the basis of the uncial standard. As the bronze standard was reduced to a semuncial one in B.C. 88 we have a limit of date from B.C. 91—89, to which these coins can be assigned. The evidence of finds at this particular epoch is, however, so very strong, that by their means we are able to fix with some degree of certainty the date and sequence of the issues year by year. The finds in question, as has been shown in the case of the coins struck at Rome, were those of Taranto, Cazlona, Oliva, and Ricina (see vol. i., pp. 190, 191). Coins assigned to B.C. 91 did not occur in any of the earlier finds which have been mentioned, but were met with in those just referred to. The issues of B.C. 90 were included in the Cazlona, Oliva, and Ricina hoards, but not in that of Taranto; and those assigned to B.C. 89 did not occur in any of these hoards, but were present in considerable number, and mostly in fine condition, in those of Fiesole, Fuscaldo and Monte Codruzzo, the burial of which took place at a somewhat later period (see vol. i., pp. 242, 319, and Tables of Finds). The data supplied by these finds establish the sequence of the local issues with almost greater precision than those of the Roman mint. The types also afford some assistance, more especially those which were copied by the Italian insurgents during the Social war.

During B.C. 91—89 there was a large output of local money, much more extensive than at any previous time, even more so than during the period of the second Punic war. This was no doubt one of the effects of the Social war, when an increased supply of money was required, not only for the payment of the Roman soldiery, but also for the armies of those States which remained loyal to Rome. The war broke out in the autumn of B.C. 91, but in the early part of that year there were evident signs of an approaching struggle, in anticipation of which Rome was massing her troops in Italy. It is at this date that this increased local coinage began, and it continued till the end of B.C. 89, when all local issues ceased, not only of coins of Roman types and standard, but also the independent issues of bronze money in Italy and Sicily. We have already shown (see above, p. 144) that this sudden and uniform suppression of local currencies was due to the passing of the *Lex Julia* in B.C. 90, and the *Lex Plautia Papiria* in the following year, under the provisions of which most of the Italian States were granted the privileges and rights of citizenship. From that time the mint in the Capitol took upon itself the burden of supplying the whole of Italy with money.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Circ. B.C. 91; A.U.C. 663[1]	
			TI.Q	
			(TIBERIUS QUINCTIUS[2])	
			Denarius	
			With letter on reverse	
566	45·2	*R* ·75 (*plated*)	Bust of Hercules turned from the spectator; head to l. laureate; he wears lion's skin and bears his club on r. shoulder.	TI Q below Two horses galloping l. with naked and laureate rider (*desultor*) on the near one; under the horses and dividing the moneyer's name, a rat l.; in the exergue and inscribed on a tablet, D·S·S (*De senatus sententia*) *incuse*; behind rider, letter ·B (Nott)

[1] Most of the issues assigned to this year occurred in the Cazlona, Oliva, and Ricina hoards, the burial of which has been placed at *circ.* B.C. 90—89 (see vol. i., pp. 190, 191), but only two, those of Mn. Aemilius Lepidus and C. Fonteius, were met with in that of Taranto, which may have been concealed at a slightly earlier date. Individually the issues differ a good deal in fabric, the result of their having been minted in various *officinae* not situated in the same district. In this respect therefore the coinages show little connection with each other. On some of the issues the denarius still preserves the mark of value X, ✳, or ✱.

[2] This moneyer probably belonged to the Quinctia gens, though no member of that family nor of the Quinctilia is recorded, except on coins, bearing the praenomen Tiberius. Cavedoni (*Ripostigli*, p. 125) has remarked that the rat which on the reverse divides the moneyer's initials may be an allusion to the cognomen Mus or Trogus, which the moneyer may have borne, but Mommsen (*Hist. mon. rom.*, t. ii., p. 378) does not accept this explanation, and adds that "it would be stretching a point to attach any such meaning to this symbol." As, however, Varro (*de Ling. lat.*, vi. 90, 92) mentions a Titus Quinctius Trogus, who was accused by the quaestor M. Sergius, it would seem that the moneyer belonged to the Quinctia gens rather than to the Quinctilia. It may not be a mere coincidence that a previous moneyer of this family, Titus Quinctius, who struck coins at the Roman mint a few years before (see vol. i., p. 154), placed a shield between the initials of his name, showing that he was a descendant of T. Quinctius Flamininus. Mommsen (*loc. cit.*) has attributed this issue to *circ.* B.C. 104, but the absence of any of the coins from the Maserà, Roncarolo, S. Giovanni Incarico, Riccia, and Pozoblanco hoards, and their presence in a considerable number and in fine condition in that found at Oliva, compel us to assign them to a later date. The legend D.S.S (*De senatus sententia*) shows that this issue was specially authorized by the Senate, and as this legend is incuse, and as the fabric of the coins is somewhat rude, it may be concluded that they were struck locally. The denarii of Ti. Quinctius show some similarity in fabric and style to those of L. Caesius, which are next in order, and which are of the same time. The comparative number and condition of the specimens of these issues, and of those of Mn. Aemilius Lepidus and C. Fonteius in the Oliva hoard, show that they were contemporary.

The types of Hercules and the rider probably refer to some public games, at which an ancestor of the moneyer gained a signal success, or in the celebration of which he may have taken an active part. It was in the *ludi Apollinares* that contests took place, in which a rider (*desultor*) raced with two horses, vaulting from one to the other at his pleasure.

In this issue we meet with the first occurrence on local coins of letters as privy-marks of the mint. Their first appearance on coins of the Roman mint was somewhat earlier, *circ.* B.C. 101 (see vol. i., p. 167). On the coins of Ti. Quinctius the mint-marks consist of a single letter, which is always accompanied by a point or dot placed above, below, or at the side. The letters extend throughout the Latin alphabet.

These denarii were restored by Trajan. There are no bronze coins of this issue.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
567	60·5	Æ ·7	Similar.	Similar; letter ·D (Nott)
568	59·3	Æ ·7	Similar.	Similar; letter ·E
569	58·5	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar; rat to r.; letter E· (Nott)
570	56·5	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar; letter Ḟ (Nott)
571	61·5	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar; letter G· **[Pl. xciv. 8.]** (Nott)
572	58·0	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar; rat to l.; letter Ġ
573	60·3	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar; letter H (Nott)
574	59·3	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar; letter K̇ **[Pl. xciv. 9.]**
575	62·0	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar; rat to r.; letter L̇ (Townley Coll.)
576	58·3	Æ ·7	Similar.	Similar; letter ·M
577	57·3	Æ ·7	Similar.	Similar; letter ·N
578	53·3	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar; rat to l.; letter Ȯ (Nott)
579	58·7	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar; letter ·R
580	60·7	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar; rat to r.; letter S·
581	60·0	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar; rat to l.; letter Ṣ (Cracherode Coll.)
582	57·7	Æ ·7	Similar.	Similar; rat to r.; letter Ṭ (de Salis Coll.)
583	60·4	Æ ·7	Similar.	Similar; rat to l.; letter V·
584	59·7	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar; letter Ẋ (Townley Coll.)

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			L. CÆSI	
			(LUCIUS CAESIUS[1])	
			Denarius	
585	60·7	AR ·75	Youthful bust of Veiovis, turned from the spectator, head looking l. and diademed; cloak over l. shoulder; with r. hand he hurls thunderbolt; on r., monogram, ROMA[2] (= ROMA)	L·CÆSI (in exergue). Two male figures, the Lares, seated towards r. on rock and caressing a dog which stands between them; each holds a spear in his l. hand, and has his cloak (or dog-skin) spread over his l. knee; above, head of Vulcan l., with tongs; in field on l., A, and on r., R[3] (= LARE[S]).
586	60·5	AR ·8	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. xciv. 10.]**
587	60·1	AR ·85	Similar.	Similar. (Cracherode Coll.)
588	59·5	AR ·8	Similar.	Similar.
589	58·0	AR ·8	Similar.	Similar. (Woodhouse Coll.)

[1] The Caesia gens does not occur in history till towards the end of the republic. This moneyer may have been the father of L. Caesius, who was a friend of Cicero, and who accompanied him during his proconsular administration of Cilicia *circ.* B.C. 54 (Cicero, *ad Quint. frat.*, ii. 2, 4). He is the only member of the Caesia gens of whom we have coins.

[2] The obverse type of the bust of Veiovis and the monogram ROMA have already been noticed and explained in connection with coins struck at Rome *circ.* B.C. 85 by C. Licinius Macer and Mn. Fonteius (see vol. i., pp. 320, 322). The bust occurs on denarii of the former, and the monogram on those of the latter.

[3] The reverse type of the Lares, as identified by the legend, points to the cult of those divinities with which the Caesia gens may have been specially associated. The temple of the *Lares praestites*, the protecting spirits of the city (Ovid, *Fast.*, v. 124), was situated on the Via Sacra, and contained two images, probably intended for Romulus and Remus, before which stood a dog, either as the symbol of watchfulness or because it was the ordinary sacrifice offered to these divinities (see vol. i., p. 193). It may be presumed that we have in this type a representation of that group of images. Plutarch (*Quaest. rom.*, 51) says that the Lares were clothed in dog-skins. The head of Vulcan and the tongs relate to the office of the moneyer (W. Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, p. 351).

The similarity between these denarii and those of Ti. Quinctius has already been noticed (see above, p. 288). The reasons for attributing the coins of Ti. Quinctius to *circ.* B.C. 91 apply equally to those of L. Caesius.

There are no bronze coins of this issue.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			M. AEMILIO LEP	
			(MANIO AEMILIO LEPIDO[1])	
			Denarius	
590	60·4	AR ·75	Bust of Roma r., slightly draped, laureate and wearing diadem, earring, and necklace; hair drawn back and collected into a knot behind; before, ROMA; behind, ✱	M · AEMILIO around Military equestrian figure r.,[2] on pedestal; he holds spear in r. hand; the pedestal is supported on three arches, within which is the inscription L E P (*Lepido*). **[Pl. xciv. 11.]** (Townley Coll.)
591	59·2	AR ·75	Similar; mark of value, ✱	Similar.
592	58·3	AR ·7	Similar.	Similar. (Woodhouse Coll.)
593	54·0	AR ·7	Similar.	Similar.
594	53·8	AR ·7	Similar.	Similar. (Cracherode Coll.)
595	48·4	AR ·75	Similar.	Similar.
596	59·5	AR ·7	Similar.	*Incuse of obverse.* (Parkes Weber Coll.)

[1] The moneyer who struck these coins may have been Manius Aemilius Lepidus, who was living at the time of the breaking out of the Civil war in B.C. 49, and who was consul in B.C. 66. Babelon (vol. i., p. 117), who assigns the issue to *circ.* B.C. 112, however, questions this identification, as in that case over forty years would have intervened between his holding the two offices. This difficulty is, however, removed by assigning the coins to *circ.* B.C. 91, a date supported by the evidence of finds, which is similar in that respect to the coins of the previous moneyer, L. Caesius, but with the further support that there were four specimens *à fleur de coin* in the Taranto hoard. These coins, and those of C. Fonteius, were probably the latest pieces in that hoard (see vol. i., p. 190, and Tables of Finds). The name of Lepidus is in the dative case, which is most unusual.

[2] This triumphal arch or monument was erected in honour of an ancestor of the moneyer, who, as Babelon (vol. i., p. 118) suggests, may be Mn. Aemilius Lepidus, the praetor of B.C. 213, or his son, who was consul B.C. 158. Cavedoni (*Nuovi Studii*, pp. 14, 15) would recognize in the arches below the statue the vaulted substructure of the rostra of the Forum, and Eckhel (*Doct. num. vet.*, t. v., p. 127) the pons Aemilia. This identification by Eckhel is, however, not admissible, as the pons Aemilia was not built by Mn. Aemilius Lepidus, the consul, till B.C. 21, in order to replace the old pons Sublicius, which was of wood and according to the legend had been constructed by Ancus Marcius. The inscription which surrounds the statue being in the dative case applies to the personage in whose honour it was erected, and not to the moneyer, who it may be inferred bore the same name (Mommsen, *Hist. mon. rom.*, t. ii., p. 346). The bust on the obverse, though not helmeted, is no doubt intended to represent Roma, and not the vestal Aemilia as has been suggested. Borghesi (*Œuvres compl.*, t. i., p. 330) remarks that the vestals are always veiled.

It is not at first sight apparent why Count de Salis has classed the coins of Mn. Aemilius Lepidus to local issue, but in fabric there is a certain resemblance between these denarii and those of T. Deidius and L. Marcius Philippus (see above, pp. 276, 277), a similarity already observed by Babelon (see vol. i., p. 117). On the other hand there are traces of similarity of workmanship between the head of Roma on the coins of Lepidus and that of Pietas on those

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			C. FONT	
			(CAIUS FONTEIUS[1])	
			Denarius	
			With letter and dots on obverse	
597	59·2	Æ ·85	Janiform head, Fons or Fontus, laureate, with slight beard; on r., ✱; on l., letter B; below neck, which is indented, •••	Galley l. with pilot and three rowers; above, C. FONT; below, ROMA (Nott)
598	58·4	Æ ·8	Similar; mark of value, ✱; letter C; no dots below head.	Similar.
599	60·7	Æ ·8	Similar; letter D; no dots below head.	Similar. [Pl. xciv. 12.]
600	58·7	Æ ·8	Similar; mark of value, ✱; letter F; below head, •••	Similar. (Nott)
601	57·7	Æ ·8	Similar; letter G; below head, ••••	Similar. (Nott)
602	60·4	Æ ·8	Similar; same letter; below head, •••••	Similar.

of M. Herennius, which were struck at Rome about the same time (see vol. i., p. 195). To account for any such resemblance it is quite within the bounds of possibility that, in order to furnish the dies for the increased local currency, the engravers were supplied from the mint at Rome, who reproduced types with which they were acquainted.

[1] Mommsen (*Hist. mon. rom.*, t. ii., p. 356), who classed these coins to early in his fourth period, *circ.* B.C. 114—104, has identified this moneyer with C. Fonteius, who was slain in the popular tumult at Asculum in B.C. 91, at which time he appears to have been acting as legate to C. Servilius (Appian, *Bell. civ.*, i. 38; Vell. Paterc., *Hist. rom.*, ii. 13). The attribution of this issue to a considerably later date on the evidence of finds renders this identification not possible, unless we assume that C. Fonteius struck this money as legate, which is not probable. The moneyer may have been a son of the legate, and a brother of Manius Fonteius C. f., who was himself a moneyer at the Roman mint in the same year (see vol. i., p. 192), and who used a similar design for the reverse type of his denarii, but sufficiently varied to show that the two series did not emanate from the same mint. This type also refers to the naval exploits of their joint ancestor, P. Fonteius Capito, who was praetor in Sardinia in B.C. 169. The obverse type relates to the origin of the Fonteia gens, which claimed as its founder Fons or Fontus, the son of Janus, in whose honour the *Fontinalia* were held on October 13.

C. Fonteius made use of a peculiar set of mint-marks, consisting of a letter of the alphabet and dots numbering one to seven. They occur on the obverse only. The dots are not arranged around the letter, as occasionally happened on the coins of the Roman mint, but are placed under the head of Fontus.

The unusually low relief of the obverse type of the denarius and the exceptional type of the uncia point to local issue, whilst the *as*, being of the uncial standard, shows that this coinage must have been struck between B.C. 91—89. These denarii of C. Fonteius were probably amongst the latest in the Taranto hoard (see vol. i., p. 190, and Tables of Finds), but it contained only two specimens which, like those of Mn. Aemilius Lepidus, were as newly struck.

There is a hybrid consisting of the reverse of the denarius of C. Fonteius and of the obverse of that of Mn. Fonteius, the moneyer of the Roman mint (Bahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1896, p. 121).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
603	60·4	Æ ·75	Similar; letter H; below head, •	Similar. (Townley Coll.)
604	60·3	Æ ·9	Similar; letter I; no dots below head.	Similar. (Cracherode Coll.)
605	59·2	Æ ·8	Similar; same letter; below head, ••••	Similar.
606	62·0	Æ ·85	Similar; letter K; below head, ••••	Similar. [Pl. xciv. 13.]
607	60·0	Æ ·75	Similar; letter L; below head, ••••••••	Similar.
608	61·0	Æ ·8	Similar; letter O; no dots below head.	Similar.
609	59·6	Æ ·8	Similar; same letter; below head, •••••	Similar. (Townley Coll.)
610	59·0	Æ ·8	Similar; letter Ꝑ; no dots below head?	Similar.
611	57·3	Æ ·8	Similar; letter R; below head, ••••••	Similar.
612	60·2	Æ ·8	Similar; letter S; no dots below head; mark of value, ✱	Similar. (Blacas Coll.)
613	60·3	Æ ·75	Similar; letter T; below head, ••••; mark of value, ✱	Similar. (Nott)
614	60·0	Æ ·75	Similar; same letter; below head, •••••	Similar. [Pl. xciv. 14.]
615	59·3	Æ ·85	Similar; letter V; no dots below head.	Similar. (Nott)
616	58·0	Æ ·8	Similar; letter X; below head, •	Similar. (Nott)
			As	
617	428·0	Æ 1·25	Head of Janus, laureate; above, I	Prow r.; below, C·FONT; above, ROMA divided by mark of value I; before, anchor. [Pl. xciv. 15.]
618	388·0	Æ 1·2	Similar.	Similar.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Quadrans[1]	
619	90·0	Æ ·8	Head of young Hercules r., wearing lion's skin; behind, ⁘	Similar; moneyer's name, C · FONT, above prow; ROMA below; before, marks of value, ⁘, instead of anchor.

			Uncia[2]	
	88·4	Æ ·65	Head of Roma r., helmeted; [behind, •]; all within laurel-wreath.	Mars in quadriga r., horses galloping; above, •; below, C · FONT; in the exergue, ROMA

[D'Ailly Coll., Paris.]

CN . BLASIO CN . F

(CNAEUS [CORNELIUS] BLASIO CNAEI FILIUS[3])

Denarius

With symbol on obverse

620	59·7	Æ ·75	Head of Scipio Africanus the Elder r., wearing crested helmet; above, ✕; behind, symbol, caduceus; before, CN · BLASIO · CN · F	Jupiter standing facing between Juno and Minerva; Jupiter holds sceptre and thunderbolt; Juno, sceptre; and Minerva, sceptre in l. hand and with r. places wreath on the head of Jupiter; in the exergue, ROMA

[Pl. xciv. 16.]
(Townley Coll.)

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[1] The illustration of this coin is from the Museum specimen, which is too much worn for insertion in the plate.

[2] The other denominations known are the semis and the triens, which are of the usual types, and like the quadrans have the moneyer's name above the prow, ROMA below, and before it the marks of value (Babelon, vol. i., pp. 500, 501, nos. 3, 4).

[3] There appears to be no record of this moneyer beyond his coins, but he was no doubt a descendant of Cn. Cornelius Blasio, who was praetor in Sicily B.C. 194, during the second

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			With symbol on obverse and reverse	
621	62·3	AR ·75	Similar; behind head of Scipio, symbol, star.	Similar; in the field between Jupiter and Minerva, symbol, crescent. **[Pl. xciv. 17.]**
			With symbol on obverse and eagle and palm-branch on reverse	
622	61·7	AR ·7	Similar; behind head of Scipio, symbol, ear of corn.	Similar; the legend ROMA in the exergue is divided by an eagle; in the field between Jupiter and Minerva is a palm-branch.
623	60·2	AR ·75	Similar; symbol, tripod.	Similar. **[Pl. xcv. 1.]** (Townley Coll.)
			With symbol on obverse and eagle, palm-branch, and symbol on reverse	
624	52·8	AR ·75	Similar; behind head of Scipio, symbol, torch.	Similar; the legend ROMA divided by eagle; on r. of Minerva, palm-branch; on her l., symbol, dolphin. **[Pl. xcv. 2.]**
625	60·6	AR ·75	Similar; symbol, thyrsus.	Similar; on r. and l. of Minerva, palm-branch.

consulship of P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus the Elder. The obverse type of the denarius evidently portrays the great general, who was claimed as a kinsman by all branches of the Cornelia gens. The reverse type refers to the statues of the divinities Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, which were in the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol, and to which was added that of Scipio himself, as a record of the intimate relations which the general is said to have held with the gods during his life (Livy, xxvi. 19; Borghesi, *Œuvres compl.*, t. i., p. 182). On occasions of funeral ceremonies connected with the Cornelia gens, when the cortège stopped in the Forum for the funeral oration the statue of Scipio Africanus was brought down from the Capitol and placed with those of other ancestors of the deceased (Appian, *Hisp.*, xxiii.). The variations in the mint-marks on the denarii are somewhat remarkable.

The reverse type of the as is apparently copied from silver coins of Agathocles, king of Syracuse. It may be intended to recall the praetorship of the moneyer's ancestor, Cn. Cornelius Blasio, in Sicily, B.C. 194 (Livy, xxxiv. 42, 43); but Babelon (vol. i., p. 396) thinks that it denotes that the coins were actually struck in that island. The style and fabric of all the coins, both silver and bronze, show that they were of local issue.

Babelon (vol. i., p. 395) has attributed this issue to *circ.* B.C. 99, and Mommsen (*Hist. mon. rom.*, t. ii., p. 354) to a still earlier date, but the *as* being of the uncial standard brings it down to B.C. 91—89. As no specimens of the denarius occurred in the earlier hoards noticed in the previous period, but were present in considerable numbers and in fine condition in those unearthed at Cazlona and Oliva, Cn. Cornelius Blasio appears to have held the office of moneyer in or about B.C. 91. According to Count de Salis's notes there were thirteen specimens of this issue in the Oliva hoard. Some of these denarii were countermarked by Vespasian.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			With symbol on obverse and Greek letter on reverse	
626	60·2	Æ ·7	Similar; behind head of Scipio, symbol, bucranium.	Similar; between Jupiter and Minerva, letter Θ
627	60·4	Æ ·75	Similar; same symbol.	Similar; letter Θ
628	60·8	Æ ·8	Similar; symbol, stem of prow.	Similar; letter Π **[Pl. xcv. 3.]**
629	60·2	Æ ·75	Similar; symbol, wreath.	Similar; letter Υ
630	60·4	Æ ·75	Similar; uncertain symbol.	Similar; letter Φ
			With symbol on obverse and monogram on reverse[1]	
631	61·7	Æ ·7	Similar; behind head of Scipio, palm-branch.	Similar; in field between Jupiter and Minerva, monogram, Ⱥ (BLA*sio*). **[Pl. xcv. 4.]** (Townley Coll.)
			As	
632	415·0	Æ 1·3	Head of Janus, laureate; above, I; around, ROMA; the neck is indented.	[CN·]BLASIO CN·F (in exergue and field). Victory standing front, head turned to r., erecting trophy; she holds hammer in r. hand and with l. places helmet on trophy.
633	410·0	Æ 1·2	Similar.	Similar. (Blacas Coll.)
634	327·0	Æ 1·25	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. xcv. 5.]**
			Semis	
635	286·0	Æ 1·2	Head of Jupiter r., laureate; before, S	Prow r.; before, S; below, ROMA; above, CN·Ⱥ SIO **[Pl. xcv. 6.]**

[1] This is the monogram of the moneyer. On some of the bronze coins it takes another form.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Quadrans	
	76·3	Æ ·8	Bust of Hercules turned from the spectator, head to l., laureate; he wears lion's skin and bears his club on r. shoulder;[1] [on r., ⁝]	Similar; before prow, ⁝

[D'Ailly Coll., Paris.]

Circ. B.C. 90; A.U.C. 664[2]

Q. LVATI. CERCO

(QUINTUS LUTATIUS CERCO[3])

Denarius

636	60·7	Æ ·75	Head of young Mars (?) r.,[4] wearing crested helmet, ornamented at side with a feather between two stars; before, CERCO; above, ROMA; behind, ✱	Q · LVATI / Q (*Quaestor*) above Galley r., with oars; the stem of the prow terminates in a helmeted human head; at the stern beneath the aplustre is seen the head of the pilot; the whole within oak-wreath with acorns. **[Pl. xcv. 7.]**

[1] This exceptional obverse type is copied from the denarius of Ti. Quinctius struck in the same year (see above, p. 288). The as, semis, and quadrans are the only denominations in bronze known of Cn. Cornelius Blasio.

[2] The coins assigned to this year are amongst the latest of local issue in the Cazlona and Oliva hoards, most of them being represented in the latter. None were present in the hoards attributed to Period VII., nor in that of Taranto (see Tables of Finds). As some of the moneyers struck the as of the uncial standard we are able, with the evidence supplied by it and by finds, to determine the approximate date of these issues, certainly within a limit of two years. The style and fabric of the denarii are somewhat rude, and several of the types were copied by the Italian insurgents for their own money. One moneyer, M. Porcius Cato, strikes quinarii. This seems to be the only instance of the local issue of this denomination bearing a moneyer's name (see below, p. 313). Amongst the moneyers we have another instance of a triumvirate. The large output of local coins was no doubt due to the Social war, when Rome needed an increased supply of money to meet her expenses.

[3] Coins are the only record which we have of Quintus Lutatius Cerco, who held the office of quaestor. He may have been a grandson of Cn. Lutatius Cerco, who was sent on an embassy to Alexandria in B.C. 173 (Livy, xliii. 6).

[4] This head may be of Mars or Roma. Cavedoni (*Ripostigli*, p. 102) has identified it as of

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
637	60·4	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar.
638	60·2	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. xcv. 9.]** (Townley Coll.)
639	59·5	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar.
640	58·8	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. xcv. 8.]**
641	54·3	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar. (Cracherode Coll.)
642	60·0	Æ ·75	Similar.	*Incuse of obverse type.* (Parkes Weber Coll.)

Uncia[1]

	67·6	Æ ·7	Head of young Mars (?) r., wearing crested helmet ornamented at the side with a feather between two stars (similar to the denarius, no. 636), behind, •	Q · LVATI within Oak-wreath with acorns.

[Babelon, vol. ii., p. 158, no. 5.]

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the former, but Babelon (vol. ii., p. 157) as of the latter. At this time a feather instead of a wing as an ornament to the helmet usually occurs with the head of Mars, as shown on the coins of Ti. Veturius (see above, p. 281) and of Q. Minucius Thermus and C. Poblicius Malleolus (see below, pp. 302, 307). The features have, however, a feminine appearance. The reverse type records the great victory of the consul C. Lutatius Catulus over the Carthaginian fleet under Hanno in the battle off the island of Aegusa in B.C. 241. For this victory Catulus received the honour of a triumph. The oak-wreath is the *corona civica* which was accorded to a general who had preserved the life of a citizen or saved the State at a critical juncture.

The fabric of the denarius and the special type of the uncia may be reasons for assigning this coinage to local issue. It was struck by Q. Lutatius Cerco in his capacity as quaestor. On two previous occasions we have evidence of quaestors acting as moneyers (see above, pp. 143, 269, 270). These are the only instances met with in the local money. The specimens of the denarius, which were present in the Cazlona and Oliva hoards, were mostly in fine condition.

Babelon (vol. ii., p. 157, no. 3) figures a variety on which he says that the cognomen CERCO is omitted, and that the coin is in the British Museum. The specimen referred to (no. 638) is somewhat rubbed, and has been tooled on the obverse, but slight traces of the legend can be seen. Bahrfeldt (*Num. Zeit.*, 1897, p. 9) mentions that he has met with several specimens without the legend CERCO on the obverse, on account of its being "off the flan," but this could not have been the case with the Museum coin.

[1] The uncia is the only denomination in bronze known of this issue. The type is an adaptation of that of the denarius. Riccio (*Mon. fam. rom.*, p. 130, no. 3; pl. xxix., no. 3) has described and figured a quadrans of the usual type, but having on the reverse the prow of the

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			L. MEMMI	
			(LUCIUS MEMMIUS[1])	
			Denarius[2]	
643	60·2	*AR* ·75	Male head r., wearing oak-wreath; below chin, ✕	L·MEMMI (in exergue). The Dioscuri standing facing between their horses; each holds spear and his horse by the bridle; above the head of each, a star. [Pl. xcv. 10.]
644	55·6	*AR* ·8	Similar.	Similar. (Cracherode Coll.)

vessel inscribed Q. LVTA, and above it the caps of the Dioscuri. This piece is cited by Cohen (*Mon. rép. rom.*, p. 193, no. 4), and also by Babelon (vol. ii., p. 137, no. 4), the latter copying Riccio's illustration. Bahrfeldt, however, states in a private communication that the legend on this coin was originally misread, not only by Riccio himself, but also by the compiler of the Riccio *Sale Cat.*, 1868 (see p. 69, no. 1101), and that the correct reading should be C. PLVTI. This quadrans therefore must be transferred to the issue of C. Plutius, whose denarii have already been described (see above, p. 248).

[1] Mommsen (*Hist. mon. rom.*, t. ii., pp. 368, 430), who has assigned this issue to *circ.* B.C. 110, has identified L. Memmius with the orator of the same name who rose to eminence during the struggle between Marius and Sulla, and who, according to Cicero (*Brut.*, 70, 89), was a partisan of the former. He also supposed him to have been the father of L. Memmius L. f. Galeria, who was a moneyer at the Roman mint *circ.* B.C. 91 (see vol. i., p. 204). This identification is very uncertain, and it is more probable that the moneyer belonged to another branch of the Memmia gens, and that he held a local appointment, having possibly as his colleague Mn. Aquillius (see p. 300), whose coins are very similar in style and fabric. The date of the issue of both series is ascertainable from finds, specimens having occurred in the Cazlona, Oliva, and Ricina hoards. Of the above there were fifteen specimens—eleven fine, three corroded, and one *à fleur de coin*—in the Oliva hoard. Babelon (vol. ii., p. 213) has suggested that Mn. Aquillius and L. Memmius were colleagues, with possibly L. Flaminius Cilo, but there are valid reasons for placing the coins of the last moneyer to a somewhat earlier date (see above, p. 278).

[2] The type of the denarius may have been intended to refer to the origin of the Memmii, who claimed to be descended from Menestheus, the Trojan, one of the companions of Aeneas to Italy (Virgil, *Aen.*, v. 117—*Mox Italus Mnestheus, genus a quo nomine Memmi*). The type, however, seems to relate to Menestheus, the Athenian king, who, with the help of the Dioscuri, drove Theseus from Athens. The Dioscuri just previously had rescued their sister Helen, who had been carried off by Theseus and placed in confinement at Aphidna. Menestheus afterwards took part in the Trojan war, and is said to have died at Troy (Plutarch, *Theseus*, 32, 35). Other writers relate that he was exiled by his own citizens, or that he died at Melos after the Trojan war (Eckhel, *Num. Vet.*, p. 203). The cult of this hero was not limited to his native city, Athens, but extended into Italy. He is said to have founded, amongst other cities, Scylacium in Bruttium, which was occupied by a party of Athenians who had accompanied him to Troy. This circumstance may have led Virgil to identify Menestheus as one of the companions of Aeneas. The head on the obverse of the denarius has been identified by Dr. E. Gabrici (*Riv. Ital.*, 1892, pp. 192 f.) as Apollo, and he suggests that it may refer either to a special cult of that divinity of the Memmia gens, or that it may point to the connection between Apollo and the Dioscuri. It seems, however, not improbable that the head is that of Menestheus himself, who is wearing the oak-wreath, symbolical of the deliverance of Athens from the tyranny of Theseus.

There are no bronze coins of this issue.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			M'. AQVIL	
			(MANIUS AQUILLIUS[1])	
			Denarius	
645	60·7	AR ·75	Head of Sol r. radiate;[2] below chin, X	M'·AQVIL below Luna in biga r., horses galloping; she holds reins with both hands; above horses, crescent moon and three stars; below, another star; in the exergue, ROMA. [Pl. xcv. 11.]
646	54·8	AR ·8	Similar.	Similar.
			L. VALERI. FLACCI	
			(LUCII VALERII FLACCI[3])	
			Denarius	
647	61·3	AR ·8	Bust of Victory r., draped, and wearing earring of single drop and necklace; hair collected into a knot behind her head; under chin, X	L·VALERI FLACCI (in field on l.). Mars helmeted and with chlamys tied round his waist, walking l., holding spear with point downwards in r. hand and trophy over shoulder in l.; before him, a flamen's cap; behind, a corn-stalk.[4] [Pl. xcv. 12.]

[1] This moneyer, who from the fabric and style of his coins may have been a colleague of L. Memmius (see previous page), was probably a son of Manius Aquillius, who was consul in B.C. 101, and who subsequently, in B.C. 88, was one of the consular legates appointed to prosecute the war in Asia against Mithradates the Great of Pontus.

[2] Cavedoni (*Nuovi Studii*, p. 15) was of opinion that the type of Sol in conjunction with Luna and the stars may allude to the triumph of Manius Aquillius Mn. f. Mn. n. in B.C. 129, which he received for his victories over Aristonicus, the son of Eumenes, king of Pergamum, these sidereal divinities being specially worshipped in the East. Babelon (vol. i., p. 212) thought this interpretation hazardous, and he has therefore suggested that the type may have reference to the joint cult of these diurnal and nocturnal divinities at Rome, in which some members of the moneyer's family may have been specially interested. Dr. Vercoutre (*Rev. Num.*, 1890, p. 377) has offered a third suggestion, and would see in the four stars on the reverse the sign of the constellation *Aquila*, which is in the form of the letter T, a punning allusion to the gentile name *Aquillius*. The introduction of Luna and Sol would be due to the desire of the engraver to emphasize specially the representation of this constellation. This interpretation seems to be even more hazardous than that of Cavedoni.

Coins of this issue occurred in the Cazlona, Oliva, and Ricina hoards, but only in small numbers. They are probably the latest in date in the first hoard.

No bronze coins are known of this issue.

[3] There were three members of the Valeria gens with this name of about the time of the issue of these coins—L. Valerius Flaccus, who was *flamen Martialis* and consul B.C. 131; L. Valerius L. f. L. n. Flaccus, who was consul B.C. 100, and interrex B.C. 82, when he brought forward and carried a law investing Sulla with supreme power in the State for an indefinite number of years; and L. Valerius Flaccus, who was consul B.C. 86, and who opposed Sulla in Asia (Mommsen, *Hist. mon. rom.*, t. ii., p. 367). He was murdered in the same year by his colleague, C. Flavius Fimbria. The type of the denarius seems to indicate that the moneyer was a son of the consul of B.C. 100. There were no specimens of this issue in the Cazlona hoard, but that of Oliva contained eleven pieces, mostly in fine condition, and there were three found at Ricina.

[4] The types, both obverse and reverse, appear to record three events connected with the

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
648	60·8	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar. (Cracherode Coll.)

Γ . LÆCA

(PUBLIUS [PORCIUS] LAECA[1])

Denarius

649	60·2	Æ ·8	Head of Roma r., wearing winged helmet, ornamented with gryphon's head; earring of single drop and necklace; the visor of the helmet is in two pieces and peaked; behind, Γ · LÆCA; above, ROMA; below chin, X	ΓROVOCO (in exergue). A Roman warrior wearing cuirass and armed with sword, standing l. and placing his hand on the head of a togate figure; behind him is a lictor holding fasces. (Cracherode Coll.)
650	59·0	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. xcv. 13.]
651	59·4	Æ ·7	Similar; Γ · LÆCA	Similar.
652	60·2	Æ ·75	Similar; legends reading Γ · LÆCA and ROMA	Similar. (*Obv. and rev. of coarse work.*)

Valeria gens—(i.) the successes of L. Valerius Flaccus in the north of Italy against the Gauls in B.C. 194, represented by Victory and Mars; (ii.) the colonization of Placentia and Cremona by the triumvir of the same name in B.C. 190, referred to by the corn-stalk; and (iii.) the appointment of L. Valerius Flaccus, the consul of B.C. 131, as *flamen Martialis*, illustrated by the cap or apex. The name of the moneyer is in the genitive case.

For style and fabric these coins may be compared with those of L. Memmius and Mn. Aquillius.

The denarius is the only denomination known of this issue.

[1] Of this moneyer we have no record beyond his coins, but he may have been a son of M. Porcius Laeca, who filled a similar office at the Roman mint some years previously (see vol. i., p. 151), and the obverse of whose coins is repeated in the present issue as regards the head of Roma, the position of the moneyer's name, and that of the mark of value. The reverse type too refers to the same event as that recorded by the coins of M. Porcius Laeca, though the design is quite different, viz. the passing of the *Lex Porcia de provocatione*, which gave to the Roman citizen residing outside the city the right of appeal in criminal cases against the decision of magistrates acting in their military capacity. As it was in B.C. 90 that the *Lex Julia*, which extended the right of citizenship to certain of the Italian States, was passed, this type may have been intended to apply to a contemporary event as well as to one which had occurred some time previously. The refusal of the Senate to grant the right of appeal in criminal cases was one of the chief causes of the Social war.

Like the coins of L. Valerius Flaccus, those of P. Porcius Laeca were absent from the Cazlona hoard, but four specimens, mostly in fine condition, were met with in that of Oliva. For the form of the head of Roma on the obverse and for general style the coins of P. Porcius Laeca may be compared with those of C. Claudius Pulcher, which were struck at Rome in the previous year (see vol. i., p. 198), but those of Laeca are of somewhat coarser fabric. It is evident that some of the die-sinkers employed on these local coins copied the obverse designs of those struck at Rome.

No bronze coins are known of this issue.

There is a hybrid consisting of the reverse of the denarius of P. Porcius Laeca and of the obverse of that of M. Sergius Silus (see above, p. 269; and Bahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1897, p. 59).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Q . TERM . MF	
			(QUINTUS [MINUCIUS] THERMUS MARCI FILIUS[1])	
			Denarius	
653	61·8	AR ·8	Head of Mars l., wearing crested helmet, ornamented at the side with feather and annulet.	Q . TERM . MF (in exergue). Two warriors, each armed with sword and shield, fighting; the one on l., a Roman, protects a fallen comrade; the other on r., a barbarian, wears a helmet ornamented with two horns.[2] (Cracherode Coll.)
654	61·0	AR ·8	Similar.	Similar.
655	60·8	AR ·75	Similar.	Similar.
656	60·6	AR ·75	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. xcv. 14.]

[1] This is a somewhat uncertain moneyer. He may have been Minucius Thermus, who accompanied L. Valerius Flaccus into Asia in B.C. 86, and who was a candidate for the consulship in B.C. 64, but his praenomen is not recorded. The coins are of too early a date to associate them with Q. Minucius Thermus, who was tribune B.C. 62 and praetor in Asia B.C. 52, and later followed the fortunes of Sextus Pompey, whom he deserted in B.C. 35, and went over to Antony (see Babelon, vol. ii., p. 235).

The evidence of finds as to the date of this issue is not so satisfactory as in previous instances. No specimen occurred in the Cazlona hoard, or in that of Oliva of 1861, but one was present in the earlier hoard found at Oliva in 1848 or 1849 (see vol. i., p. 191). There were, however, five specimens in the Ricina hoard and nineteen in that of Fiesole, which was buried a few years later, *circ.* B.C. 87, and thirteen fine or *à fleur de coin* in that of Fuscaldo. As, however, the obverse type was reproduced on coins bearing the name of the Marsic general C. Papius Mutilus, this issue must have taken place before B.C. 89, and it may therefore be assigned to towards the end of the previous year.

[2] The representation of this combat between two warriors is probably a record of the brave deeds of the moneyer's ancestor and namesake, who was consul B.C. 193, and who was killed in the war in Thrace B.C. 188. During his consulship and the two following years, Q. Minucius Thermus was engaged in a severe contest with the Ligurians, when he is said to have performed many brave deeds, especially on the occasion of a night attack on his camp. Babelon (vol. ii., p. 235) has identified the head on the obverse as of Roma, but it is probably of Mars, being very similar to that on coins of L. Julius Caesar struck at Rome in the previous year (see vol. i., p. 209), and on those of C. Poblicius Malleolus (see below, p. 307). The head of Mars would be more appropriate to the reverse type than Roma. There is a restoration of this denarius by Trajan, and specimens were countermarked by Vespasian. The denarius is the only denomination known of this issue.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			M.CAO	
			(MARCUS [PORCIUS] CATO[1])	
			Denarius	
657	61·0	Æ ·8	Female bust r., slightly draped; head bound with diadem; hair in rolls and collected into a knot; behind, ROMA; below, M. CAO	VICTRIX (in exergue). Victory draped, seated r., holding patera in extended r. hand and palm-branch in l. **[Pl. xcv. 15.]**
658	60·5	Æ ·7	Similar.	Similar. (de Salis Coll.)
659	62·2	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar; below seat of Victory, ST (*Stipendium* or *stabilis*?)
660	61·7	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar.
661	61·5	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. xcv. 16.]** (Nott)

[1] Mommsen (*Hist. mon. rom.*, t. ii., p. 396), who has assigned these coins to *circ.* B.C. 100, says that this moneyer was without doubt Marcus Porcius Cato, the father of Marcus Porcius Cato Uticensis, who died during his candidature for the praetorship some time between B.C. 95—91, the former date being that of the birth of Cato Uticensis, the latter that of the death of M. Livius Drusus, by whom he was adopted on his father's decease. The absence of any of these coins not only from the Maserà, Riccia, S. Giovanni Incarico, Roncarolo, and Pozoblanco hoards, but also from those of Cazlona, Oliva, and Ricina, renders the identification of the moneyer as the father of Cato Uticensis not possible. There was another M. Porcius Cato at that time, who was a son of the consul of the same name B.C. 118, and who, after being curule aedile and praetor, obtained the government of Gallia Narbonensis. He was a cousin of Cato Uticensis, but being older he could well have struck these coins. It is also possible that he held some official appointment during the Social war of a higher grade than that of a moneyer, in virtue of which he issued this money. When Cato Uticensis struck money as proprætor in Africa some years later, he adopted the type of the above coins (see COINAGE OF AFRICA, *s.a.* B.C. 47—46; Babelon, vol. ii., pp. 373 f.). He also issued the quinarius.

With the exception of the quinarii attributed to the following year (see below, p. 313), M. Porcius Cato was the only moneyer who issued this denomination locally. These coins were struck under the provisions of the *Lex Clodia* passed *circ.* B.C. 104. There had been several issues of quinarii at the Roman mint previous to this date (see vol. i., p. 167 *seq.*).

The reverse type has been identified by Mommsen (*loc. cit.*) as an allusion to the aedicula which was consecrated to *Victoria Virgo* by Cato the Ancient, an ancestor of the moneyer, after his successes in Spain in B.C. 194. The letters ST under the seat of Victory have been variously interpreted. Borghesi (*Œuvres compl.*, vol. i., p. 234) read *stipendium*, and supposed that these coins were specially struck for the payment of the Roman legions. Cavedoni (*Saggio*, p. 58) has explained them as *stata* or *stabilis*, applying the epithet to Victory. As, however, this type was copied by the Italian insurgents, it may be possible to see in it, as in the case of the coins of C. Poblicius Malleolus (see below, p. 306), a reference to current events, and a record of the victories of the Romans in the Marsic war in B.C. 90. The obverse type, if identified as the bust of Libertas, as proposed by Babelon (vol. ii., p. 371), would then refer to the liberties and freedom given to the Italians under the *Lex Julia*. The *Lex Plautia Papiria* was not passed till the following year. Borghesi (*loc. cit.*) has identified the bust as of Roma, on account of the accompanying legend ROMA, but we know that at this time this was no criterion, as this inscription is found with the heads of other divinities. If these types relate to current events, Borghesi's interpretation of the letters ST as *stipendium* seems the more probable one, as it would show that this money was specially struck for the payment of the

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Quinarius	
			With Latin letter on obverse[1]	
662	24·0	AR ·55	Young head r., crowned with ivy-wreath; hair long;[2] behind, M·CAO; below, letter B	VICTRIX (in exergue). Victory draped, seated r., holding patera in extended r. hand and palm-branch in l. **[Pl. xcv. 17.]**
663	29·5	AR ·6	Similar; letter C	Similar. (de Salis Coll.)
664	29·5	AR ·55	Similar; letter E	Similar.
665	26·2	AR ·6	Similar; letter F	Similar. (Woodhouse Coll.)
666	29·3	AR ·6	Similar; letter M	Similar.
667	34·3	AR ·55	Similar; letter N	Similar.
668	30·7	AR ·55	Similar; letter O	Similar.
669	32·0	AR ·55	Similar; letter R	Similar.
			With Greek letter on obverse	
670	32·3	AR ·55	Similar; below head, Greek letter Σ	Similar.
671	29·3	AR ·6	Similar; letter Φ	Similar. **[Pl. xcv. 18.]**
			With number on obverse	
672	31·9	AR ·6	Similar; below head, number I	Similar. (Blacas Coll.)
673	33·0	AR ·55	Similar; number III	Similar. **[Pl. xcvi. 1.]**

soldiery, and the type would bring to the mind of the Roman army any recent successes. The absence of these denarii from the Cazlona, Oliva, and Ricina hoards, coupled with the circumstance that the obverse and reverse types were copied by the Italian insurgents, seems conclusive evidence that, like that of Q. Minucius Thermus, this issue must have occurred towards the end of B.C. 90.

Denarii of M. Porcius Cato were countermarked by Vespasian (Bahrfeldt, *Zeit. f. Num.*, 1876, p. 362). There is also a restoration by Trajan.

[1] The mint-marks consist of Latin and Greek letters, numbers, and symbols. The Latin and Greek letters extend throughout the alphabet, but the numbers do not seem to have exceeded XX.

[2] The head on the obverse is of Liber or Bacchus, the personification of liberty. It would therefore correspond with that on the obverse of the denarius.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
674	32·3	Æ ·55	Similar; number IIII	Similar.
675	29·2	Æ ·55	Similar; number VIIII	Similar. (Cracherode Coll.)
676	25·3	Æ ·55	Similar; number XV	Similar.
			With symbol on obverse [1]	
677	31·7	Æ ·58	Similar; below head, symbol, ant.	Similar.
678	35·0	Æ ·55	Similar; symbol, bow.	Similar.
679	30·0	Æ ·6	Similar; symbol, bucranium.	Similar.
680	31·3	Æ ·55	Similar; symbol, caduceus.	Similar. (Townley Coll.)
681	32·9	Æ ·55	Similar; symbol, club.	Similar. [Pl. xcvi. 2.] (Townley Coll.)
682	34·0	Æ ·6	Similar; symbol, cornucopiae.	Similar.
683	30·7	Æ ·55	Similar; symbol, cuirass.	Similar.
684	29·3	Æ ·55	Similar; same symbol.	Similar.
685	31·0	Æ ·55	Similar; symbol, fly l.	Similar.
686	29·7	Æ ·55	Similar; symbol, fly r.	Similar.
687	31·4	Æ ·55	Similar; symbol, helmet with crest.	Similar. (Blacas Coll.)
688	29·0	Æ ·55	Similar; symbol, lituus.	Similar.
689	30·0	Æ ·6	Similar; symbol, poppy-head.	Similar.
690	32·8	Æ ·55	Similar; symbol, prow.	Similar.
691	30·7	Æ ·6	Similar; symbol, sceptre.	Similar.
692	30·7	Æ ·55	Similar; symbol, spear.	Similar. (de Salis Coll.)
693	31·4	Æ ·55	Similar; symbol, trident.	Similar.

[1] A variety of the quinarius in the collection of Dr. Haeberlin, Frankfurt-a.-M., has on the obverse the symbol, a thunderbolt, and on the reverse, below the figure of Victory, the moneyer's name M. CAO repeated instead of VICTRIX. It is of good silver, not plated, and came from the Carrara hoard (Cavedoni, *Bull. dell' Inst. arch.*, 1860, p. 221). Another specimen, apparently from the same dies, and formerly in the Bignami collection, is in the Capitoline Museum (Bahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1897, p. 60; and 1896, pl. x., no. 229).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Circ. B.C. 89; A.U.C. 665[1]	
			C. MAL OR C. MA	
			(CAIUS [POBLICIUS] MALLEOLUS[2])	
			Denarius	
			Type I.	
694	62·2	*R* ·75	Head of Apollo r., laureate; hair in ringlets.	Roma draped, seated l. on pile of shields, armed with parazonium and holding spear in r. hand; she is crowned with wreath by Victory, standing behind her; before Roma, C· MAL; in the exergue, ROMA (Cracherode Coll.)
695	58·4	*R* ·75	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. xcvi. 3.]** (Blacas Coll.)
696	55·5	*R* ·75	Similar.	Similar. (Cracherode Coll.)

[1] None of the denarii assigned to this year were met with in the Taranto, Cazlona, Oliva, or Ricina hoards, but they were all present in considerable numbers, and mostly in fine condition, in those of Fiesole and Monte Codruzzo (see Tables of Finds). Three of the moneyers struck *asses* of the uncial standard, the issue of which could not have occurred after this year. The types of the individual denarii show considerable variation. As in the previous year, there was a series of quinarii with a variety of mint-marks, consisting of letters, numbers, symbols, and fractional signs, but apparently without a moneyer's name. The workmanship of the denarius is generally somewhat coarse.

These are the latest of the Roman Republican coins which Count de Salis has attributed to local issue.

[2] Caius Poblicius Malleolus was a member of a triumvirate of the mint, which consisted of himself, Aulus Postumius Albinus S. f., and Lucius Caecilius Metellus. The first two struck separate issues as well as a joint-one with L. Caecilius Metellus, but we have no separate coinage of the last moneyer. C. Poblicius Malleolus struck also bronze coins, on which his name does not occur, but only his symbol, a mallet. All the coins of the three moneyers are of rude work, showing that they were of local issue.

The date of these issues is ascertainable from finds. There were no specimens in the Cazlona, Oliva, or Ricina hoards, but they existed in considerable numbers in those of Fiesole and Monte Codruzzo, and a few at Fuscaldo and Cingoli. At Fiesole there were fifteen pieces of C. Poblicius Malleolus, seventeen of A. Postumius Albinus, and the same number of the joint-issue. The Monte Codruzzo hoard, which, however, was not buried till *circ.* B.C. 82 (see vol. i., p. 319), contained thirty-five coins of the joint-issue. From this evidence of finds, therefore, and also from the fact that C. Poblicius Malleolus struck bronze coins of the uncial standard, including the as, and that the type of his denarius, with reverse Roma seated crowned by Victory, was copied by the Italian insurgents for their own money, it may safely be presumed that this triumvirate of moneyers was appointed late in B.C. 90, or quite early in the following year.

It has been suggested (see vol. i., p. 187) that C. Poblicius Malleolus, who struck the above coins, had already held office at the Roman mint, and was a member of the quinquevirate of B.C. 92. Mommsen (*Hist. mon. rom.*, t. ii., p. 383) has, however, identified him with the quaestor of that name to Cn. Cornelius Dolabella in Cilicia B.C. 80, but not with the moneyer of the Roman mint, as he had assigned the coins of the latter to an earlier date. If the Roman issue is correctly assigned to B.C. 92, it is quite possible that C. Poblicius Malleolus held the office of moneyer on two occasions, first at the central mint, later locally.

His separate coinage in silver, like that of his colleague A. Postumius Albinus, consists of two

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type II.	
697	60·4	Æ ·7	Head of Mars r., wearing crested helmet, ornamented at the side with feather; above, mallet (*malleolus*); below chin, ✕	A warrior or hero, his chlamys thrown back over his shoulder and passing over his r. leg, standing l. in an attitude of repose before a trophy; his r. foot is placed on a cuirass; his r. hand holds a spear; his l. rests on his hip; behind, a prow, above which, across the field, C·MA [Pl. xcvi. 4.]
698	61·4	Æ ·7	Similar.	Similar; legend C·MA placed vertically.
699	61·0	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar. (Blacas Coll.)

types, both obverse and reverse. Cavedoni (*Ripostigli*, p. 157) has drawn attention to the similarity with slight variations of the type of Roma seated to that of the coins of Aetolia, on which Aetolia is figured holding a Victory, or with a trophy before her (*Brit. Mus. Cat., Gr. Coins, Thessaly to Aetolia*, pl. xxx., nos. 3, 7), and he therefore suggested that the moneyer borrowed his type from these Greek coins. Cavedoni did not, however, notice that the other type of the hero is identical in treatment with that of the warrior (Aetolos), also figured on coins of Aetolia of the same period (*op. cit.*, pl. xxx., no. 6). This double assimilation could scarcely be a mere coincidence. The trophy and the prow may in this case refer to some victories by land and sea of an ancestor of the moneyer. On the other hand, Mommsen (*Hist. mon. rom.*, t. ii., pp. 383, 384) and Babelon (vol. ii., p. 331), who have both assigned this issue to *circ.* B.C. 89, have explained the types as relating to the Social war and to events which marked its course. The goddess Roma seated on a pile of shields is the symbol of the domination of Rome over the Italian insurgents; the head of Mars is also an allusion to the war, and the hero or naked warrior represents the genius of the Roman people, who came to the pacification of Italy. Mommsen and Babelon also suggested that the letter Γ on the *tabella* behind the hero indicates either the *Lex Plautia Papiria* or the *Lex Pompeia*, both of which were decreed in B.C. 89. In support of this opinion it may be urged that the reverse type of Roma seated was not only adopted for the joint-issue of the triumvirate, but also that it was copied on the money of the insurgents. But this does not explain the presence of the prow behind the hero. In order to meet these different views it may be suggested that we have here to deal with two classes of types: one, that is the hero type, relating to the history of the moneyer's family, the other, the Roma type, being a reference to current events. This would account for the adoption of the latter type for the joint-issue of the triumvirate, and also for its reproduction on the money of the insurgents. If this interpretation is accepted the *tabella* marked with the letter Γ would not refer to the *Lex Plautia Papiria* or to the *Lex Pompeia*, but to the *Lex Poblicia de aleatoribus*, or to some other law which an ancestor of the moneyer may have been instrumental in getting passed (Borghesi, *Œuvres compl.*, t. ii., pp. 271, 272). The head of Mars would be a fitting obverse type for the reverse with the hero, and the mallet above it can only be a *type parlant* of the cognomen *Malleolus*. The significance of the Apollo type is not clear.

Though there were at this time so many changes of type, yet the variations in the hero type are most unusual. Babelon (vol. ii., p. 332, no. 5) figures a variety in the Paris cabinet of the denarius of Type I. with a star behind the head of Apollo, and without the moneyer's name on the reverse. It cannot be a hybrid with the obverse of the denarius of A. Postumius Albinus (see below, p. 310), as this would not account for the omission of the name of "Roma" and of the mark of value on the obverse and of the moneyer's name on the reverse. If the coin is ancient it may be a contemporary imitation. Bahrfeldt (*Num. Zeit.*, 1896, p. 67) says that when he saw the coin in Paris in 1875 it struck him as a barbarous imitation.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
700	58·7	Æ ·7	Similar.	Similar; above prow, caduceus l.
701	63·0	Æ ·7	Similar.	Similar; above prow, fly r. [Pl. xcvi. 5.] (Cracherode Coll.)
702	49·0	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar.
703	60·1	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar; behind warrior a *tabella* divided into two compartments, one inscribed, C·M; the other, ⊐ A (Blacas Coll.)
704	59·0	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar.
705	58·0 (*pierced*)	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. xcvi. 6.] (Nott)
706	59·7	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar; C·MA placed below the *tabella*. [Pl. xcvi. 7.]
707	49·1	Æ ·7	Similar.	Similar. (Claude Stewart Coll.)
			As [1]	
708	625·0	Æ 1·25	Head of Janus, laureate; above, I	Prow, r.; below, ROMA; above, mallet.
709	549·0	Æ 1·3	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. xcvi. 8.]
			Semis	
710	226·0	Æ 1·05	Head of Jupiter r., laureate; before, S	Similar. [Pl. xcvi. 9.] (Blacas Coll.)
711	208·0	Æ 1·0	Similar.	Similar.
			Quadrans	
712	85·0	Æ ·8	Head of young Hercules r., wearing lion's skin; behind, ⁝	Similar; above prow, RO MA and mallet; below, ••• [Pl. xcvi. 10.]

[1] There can be no hesitation in attributing these bronze coins with the symbol, a mallet, but without a moneyer's name, to C. Poblicius Malleolus. In fabric they are precisely similar to the bronze money struck at this time locally, and the presence of the uncial *a* helps to supply the approximate date of the issue. C. Poblicius Malleolus is the only member of the triumvirate who struck bronze coins. Babelon (vol. i., pp. 50—52) describes these pieces

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			A. ALBINVS S. F	
			(AULUS [POSTUMIUS] ALBINUS SPURII FILIUS [1])	
			Denarius	
			Type I.	
713	61·6	Æ ·7	Bust of Diana r., diademed and draped, wearing earring and necklace; at her shoulders, bow and quiver; her hair is drawn back and collected into a knot behind; below, ROMA	A · ALBINVS S F (in exergue). Three horsemen, armed with spears and shields, charging l.; before them, a fallen warrior and the pennons of two military standards. **[Pl. xcvi. 11.]**
714	60·5	Æ ·7	Similar; countermarked on r. with two crescents.	Similar.
715	58·3	Æ ·8	Similar; no countermarks.	Similar.
716	60·3	Æ ·7	Similar.	Similar; moneyer's name, A · ALBINVS · S · F
717	59·7	Æ ·7	Similar.	Similar. (Nott)

with others bearing symbols. He does not associate them with this issue. D'Ailly (*Mon. rom.*, pl. lxxxviii., nos. 13, 15; lxxxix., nos. 1-3) figures the semis with the mark of value behind the head of Jupiter; also the triens and the sextans, which are similar in the reverse type to the quadrans; and varieties of this last denomination with the mallet before the prow.

[1] Aulus Postumius Albinus, who was a member of the triumvirate of moneyers consisting of himself, L. Caecilius Metellus, and C. Poblicius Malleolus, may have been a son of Spurius Postumius Albinus, consul B.C. 110. He was of praetorian rank, joined the party of Marius, and was slain in the engagement near the Colline Gate B.C. 82 (Appian, *Bell. civ.*, i. 93). There were, however, other members of the Postumia gens of the same name who flourished at this time. His son, A. Postumius A. f. S. n. Albinus, appears to have held the office of moneyer at Rome a few years later, B.C. 82 (see vol. i., p. 351).

His denarii, like those of his colleague C. Poblicius Malleolus, are of two types, obverse and reverse, both of which relate to the battle of Lake Regillus, at which the Roman army was commanded by A. Postumius Albus, and at which the Dioscuri are said to have assisted the Romans against the Latins. The bust of Diana recalls the circumstance that on the eve of the battle a special sacrifice was made to that divinity in her temple on the Aventine, and the horsemen on the reverse refer to the episode during the engagement, when A. Postumius Albus by a clever manœuvre threw the whole force of his cavalry against the enemy's infantry, and thus not only won the day, but also recovered his standards (Mommsen, *Hist. mon. rom.*, t. ii,, p. 384). In this onslaught the Romans were assisted by the Dioscuri, who in Type II. are represented watering their horses at the fountain of Juturna, in the Forum, where they arrived on the evening of the battle (Schwegler, *Röm. Gesch.*, vol. ii., p. 63). Night is shown by the crescent moon. The head of Apollo, though common to the coins of all three moneyers, may in this instance have been used because he was the brother of Diana. The cults of these divinities were closely associated by the Romans (Preller, *Röm. Myth.*, 3rd ed., vol. i., p. 68). It may also be remarked that Type I., with the bust of Diana, shows on the reverse a scene which happened by day, whilst Type II., with the head of Apollo, one which happened at night.

Particulars of the evidence of finds in relation to this issue have been given above (see p. 306). The coins of A. Postumius Albinus were more numerous in the Fiesole hoard than in that of Monte Codruzzo.

There are no bronze coins of this issue.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type II.	
718	61·2	Æ ·75	Head of Apollo r., laureate; hair in ringlets; behind, star of six rays; below, ROMA; before, X	A · ALBINVS S F (in exergue). The Dioscuri, each holding spear, standing l. beside their horses, which are drinking at the fountain of Juturna; above, crescent moon. (Cracherode Coll.)
719	60·3	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar. (Blacas Coll.)
720	53·0	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. xcvi. 12.]**
721	59·0	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar; moneyer's name, A · ALBINVS S F
722	60·0	Æ ·8	Similar; behind head of Apollo, star of ten rays; below, R (*Roma*)	Similar; moneyer's name, A · ALBINVS · S · F **[Pl. xcvi. 13.]** (Claude Stewart Coll.)
723	57·0	Æ ·8	Similar; star of eight rays.	Similar. (de Salis Coll.)
			Joint-Coinage[1]	
			A. ALB. S. F: L. METEL: C. MAL (AULUS [POSTUMIUS] ALBINUS SPURII FILIUS; L. [CAECILIUS] METELLUS; CAIUS [POBLICIUS] MALLEOLUS)	
			Denarius	
724	61·7	Æ ·75	Head of Apollo r., laureate; hair in ringlets (similar to no. 694); before, A · ALB · S · F; behind, L · METEL	Roma draped, seated l. on pile of shields, armed with parazonium and holding spear in r. hand; she is crowned with wreath by Victory, standing behind her; before Roma, C · MAL; in the exergue, ROMA (similar to no. 694). **[Pl. xcvi. 14.]**
725	60·9	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar. (Townley Coll.)

[1] In this joint-coinage we have another instance of a triumvirate of moneyers exercising their office outside Rome (see above, pp. 255-261). L. Caecilius Metellus appears only to have struck coins in conjunction with his colleagues, C. Poblicius Malleolus and A. Postumius Albinus, both of whom had separate issues. He may have joined his colleagues at a somewhat late date. As the type of the denarii of C. Poblicius Malleolus was used for the joint-issue, and as his name only occurs on the reverse, that moneyer may have held the position of chief of the triumvirate. Particulars of the reverse type have been given above (see p. 307).

Lucius Caecilius Metellus was probably a brother of Q. Caecilius Metellus Creticus. He

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			With symbol on obverse	
726	60·3	Æ ·75	Similar; below head of Apollo, symbol, crescent.	Similar.
727	59·4	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. xcvi. 15.]**
728	59·2	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar. (Nott)
729	57·9	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar. (Nott)
730	61·7	Æ ·75	Similar; symbol, star.	Similar. (Nott)
731	59·8	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. xcvii. 1.]** (Nott)
			With mark of value on obverse	
732	61·4	Æ ·75	Similar; below head of Apollo, mark of value, X	Similar. **[Pl. xcvii. 2.]** (Townley Coll.)

L. POMPON. MOLO

(LUCIUS POMPONIUS MOLO[1])

Denarius

733	61·7	Æ ·75	Head of Apollo r., laureate; around, L·POMPON·MOLO	NVMA·POMIL (in exergue). Numa Pompilius diademed, holding lituus in l. hand, standing r. before a lighted altar, at which he is about to sacrifice a goat, which is led by a youth[2] (*victimarius*).

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was praetor B.C. 71, and as propraetor succeeded C. Verres in the government of Sicily B.C. 70. He defeated the pirates, drove them out of Syracuse, and compelled them to leave the island. Cicero (*Verr.*, Act. i. 9; *Accus.* ii. 4; iii. 16, &c.) praises Metellus for having restored peace and security to the inhabitants after the fearful scenes enacted by Verres. He was consul B.C. 68 with Q. Marcius Rex, but he died early in his year of office (Drumann, *Gesch. Röms*, vol. ii., p. 46).

There are three varieties of the denarii of this joint-coinage, which, from the evidence of finds, was a very large one (see above, p. 306). Some of them are without any special mark; others have symbols or the mark of value. Neither Mommsen nor Babelon mentions the last variety with the mark of value, but the sign is unmistakable on the specimen in the National Collection. There is a hybrid consisting of the obverse of the denarius of this joint-coinage and of the reverse of that of the quaestors L. Calpurnius Piso and Q. Servilius Caepio (see vol. i., pp. 170, 171).

[1] This moneyer is only known to us from his coins. The cognomina Molo, Musa, and Rufus are found on coins connected with the Pomponia gens, but they do not occur in history. The attribution of this issue to B.C. 89 is based chiefly on the evidence of finds. As is the case with those of the triumvirate, C. Poblicius Malleolus, A. Postumius Albinus, and L. Caecilius Metellus, no denarii of L. Pomponius Molo occurred in the Cazlona, Oliva, or Ricina hoards, but specimens, not numerous, were met with at Fiesole and Monte Codruzzo. This would give us a date *circ.* B.C. 90—89. As no doubt these local coins were not struck till near the end of the Social war, the later date seems the more probable. The fact also that L. Pomponius Molo struck the as of the uncial standard limits his issue to B.C. 91—89.

[2] This type is an allusion to the supposed descent of the Pomponia gens from Pompo, one

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
734	61·4	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar.
735	60·5	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. xcvii. 3.]** (de Salis Coll.)
736	60·2	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar. (Blacas Coll.)
737	58·7	Æ ·7	Similar.	Similar.
738	50·4	Æ ·75 (*plated*)	Similar.	Similar. (Northwick Coll.)
			As[1]	
739	467·0	Æ 1·25	Head of Janus, laureate; above, I	ROMA below Prow r.; before, I; above, D · OM (*Lucius Pomponius*). **[Pl. xcvii. 4.]**
			Semis[2]	
740	310·0	Æ 1·15	Head of Jupiter r., laureate; before, S	Similar; before prow, S
741	188·0	Æ 1·05	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. xcvii. 5.]** (Blacas Coll.)
742	192·0	Æ 1·05	Similar; mark of value, S, behind head.	Similar.

of the alleged sons of Numa Pompilius, who is represented as offering a sacrifice to Apollo. In connection with this subject, Cavedoni (*Nuovi studii*, p. 22) cites the following passage from Livy (xxv. 12)—*Senatus consultum factum est, ut decemviri sacra Graeco ritu facerent, Apollini bove aurato et capris duabus albis auratis.* The Greek rite differed from the Roman inasmuch that the pontiff's head in the former was uncovered, but in the latter it was veiled. As Numa is represented unveiled, it is the Greek form which is illustrated on these coins.

The denarii of this issue are of coarse fabric, and resemble in that respect those of the triumvirate above described. The head of Apollo is the same as on the joint-coinage of those moneyers.

[1] These bronze coins have been assigned by Mommsen (*Hist. mon. rom.*, t. ii., p. 283) and Babelon (vol. ii., p 356) to much earlier dates. The former puts them at the end of his first period, *circ.* B.C. 150, the latter to *circ.* B.C. 209. Their fabric, however, shows that they must be placed with the bronze coins which are assigned to the early years of the first cent. B.C. The *as* has the peculiar bevelled edge characteristic of that coin at this period, and the general fabric is precisely similar to that of the bronze money of C. Poblicius Malleolus (see above, p. 308). There can therefore be no hesitation in identifying the moneyer of these coins with the one who struck the silver bearing the same name, though it is given in a slightly different form.

[2] Babelon (vol. ii., p. 357) says that the head of Jupiter is to the right or left, but Bahrfeldt (*Num. Zeit.*, 1900, p. 74) observes that he has never met with this coin with the head to the left.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Triens	
743	124·0	Æ ·85	Head of Minerva r., wearing crested Corinthian helmet; hair long; [above, ••••]	Similar; before prow, ⁘ [Pl. xcvii. 6.]
			Quadrans	
744	130·0	Æ ·85	Head of young Hercules r., wearing lion's skin; behind, ⁘	Similar; before prow, ⁘
745	68·0	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. xcvii. 7.] (Cracherode Coll.)
			Sextans	
746	93·0	Æ ·8	Bust of Mercury r., wearing chlamys and winged petasus; at his shoulders, caduceus; above, ••	Similar; before prow, ⁖ [Pl. xcvii. 8.]
747	75·0	Æ ·85	Similar.	Similar. (Blacas Coll.)
			Without moneyer's name	
			Quinarius[1]	
			Without mint-mark	
748	28·2	Æ ·6	Head of Apollo r., laureate; hair in ringlets.	Victory draped, standing r., and with r. hand placing wreath on trophy; in the exergue, ROMA [Pl. xcvii. 9.]

[1] Mommsen (*Hist. mon. rom.*, t. ii., pp. 102, 418), who has associated these coins with one of similar type, but bearing, as he interprets it, the "mark of value" IS, has considered them to be half-victoriati, or pieces of the current value of a sestertius and a half. As, however, they bear mint-marks (*contre-marques d'ouvriers*), he has assigned them to a date after A.U.C. 630 (B.C. 124), and he adds that they must be considered to be a continuation, or rather a new issue, of the half-victoriatus, their weight confirming this view. Mommsen was, however, misled in identifying the fractional sign IS as a mark of value. This and other fractional signs occur in considerable variety on some of the coins of this issue, and, like letters and numbers, are only mint-marks. Several instances have already been met with on the coinages of the Roman mint (see vol. i., pp. 279, 293 *et pass.*). When the quinarius was revived at Rome after the passing of the *Lex Clodia* (see vol. i., p. 158), it was given the type of the former victoriatus, head of Jupiter and Victory crowning a trophy, but in one instance, that of the issue of C. Egnatuleius (see vol. i., p. 164), the obverse type shows the laureate head of

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			With letter on reverse[1]	
749	26·7	Æ ·55	Similar.	Similar; in the field before Victory, letter A (Blacas Coll.)
750	27·7	Æ ·6	Similar.	Similar; letter B [Pl. xcvii. 10.] (Payne Knight Coll.)
751	25·8	Æ ·6	Similar.	Similar; letter C (Blacas Coll.)
752	25·7	Æ ·55	Similar.	Similar; letter D (Blacas Coll.)
753	27·1	Æ ·55	Similar.	Similar; letter E (de Salis Coll.)
754	23·3	Æ ·55	Similar.	Similar; letter F (de Salis Coll.)
755	26·8	Æ ·6	Similar.	Similar; letter G (de Salis Coll.)
756	25·0	Æ ·55	Similar.	Similar; letter L (de Salis Coll.)
757	24·7	Æ ·55	Similar.	Similar; letter M (de Salis Coll.)
758	26·3	Æ ·55	Similar.	Similar; letter N
759	27·3	Æ ·6	Similar.	Similar; letter Γ
760	29·4	Æ ·55	Similar.	Similar; letter R (de Salis Coll.)
761	25·6	Æ ·6	Similar.	Similar; same letter.
762	26·5	Æ ·6	Similar.	Similar; letter V (Blacas Coll.)

Apollo. This was the type adopted for the above issue. These coins, therefore, are not half-victoriati but quinarii, as their weights clearly indicate. It is somewhat difficult to fix the precise date of this coinage, but as no specimens occurred in the Cazlona, Oliva, or Ricina hoards, while some were present in a few of the later ones, it must have been struck after B.C. 90, and if it is correctly assigned by Count de Salis to local issue, it must be attributed to the following year.

The mint-marks which occur on these quinarii consist of letters, numbers, symbols, and fractional signs. All these mint-marks were used in considerable variety on contemporary issues of the Roman mint.

In the centre of the field on the reverse of nearly all the specimens described there is a dot or pellet. This has no special signification, but was only caused by the compass or by some other tool used in centring the die. It occurs not unfrequently on coins struck at the Roman mint, more especially on those of a somewhat later date.

[1] The letters extend throughout the alphabet, but the numbers do not appear to exceed XII. The symbols are very few, but the fractional signs are varied.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			With number on reverse	
763	25·2	Æ ·6	Similar.	Similar; in the field before Victory, number III (Blacas Coll.)
764	25·9	Æ ·55	Similar.	Similar; number IIII [1] [Pl. xcvii. 11.] (Blacas Coll.)
765	28·4	Æ ·6	Similar.	Similar; number X
766	28·0	Æ ·55	Similar.	Similar; number XI [Pl. xcvii. 12.]
767	26·6	Æ ·6	Similar.	Similar; number XII
			With symbol on reverse	
768	27·0	Æ ·55	Similar.	Similar; in the field before Victory, symbol, mallet(?). [Pl. xcvii. 13.]
			With fractional sign on reverse	
769	21·5	Æ ·55	Similar.	Similar; in the field before Victory, fraction ⁚⁚ [Pl. xcvii. 14.]
770	28·4	Æ ·55	Similar.	Similar; fraction S•
771	29·6	Æ ·55	Similar.	Similar; fraction I•
772	30·0	Æ ·55	Similar.	Similar; fraction I⁚•
773	25·0	Æ ·55	Similar.	Similar; fraction I⁚⁚ [Pl. xcvii. 15.]
774	29·0	Æ ·55	Similar.	Similar; fraction I.⁖
775	25·4	Æ ·5	Similar.	Similar; fraction IS• [2] [Pl. xcvii. 16.]
776	28·2	Æ ·55	Similar.	Similar; fraction, IS•⁚• (de Salis Coll.)

[1] This number Mommsen (*op. cit.*, p. 419) seems to have identified as "four torches."

[2] It is a sign similar to this which Mommsen thought was a mark of value, and he therefore considered the coin to represent a sestertius and a half, or half-victoriatus.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			With legend VNI *on the reverse*	
777	26·8	Æ ·6	Similar.	Similar; in the field before Victory, VNI [1] (Blacas Coll.)
778	25·5	Æ ·55	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. xcvii. 17.] (de Salis Coll.)

[1] Borghesi (*Œuvres compl.*, t. ii., pp. 311 f.), who has completed the legend VNI as VNI-(*manus*), proposed to attribute these coins to Claudius Unimanus, who was praetor in Hispania Ulterior B.C. 149, but as neither the quinarius nor the victoriatus was issued at that time this attribution is not admissible. Moreover, the fabric and style and the sameness of type will not allow of their being separated from the other quinarii here described with them. Mommsen (*Röm. Münzwesen*, p. 508) had also assigned them to an early date, his first period (*circ.* B.C. 204—194), and he called the denomination a half victoriatus or a sestertius and a half, but Blacas (*Hist. mon. rom.*, t. ii., p. 418), on the evidence of the Spanish hoards (*Ann. dell' Inst. arch.*, 1863, pp. 1 f.), and also from a comparison with the other divisional coins of the epoch, attributed them to the end of his fifth period (*circ.* B.C. 89), adding "Ce qui est positif, c'est qu'elle est de fabrique récente et n'appartient pas au milieu du VIe siècle, comme notre auteur l'avait cru d'abord, en la classant à la première période." Babelon (vol. i., p. 347) hesitates to accept the attribution of these coins to a member of the Claudia gens, but on the other hand he admits the date given to them by Blacas. In classing these coins with the other quinarii of precisely the same type, it seems very doubtful whether the legend was ever intended to represent a moneyer's name. It does not appear to have been noticed that the third character is not the letter I, but rather a special sign, the precise meaning of which we are unable to determine, as it has not been met with elsewhere. It is possible, therefore, that the inscription is not a moneyer's name, but that it may relate to the value of the coin. As the *Sestertius Nummus* was indicated by the sign HSN, it is possible that VN stands for *Quinarius Nummus*, followed by a sign denoting that the letters are of a special nature, and not, as usually interpreted, the initials of a moneyer. On the re-issue of the quinarius at Rome under the provisions of the *Lex Clodia* the letter Q indicated its value, but V was the sign used when this denomination was first struck. In making this suggestion it should be borne in mind that these coins were most probably of local issue, and that the fashion of the Roman mint was not always closely followed.

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

COINAGE OF THE SOCIAL WAR

CIRC. B.C. 91—88; A.U.C. 663—666

THE coinage issued by the Italian insurgents during the Social or Marsic war is closely allied to that of the Roman Republic of the same period, though it practically forms a separate series. With the exception of a unique piece in gold it consists exclusively of silver, the only denomination issued in that metal being a counterpart of the denarius in size, weight, and also in type.

Without entering into detail, a few data of the war, which occasioned the issue of this coinage, may help us not only to form some idea of the circumstances under which it was struck, but also its extent and duration.[1]

Reduced to despair by the refusal of the Roman Senate to free them from many disabilities and wrongs, and also to grant them the right of citizenship, the nations of the north-east and south of Italy formed a secret Confederation with the object of obtaining by force what they could not procure by persuasion. The chief nations which comprised this formidable confederacy were the Marsi, Picentes, Vestini, Peligni, Marrucini, and Frentani inhabitants of the north-east, and the Samnites and Lucanians who dwelt in the south. The principal organiser and promoter of this union was Q. Pompaedius Silo, a Marsian. The revolt broke out prematurely at Asculum, in Picenum, in the autumn of B.C. 91, when all the resident Romans were massacred. The insurrection spread quickly through the peninsula, and attempts were at once made by the insurgents to seize the numerous fortresses which were held by the Roman colonists. Little, however, was effected, but the consul Sextus Julius Caesar in an attempt to relieve Aesernia was defeated by the Marsic leader, P. Vettius Scato, and C. Papius Mutilus at the head of a Samnite army invaded Campania, took Nola and compelled the consul M. Licinius Crassus to seek refuge in Grumentum. An attempt to bring about a reconciliation with the Senate at Rome having failed, the winter was passed by the insurgents in organising a new state and in military preparations. Corfinium, the metropolis of the Peligni, was chosen as the seat of the new government, and its name changed to *Italia* or *Italicum*, the Oscan equivalent being *Viteliu*. All burgesses of insurgent communities were declared citizens, a new forum and a senate house were constructed, and a senate, consuls, and praetors appointed. Italy was divided into two governments or provinces, to each of which was assigned a separate army under the command of the two consuls, Q. Pompaedius Silo in the north, and C. Papius Mutilus in the south respectively. The Roman army was commanded by the consuls P. Rutilius Lupus and L. Julius Caesar. The first campaign, B.C. 90, was favourable to the

[1] For a critical study of the history of the Social war and the coinage see P. Mérimée, *Études sur l'Histoire romaine*, 1844, vol. i., *Guerre Sociale*, and *Rev. Num.*, 1845, pp. 77 f.

Allies. In the north Rutilius was defeated and slain by Scato, a disaster which was to some extent repaired by Marius, and shortly afterwards Pompaedius caught the Roman general Q. Servilius Caepio in an ambuscade and his army was cut to pieces. In the south the Samnites under Papius overran Campania, took most of the towns, and compelled L. Julius Caesar to seek refuge in Teanum. Having collected the remains of his army Caesar attacked the Samnites, gaining some successes which restored to a great degree the power of Rome in Campania.

The campaign was resumed early in the next year, B.C. 89, when the Roman armies were commanded by the consuls, Cn. Pompeius Strabo in the north, and L. Porcius Cato in the south. The latter was slain at the commencement of the campaign, but his loss was more than compensated for by his lieutenant, Sulla, taking over the supreme command. In order to eclipse the military renown of his old general, Marius, Sulla exerted himself to the utmost. He compelled the enemy with the loss of their leader, L. Cluentius, to abandon Campania, subdued the Hirpini, and having penetrated into Samnium defeated Papius, and followed up his victory by the subsequent capture of Bovianum. Meanwhile the consul Pompeius was pursuing a no less successful course in the north. He routed the insurgents under Scato, laid siege to Asculum, which surrendered later, and took Corfinium. The capture of Asculum was followed by the surrender of the Marrucini, Vestini, Peligni, and finally the Marsi, who laid down their arms before the end of the year. The struggle was continued into the next year. The brave Marsian chief, Pompaedius, was forced to retreat into Apulia, where he ventured to give battle, but was defeated and slain, and the remnant of his army under Pontius Telesinus took refuge in Samnium.

The almost sudden collapse of the insurrection was due not so much to force of arms as to a discreet but somewhat tardy policy on the part of the Senate. This policy was embodied in two notable laws, the *Lex Julia* and the *Lex Plautia Papiria*, to which reference has been frequently made in the preceding pages, and which, as we have seen, had such important effects on the coinages of Italy struck outside the capital (see vol. i., p. 241, and above, p. 144). After the disasters of the first year's campaign, B.C. 90, the Romans saw the necessity of making some concessions to the Italians, and the Senate empowered the consul L. Julius Caesar to draw up a law called after him the *Lex Julia*, which granted the franchise to all the Latin colonies and to those of the Allies who had remained faithful to Rome or had laid down their arms. The effect of this concession was immediate, and several of the Allies hastened to avail themselves of it, and division and discord were produced amongst the rest. In the following year the surrender of others of the Allies was further facilitated by the *Lex Plautia Papiria*, proposed by the tribunes M. Plautius Silvanus and C. Papirius Carbo, which was supplementary to the *Lex Julia*, and which in fact granted everything that the Allies had demanded before the war. This law extended the franchise not only to the Italian communities, but also to burgesses of all allied cities in the provinces who were at that time domiciled in Italy, provided their names were registered by the praetor within sixty days.[1]

[1] Mérimée, *Études sur l'Hist. rom.*, vol. i., p. 199, note.

The war was now virtually at an end. The only nations which remained in arms were the Samnites and the Lucanians, who still maintained a guerilla warfare in their mountains, fighting for their own independence and not for the liberty of Italy, and who were not finally disposed of till the battle at the Colline Gate under the walls of Rome in B.C. 82.

The COINAGE[1] instituted by the Confederate States, like their constitution, was modelled on that of the Roman republic. If we except the unique piece in gold which bears the name of Minius Ieius (see below, p. 334) it was exclusively of silver and of one denomination only, which in size, weight, and type is a counterpart of the denarius. The policy which guided the Confederates in selecting this denomination is apparent. All the silver autonomous coins of the various cities of Italy and Sicily had long passed out of currency, and the only silver money in circulation throughout Italy was that of the Roman republic, of which the denarius was the unit. It was also the only silver coin which up to that time had been struck by the local moneyers, and it was important that any money issued by the Confederation should be so adjusted as to pass in currency with it.

TYPES.—The types of the coins may be divided into three series or classes: (1) those which are direct copies of Roman denarii, (2) those which are adaptations but not actual copies, and (3) those which are of original design. On the obverse is always the head or bust of a divinity, and on the reverse a composite design recording some historical event, or an allegory relating to the struggle between the Confederate States and Rome.

The most common type of obverse is that of a female head helmeted or laureate. On the coins of the Republic it is the personification of Roma, but on those of the Confederates it is Italia, not a simple personification of the city to which the name of Italia had been given, but the divinity who was to guard their fortunes and direct their actions. Other divinities represented are Mars and one of the Dioscuri. The reverse types, even when they are only copies of Roman coins, were applicable to current events. The Dioscuri, who had assisted the Roman army at the battle of Lake Regillus, were now invoked to aid the Confederates; the oath-scene, recently illustrated on Roman denarii struck locally (see above, p. 281), was made applicable to existing circumstances by increasing the number of the Confederates; and the seated figure crowned by Victory was no longer Roma but Italia (see above, p. 306). The original types are few in number, and refer either to the early history of the Samnites in relation to the foundation of their state, or to the struggle with Rome. Amongst these are the Sabellian bull overwhelming the Roman she-wolf (see below, p. 327), and the scene of a warrior or Hercules and the bull (see below, pp. 328, 339). More special types are those which record the mission to Mithradates, king of Pontus (see below, pp. 334, 337). These and other types will be more fully dealt with in the descriptions of the coins.

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[1] The earlier authorities on this coinage are An. Olivieri, *Saggi di Cortona*; Swinton, *Philosophical Transactions*, vols. 51, 52, 58, 59, 63; Eckhel, *Doct. num. vet.*, t. i., pp. 103 f.; Millingen, *Considérations sur la Num. de l'anc. Ital.*, 1841; subsequent writers are Mérimée, *Rev. Num.*, 1845; Friedländer, *Die Osk. Münz.*, 1850; Bompois, *Types monét. de la Guerre Sociale*, 1873; Mommsen, *Hist. mon. rom.*, t. ii., pp. 420 f.; Dressel, *Beschreib. der ant. Münzen, König. Museen, Berlin*, Bd. iii., 1894; and A. Sambon, *Mon. ant. de l'Italie*, 1904, vol. i., pp. 125 f.

The legends are in Latin or Oscan, one piece only, that of the Samnite general L. Papius Mutilus, showing a combination of the two languages (see p. 331, no. 33). The use of the two forms of epigraphy indicates that there was no central mint, but that the issue of the coinage extended over the whole area occupied by the different communities which formed the Confederation. Those which bear Latin inscriptions were struck in the north-east, where that language was generally in use; and those with Oscan legends in the country occupied by the Samnites and the Lucanians, where the Oscan language prevailed. The coins which bear the names of the Confederate generals confirm this separation, their names appearing in Latin or Oscan according to the districts in which the armies under their command were engaged.

The coins themselves do not afford any evidence of the towns in which the *officinae* were established, but those with Latin inscriptions probably emanated chiefly from Corfinium, and those with Oscan from Bovianum and Aesernia, both of which places were for a time the head-quarters of the Confederation after the fall of Corfinium. The style and fabric of the coins, which is often rude, though possessing a certain amount of force and character, do not assist us in localising the mints at which they were struck.

As adjuncts to the types and legends many issues have mint-marks such as were used at the same period at the Roman mint, and occasionally in the local coinages. These mint-marks consist of letters, numbers, symbols, and dots, placed either on the reverse in the exergue or in the field of the coin. Attempts have been made to associate the letters with the initials of the cities where the coins were struck, and the numbers with the current values of the coins, but in neither instance is this feasible, for their multiplicity and variation show that no such purpose was ever intended. The numbers sometimes extend from I—XX, and the letters occasionally throughout the alphabet. It should be noted that coins with Latin legends bear Roman letters and numerals, whilst those with Oscan legends have Oscan letters.

Classification.—It is somewhat difficult to establish a chronological sequence of the issues of this coinage. The repetition of types, with and without legends in Latin or Oscan, does not seem to afford any certain basis. In general the coins may be divided into three main groups—those with Latin legends, those with Oscan, and those without inscriptions. It might be presumed that coins of all three groups having the same types were contemporaneous, but as those which bear Latin legends and those which have Oscan were struck in different districts, it cannot be at all certain that the same types were adopted simultaneously in each case. The denarii which bear the names of the generals were issued at various periods. Those of C. Papius Mutilus, from their variety of type, must have extended throughout nearly the whole of the war from its beginning to his defeat by Sulla (see below, p. 330). Those of the Marsic general, Q. Pompaedius Silo, do not relate to his military successes, but to the part which he took in the organization of the Confederation, and those of Numerius Lucius, or Lucilius, were probably not issued till the war was well advanced. The coinages of these last two generals consist of only one issue each. As any attempt at a chronological arrangement by types would result in breaking up the sequence of the issues bearing Latin legends and those with Oscan, the coinage has been divided up into four

series or groups, as follows: (i.) coins bearing the Latin legend ITALIA; (ii.) coins with the Oscan legend 𐌅𐌉𐌍𐌄𐌕𐌉𐌚 (these two series are placed first as they probably extended throughout the greater part of the war); (iii.) coins bearing the names of the generals, &c.; these were issued at intervals; (iv.) coins without legends, the dates of issue of which are somewhat uncertain. In each series the types are arranged in some chronological order, those which are copies of Roman denarii, presumably the earliest struck, being placed first in order.[1]

The precise duration of this coinage is also difficult to determine. Bompois[2] has placed the coins with legends between B.C. 91—88, while those without legends he considers to be purely Samnite, and to have been struck between that date and B.C. 82, "when the Samnite nation disappeared for ever from the political scene." Mérimée[3] held practically the same view, for he observes that "it may be concluded that all the coins which do not belong exclusively to the Samnites were struck in B.C. 90 or 89 at the latest, whilst the issue of those which are Samnite may have been prolonged several years, as that nation preserved its independence till B.C. 82." These opinions do not appear, however, to be corroborated by the coins themselves. If we are to assume that the coins bearing as mint-marks Latin letters or numbers emanated from the districts where the Latin language prevailed, then most of the uninscribed pieces, if not all, must be attributed to a period not later than B.C. 88.

Finds of Coins.—These do not assist us much in determining this question of date. The only one which supplies any evidence is that described by the Duc de Blacas.[4] It was obtained by M. Hoffmann, the dealer in Paris, from a correspondent in Italy, who does not appear to have divulged its provenance. The hoard comprised 140 Roman denarii, some of which, without and with symbols, belonged to the earliest issues (see Tables of Finds, "Hoffmann Find"). Of the most recent coinages struck at Rome the issues of all the fifteen moneyers assigned to B.C. 90—89 were represented, with the exception of those of P. Vettius Sabinus, L. Sentius, M. Serveilius C. f., and P. Cornelius Lentulus M. f. There were also denarii of D. Silanus L. f. and L. Piso L. f. Frugi, whose coins are alone attributed to B.C. 88, but none which can be assigned to a later date. Of coins struck outside Rome there were denarii of Q. Thermius M. f., B.C. 90, and C. Poblicius Malleolus, B.C. 89. All these pieces are described by the Duc de Blacas as being in very fine or fine condition. Besides these 140 pieces there were 14 denarii of the Confederate coinages—with ITALIA (3), with 𐌅𐌉𐌍𐌄𐌕𐌉𐌚 (5), of C. Papius Mutilus (4), and without legend (2—*rev.* oath-scene with eight warriors). It would therefore appear from the Hoffmann hoard, which must have been buried some time in B.C. 88, probably in the spring of that year, that at least some of the Confederate pieces without legends were struck before

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[1] Fr. Lenormant (*La Mon. dans l'Ant.*, vol. ii., p. 291) divides the Oscan coinages into two series; those with the legends ITALIA and 𐌅𐌉𐌍𐌄𐌕𐌉𐌚 only he designates as *civil* money, those with the names of the generals as *military* money. The coins without legends would belong to the first series.

[2] *Types monét. de la Guerre Sociale*, p. 46.

[3] *Rev. Num.*, 1845, p. 87.

[4] Mommsen, *Hist. mon. rom.*, t. ii., p. 520.

B.C. 88. From the particulars supplied by this hoard, and also from the circumstance that most of the uninscribed coins bear Latin letters and numerals as mint-marks, it seems fairly conclusive that very little, if any, of the Confederate money could have been struck after B.C. 88. If, therefore, it be presumed that the coinage began early in the insurrection, the limit of date which can be assigned to it is from B.C. 91—88.

SERIES I.

No.	*Weight*	*Metal and Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
			With the legend ITALIA[1]	
			Denarius	
			Type I.[2]	
	54·2	*R* ·75	Head of Italia r., wearing winged helmet, ornamented with gryphon's head; the visor in three pieces and peaked; earring of single drop and necklace; hair in close locks; behind, wreath; below, ✱ and ITAVI[IA].	ITAVIA (in exergue). The Dioscuri on horseback galloping in contrary directions, but looking back at each other; their spears are pointed downwards; above the head of each, a star.

[Cf. Bompois, *Types monét. de la Guerre Sociale*, pl. i., no. 10.]

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[1] The issue of coins with this legend in Latin extended throughout the whole period of the war. They were probably mostly struck at Corfinium, the principal city of the Confederation and of the Latin-speaking districts in the north. Some of them, however, may have been struck at other towns in those districts.

[2] This type is a close copy of the denarius of C. Servilius M. f., who was a local moneyer of about two years previously (see above, p. 279). It is possible that the dies were executed by an engraver who had been previously employed at one of the Roman *officinae*. Millingen (*Sylloge*, p. 8) suggested that the type was intended to allude tauntingly and satirically to the defeat and death of two members of the Servilia gens during the Social war, one of whom was killed at Asculum at the commencement of the hostilities, the other, the proconsul Q. Servilius Caepio, in an action with Q. Pompaedius Silo. This hypothesis has, however, no real basis, especially as the coins of this type were probably issued quite early in the war. The type was also used for some of the denarii of C. Papius Mutilus (see below, p. 330), which may have been struck about the same time, but in another district, as in that case the legends are in Oscan characters.

The only specimen known bearing this type is in the Paris collection. The legend ITAVIA under the head on the obverse is somewhat uncertain. There are signs of the upper part of the first four letters ITAV. This would be the only instance in this series of the legend on the reverse being repeated on the obverse of the same coin. On the original pieces from which

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type II.	
			With number on reverse	
1	56·0	Æ ·8	Head of Italia r., laureate, wearing earring of single drop and necklace; behind, ITALIA[1] (downwards).	A youth kneeling front at the foot of a standard and holding a pig, towards which eight warriors, four on each side, point their swords; in the exergue, number I• **[Pl. xcviii. 1.]** (Blacas Coll.)
2	61·5	Æ ·85	Similar.	Similar; number III• (Townley Coll.)
3	61·5	Æ ·8	Similar; head of Italia turned to l.	Similar; number IIII• (Blacas Coll.)
4	63·4	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar; number V• **[Pl. xcviii. 2.]** (Millingen Coll.)

this type was derived, the legend ROMA occurs below the head of Roma. For this legend the Confederates substituted ITALIA.

In connection with the coins struck by the Confederates, the types of which are derived from Roman prototypes, we may here mention a denarius (?) which Mérimée (*Rev. Num.*, 1845, p. 109) has included in the series connected with the Social war. It is of bronze, and has for the obverse type a female head (Roma) wearing the winged helmet ornamented with the gryphon's head; behind, X; and for the reverse, Victory in a quadriga to right, the horses galloping; in the exergue, ΛXƎƆ⊥VI. In this inscription, which Mérimée would read IVTCEXV, he has recognised the name of the Confederate chief, C. Judacilius, the praetor of the Picentes, mentioned by Appian (*Bell. civ.*, i. 40, 42, 47, 48) and Orosius (v. 18). Bompois (*Types monét. de la Guerre Sociale*, p. 115) questioned this attribution, and was of opinion that neither the type nor the fabric is of such a nature that this coin can be assigned to the Social war series, and that it is only a barbarous imitation of a Roman denarius, and the legend a jumble of letters without any meaning. This opinion was also held by Muret and Chabouillet (*Mouv. gaul.*, p. 240, no. 10074), who have classed this coin with similar Gaulish imitations of Roman denarii.

[1] The head on the obverse is similar to that on the coins of C. Poblicius Malleolus, who held the office of a local moneyer in B.C. 90 or 89 (see above, p. 306). If this type was adopted from the coins of Malleolus, this issue could not have occurred till some months after the beginning of the war. The reverse type illustrates the mode of oath-taking as practised by the inhabitants of the Italian provinces. A similar scene is depicted on the denarii struck shortly before by Ti. Veturius (see above, p. 281), and on earlier Romano-Campanian gold coins (see above, p. 131), but in both those instances only two warriors are shown. On the Confederate coinage the number of warriors represented varies, being either eight, four, or two. Millingen (*Num. de l'anc. Ital.*, p. 186) has suggested that these variations in the types indicate the number of the Confederate States which at a particular time were taking part in the war, the reduction from eight to four, and further to two, showing the gradual falling off of such States as were unable to continue the struggle, and were therefore compelled to surrender. But eight as the complement of the Confederate States does not accord with the evidence of ancient writers, for Livy gives the number as nine, Appian as twelve, Velleius Paterculus as seven, and Diodorus as only five. Nor is it at all probable that the Allies would have thus openly declared the diminution of their body. The scene therefore must be looked upon as one purely conventional, the designers of the coins illustrating the subject according to their fancy. This type was repeated with the legend VIꓠƎTH instead of ITALIA (see below, p. 327), or without any legend (see below, p. 335), while a more important variety bears the name of the Marsic general, Q. Pompaedius Silo (see below, p. 329).

From the variety of mint-marks this issue must have been a large one, and probably

No.	*Weight*	*Metal and Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
			With letter on reverse	
5	62·4	Æ ·8	Similar; head of Italia to l.; behind, ITALIA (upwards).	Similar; in the exergue, letter C **[Pl. xcviii. 3.]** (Cracherode Coll.)
6	61·3	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar; letter M (Townley Coll.)
7	64·2	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar; letter N (Blacas Coll.)
8	62·0	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar; letter O **[Pl. xcviii. 4.]** (Sambon)
9	59·5	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar; letter Π (Sambon)
10	60·7	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar; letter Q (Payne Knight Coll.)
			Type III.[1]	
			With letter on reverse	
11	55·2	Æ ·75	Bust of Italia r., laureate, draped and wearing earring and necklace; hair collected into a knot and falling down her neck; before head, mark of value, XVI; behind, ITALIA (downwards).	Female figure, Italia, seated l. on pile of shields; she is draped and holds spear in r. hand and grasps her parazonium with l.; behind, stands Victory, who places wreath on her head; both figures are helmeted; in the exergue, letter E **[Pl. xcviii. 5.]** (Payne Knight Coll.)

extended over a considerable period. These mint-marks consist of numbers running at least from I—V, of single letters which extend throughout the Latin alphabet, and also of two letters which start from opposite ends of the alphabet, as A X, B V, C T, &c. This way of marking the dies was much practised at the Roman mint, and we meet with the use of two letters starting from opposite ends of the alphabet on the coins of M. Serveilius C. f. (see vol. i., p. 229), but in that case they are separated, one being on the obverse, the other on the reverse, never together on the same face of the coin. When two letters occur on the above coins they are placed on the reverse, either in the field above the heads of the Confederates and on either side of the standard, or in the exergue (Bompois, *op. cit.*, pl. i., nos. 3, 4). These letters, or at least some of them, have been interpreted as the initials of mints, but the fact that they include the whole of the Latin alphabet shows that this interpretation cannot be accepted (Mérimée, *Rev. Num.*, 1845, p. 91). Three specimens of this type, with head of Italia to left, and one with head to right, were in the Hoffmann find (Mommsen, *Hist. mon. rom.*, t. ii., p. 530).

[1] This type is copied from denarii of the joint-moneyers, L. Caecilius Metellus, A. Postumius Albinus, and C. Poblicius Malleolus, which Count de Salis has assigned to local issue, and which were struck about the end of B.C. 90 or early in B.C. 89 (see above p. 310). If this date is

No.	*Weight*	*Metal and Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
12	59·7	*R* ·7	Similar.	Similar; the mint-letter is off the field. **[Pl. xcviii. 6.]** (Blacas Coll.)
			Type III. var. *a*	
			With letter on reverse	
13	58·7	*R* ·85	Similar; head of rude design; no drapery, and hair not collected into a knot; before, mark of value, X; behind, ITALIA (downwards).	Similar; the figures are not helmeted; in the exergue, letter A (?). **[Pl. xcviii. 7.]** (Blacas Coll.)
			Type III. var. *b*	
			With letter on reverse	
14	60·6	*R* ·75	Similar; head of rude design; mark of value, X, under chin of Italia; no legend behind head.	Similar; in the exergue, ITALIA; in the field on l., letter C (de Salis Coll.)
15	59·0	*R* ·85	Similar.	Similar; in the field, letter Ǝ **[Pl. xcviii. 8.]** (Payne Knight Coll.)
16	59·4	*R* ·8	Similar.	Similar; letter F (Blacas Coll.)
			Type IV.[1]	
	61·2	*R* ·75	Head of Italia r., diademed, wearing necklace; hair rolled back and collected into a knot behind.	Victory draped, seated r., and holding laurel-branch in r. hand; in the exergue, ITALIA

[Bompois, *Types monét. de la Guerre Sociale*, pl. i., no. 8.]

correct, the Italian copy must have quickly followed the Roman original. Both series are of rude design, but that of the Confederates is somewhat coarser. The type would record the successes of the Confederates during the first year of the war, but probably more especially the defeats of the consul P. Rutilius Lupus by Vettius Scato, and of Q. Servilius Caepio by Q. Pompaedius Silo. These engagements took place in the northern district, where the coins were struck.

The mint-marks consist of letters only, but since they are limited in number the issue must have been a small one. Friedländer (*Osk. Münz.*, p. 86) and Sambon (*Mon. ant. de l'Italie*, vol. i., p. 132) have noted the following letters: on Type III., D, E, F, G; on Type III., var. *a*, A, B, C, Ǝ, F; and on Type III., var. *b*, C, E, F.

[1] This type also commemorates the successes of the Confederates during the early part of

SERIES II.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			With the legend VIꓘƎTꓶƆ[1]	
			Type I.[2]	
17	59·0	AR ·75	Head of Italia r., wearing winged helmet, ornamented with gryphon's head; the visor in three pieces and peaked; earring of triple drop and necklace; below chin, mark of value, X; before the head, ⊐	VIꓘƎTꓶƆ (in exergue). The Dioscuri on horseback charging r.; each holds couched spear and wears chlamys, cuirass, and pileus, surmounted by star; below the horse's feet, ∧ [Pl. xcviii. 9.]

the war. It is copied from the denarius issued by M. Porcius Cato *circ.* B.C. 90, which is attributed to local issue (see above, p. 303). It is very doubtful whether it was intended to refer specially to the defeat of the Roman consul L. Porcius Cato by Q. Pompaedius Silo and his death (Bompois, *op. cit.*, p. 82). Cato was consul B.C. 89. On the coins of M. Porcius Cato the bust on the obverse may be of Libertas or Roma, but on the above it is probably a personification of Italia. Bompois (*loc. cit.*) says *la Liberté* (?), but Friedländer (*Osk. Münz.*, p. 86) and Mérimée (*Rev. Num.*, 1845, p. 92) leave the identification uncertain. The only specimen recorded of this coin is in the Paris collection.

[1] This legend has somewhat exercised the ingenuity of numismatists and others. Olivieri (*Saggi di Cortona*, t. ii., p. 57), who only had an imperfect specimen of the coin at his disposal, interpreted the legend as Γ. ITEEIV, and connected it with the name of a Marsic chief, P. Insteius Cato; Swinton (*Philosoph. Trans.*, vol. li., p 862) read VITEEIVD, and concluded that it was the name of a member of the Veturia gens. Eckhel (*Doct. num. vet.*, t. i., p. 104) rightly read the legend as VITELIV, but connected it with the Vitellia gens, though no member of that family is recorded amongst the generals of the Confederates enumerated by Appian or Velleius Paterculus. Later writers, amongst whom may be mentioned Micali, Niebuhr, and Grotefend, have, however, shown that in the Oscan tongue it signifies ITALIA, and that it has preserved to us the ancient name of that country (Mérimée, *Rev. Num.*, 1845, p. 93). The coins clearly show from analogy of types that VITELIV and ITALIA are synonymous, and that it is therefore the Oscan form of ITALIA, which the name took when borrowed into Greek, the initial ϝ· being lost in the Greek dialects of Southern Italy soon after B.C. 400 (Conway, *Ital. Dialects*, p. 669). Hellanicus the Lesbian, cited by Dionysius (*Rom. Ant.*, t. i. 35), calls Italy Οὐιταλία, and shows its connection with the Latin *Vitulus*.

[2] This type is identical with that of the denarius struck at the Roman mint about the middle of the previous century. The position of the mark of value and the form of the earring show close analogy to the earlier denarii of M. Atilius Saranus, Q. Marcius Libo, and L. Sempronius Pitio (see vol. i., pp. 92-95). The selection of this type by the Confederates is appropriate, for besides being of a military character, the Dioscuri were always held in great veneration by the peoples of Italy. It is probably one of the earliest of the series.

The letters or signs ⊐ before the head on the obverse and ∧ below the horses on the reverse, appear to be original marks in the dies, as similar ones are found on the specimen in the Berlin collection (Dressel, *Beschreib.*, t. iii., p. 60, no. 24), and on that figured by Garrucci (*Mon. ant. rom.*, pl. xci., no. 18). Dressel gives the letter or sign on the obverse as >, and Garrucci as L, but on the Museum coin ⊐ is quite distinct.

The Hoffmann find contained two specimens of this issue (Mommsen, *Hist. mon. rom.*, t. ii., p. 530).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type II.[1]	
			With letter on reverse	
		Æ	Head of Italia l., laureate, wearing earring and necklace; behind, VITELIU	A youth kneeling front at the foot of a standard and holding a pig, towards which eight warriors, four on each side, point their swords; in the exergue, letter Β
			[Friedländer, *Osk. Münz.*, p. 83, no. 11.]	
			Type III.[2]	
			With letter on reverse	
18	61·7	Æ ·8	Head of youthful Bacchus or Liber r., wearing wreath of ivy, tied with fillet; around, laurel-wreath.	Bull r., trampling on she-wolf, which it strikes with its horn; below, VITELIU[3] (*Vitellii*); above, letter Ϙ (A). **[Pl. xcviii. 10.]** (Blacas Coll.)

[1] This type is a repetition of that with the name of ITALIA (see above, p. 323). Friedländer (*loc. cit.*) says that he saw an example of this coin in the possession of a dealer in Naples named Ascherson. Its whereabouts does not appear to be known at present. Bahrfeldt, in a private communication, states that he has never met with a specimen.

[2] The allegorical allusion of this type is so very evident that any comment would be superfluous. It is the bull, the emblem or symbol of Italy and the Samnite nation, overcoming the she-wolf, the emblem of Rome. Eckhel (*Doct. num. vet.*, t. i., p. 103), who evidently had before him an imperfect specimen, describes the type as *bos animal dubiae formae cornu feriens*. Later he adds, *taurus crocodilum toto corpore premens, et cornu fodicans*. Millingen (*Num. de l'anc. Ital.*, p. 186) thought that the type may allude to the allocution of the Samnite chief Pontius Telesinus to his army at the Porta Collina—*adesse Romanis ultimum diem—eruendam delendamque urbem—numquam defuturos raptores italicae libertatis lupos, nisi silva, in quam refugere solerent, esset excisa* (Vell. Paterc., ii. 27); but this ingenious explanation falls to the ground for two reasons, first, that the allocution of Pontius Telesinus took place at the Porta Collina in August B.C. 82, and secondly, that as the coins of the same reverse type bear the name of the Samnite leader Papius, they must have been struck some years before, *i.e.* in B.C. 89 (Bompois, *Types monét. de la Guerre Sociale*, p. 98). Others would connect the type with the defeat and death of P. Rutilius Lupus, the wolf being a punning allusion to the consul's cognomen. The head on the obverse is that of Liber Pater, the divinity who presided over the fertility of the fields and was also the personification of liberty. It was in both these capacities that he was worshipped by the early Italians (Preller, *Röm. Myth.*, 3rd ed., vol. ii., p. 47). Dressel (*Beschreib.*, Bd. iii., p. 60, no. 23) describes it as a "female head bound with ivy," and Mérimée (*Rev. Num.*, 1845, p. 104) says, "Il est difficile de déterminer le sexe de la divinité représentée au droit. Est-ce un Bacchus, LIBER PATER (?). J'aimerais mieux la déesse LIBERA. Au reste, quelle que soit cette tête, c'est évidemment un symbole de liberté."

[3] This is the only instance on these coins of the duplication of the letter Ⅴ in *Vitellii*. Sambon (*Mon. ant. ital.*, p. 130, no. 226) describes the British Museum coin as reading VITELIU, and that in the Naples cabinet (Santangelo coll.) as VITELIU; but this is an error, as the letter Ⅼ is duplicated in both instances. A specimen of this rare type was in the Hoffmann find (Mommsen, *Hist. mon. rom.*, t. ii., p. 531).

No.	*Weight*	*Metal and Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
			Type IV.[1]	
			With letter on reverse	
19	61·0	Æ ·8	Head of Italia l., laureate, wearing earring of single drop and necklace; behind, 𐌅𐌉𐌋𐌄𐌕𐌇𐌃 (downwards).	A warrior standing front, head to r., wearing helmet and cloak, which is fastened at the neck, covers his legs from the hips and falls over l. arm; he rests r. hand on spear with point downwards, and holds his sword in l.; his l. foot is placed on the upper portion of a Roman standard; on his l., a recumbent bull, facing; in the exergue, letter 𐌀 (A) **[Pl. xcviii. 11.]** (Blacas Coll.)
20	66·0	Æ ·85	Similar.	Similar; letter 𐌁 (B) (Cracherode Coll.)
21	62·2	Æ ·85	Similar.	Similar; letter 𐌂 (G) (Blacas Coll.)
22	62·5	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar; letter 𐌄 (E) **[Pl. xcviii. 12.]** (Sambon)
23	55·3	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar; letter 𐌆 (Z) (Payne Knight Coll.)
24	63·0	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar; letter 𐌉 (I) (Sambon)

[1] Like that of the bull trampling on the she-wolf, this type seems to commemorate the successes of the Confederate States. In this instance the Sabellian ox is shown lying down as if resting after its recent struggle, and near it stands a warrior with his spear, the point downwards, a sign of victory, and resting his foot on a Roman standard. The type therefore indicates that the coins were struck at the end of B.C. 90, or early in the following year. It is also met with on coins bearing the names of the generals C. Papius Mutilus and Numerius Lucius, or Lucilius, and on others without a legend (see below, pp. 331, 333, 336). In the last instance a tree, on which hang shields as trophies, is seen near the armed figure. This adjunct seems to add support to the interpretation here given of the type. Other solutions have been suggested, based chiefly on an ancient tradition recorded by Strabo (v. 4, 12), who relates that the Sabines dedicated to the god Mars all the children born after a period remarkable for the decrease in the population. When the youths had arrived at the age of manhood, they were sent forth to found a new colony. A bull served as their guide, and when it came to the land of the Opici it lay down. The youths, taking this as an omen, drove out the inhabitants, and having settled in that locality, sacrificed the bull to Mars, by whom it was sent. The new settlers called themselves *Sabelli* (Lat. *Samnites*). According to Pellerin the armed figure is that of Mars, who accepts the sacrifice, an opinion shared by Eckhel (*Doct. num. vet.*, t. i., p. 106). Olivieri (*Saggi di Cortona*, t. ii., p. 66) recognised in the warrior C. Papius Mutilus, the Samnite general, who binds captive the bull, symbolical of the Roman people; and Havercamp interprets the scene as *Bos procumbens Italia est. Adstans figura muliebris(?) Roma, urbs violenta, bovis, i.e. Italiae, crus pede laevo premit, tanquam quae Italos non pro sociis haberet.*

The issue of this particular type must have been of considerable extent, as the mint-letters include the whole Oscan alphabet. Friedländer (*Osk. Münz.*, p. 76) thinks that the last letter 𐌚 may be 𐌄 and 𐌅 in ligature and not the Greek Ψ, as in Oscan inscriptions this last letter was expressed by *ps*.

Two coins of this type were in the Hoffmann find (Mommsen, *Hist. mon. rom.*, t. ii., p. 530).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
25	59·8	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar; same letter. [Pl. xcviii. 13.]
26	62·9	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar; letter Ϻ (M) (Sambon)
27	56·0	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar; letter И (N) (Townley Coll.)
28	57·0	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar; letter Π (P) (Sambon)
29	60·0	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar; letter Я (R) (de Salis Coll.)
30	65·0	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar; letter Ψ (Ψ) [Pl. xcviii. 14.] (Townley Coll.)

SERIES III.

With the names of generals

Q . SILO[1]

(QUINTUS [POMPAEDIUS] SILO)

Denarius

	53·2	Æ ·8	Head of Italia r., laureate, wearing earring of single drop and necklace of pendants; hair drawn back and falling in locks down her neck; behind, ITALIA (downwards).	Q · SILO (in exergue). A youth kneeling front at the foot of a standard and holding a pig, towards which eight warriors, four on each side, point their swords (similar to no. 1, p. 323).

[Bompois, *Types monét. de la Guerre Sociale*, pl. i., no. 5.]

[1] Quintus Pompaedius Silo, the leader of the Marsi in the Social war, and the soul of the whole undertaking, having failed to obtain for the Allies the Roman franchise, was the chief organizer of the league formed by the Confederate States. When the new government was constituted, Silo and C. Papius Mutilus were appointed consuls, the former to command the army of the north-east district, the latter to take charge of the forces which were to operate in the south. During B.C. 90 Silo does not appear to have taken the field at first, but was retained at Corfinium to consolidate the Confederation. Later in the year he placed himself at the head of his army and defeated and slew the Roman commander, Q. Servilius Caepio, whom he had led into an ambush (Appian, *Bell. civ.*, i. 44). In the following year he was again victorious; this time over the consul L. Porcius Cato, who also perished. On account of the losses of the Samnites he was compelled to retire from Aesernia, but gathering his forces he attacked and retook Bovianum, which he entered in triumph. This, however, was his last success, for in B.C. 88, almost at the opening of the campaign of that year, he was first defeated by M. Aemilius Lepidus and subsequently, near Teanum, by the praetor Q. Caecilius

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			⅃⊢TVИ . > . IΠΡΡΠ . > (GAIUS PAAPIUS GAII [FILIUS] MUTILUS [1]) **Denarius** Type I.[2]	
31	60·4	AR ·8	Head of Italia r., wearing winged helmet, ornamented with gryphon's head; the visor in three pieces and peaked; earring of single drop and double necklace of pearls; hair in close locks; behind, wreath and mark of value, ✱ (see p. 322); below, ⅃⊢TVИ	> · IΠΡΡΠ · > (in exergue). The Dioscuri on horseback galloping in contrary directions, but looking back at each other; their spears are pointed downwards; above the head of each, a star (see p. 322). (Millingen Coll.)
32	57·2	AR ·8	Same (*same die*).	Same (*same die*). **[Pl. xcix. 1.]** (Nott)

Metellus Pius. He perished in the second battle, and with his death the war practically came to an end (Appian, *op. cit.*, i. 53).

The coin which bears the name of Q. Silo is unique, the only example known being in the Paris cabinet. It was probably struck in B.C. 90, as it does not commemorate the victories of Silo, but only refers to the part which he took in the organization of the Confederation. As his name on it is in Latin we may presume that the coin was struck at Corfinium. It is somewhat remarkable that, though Silo took such an active part in founding and upholding the Confederation, and in subsequent events connected with the war, this is the only piece extant issued in his honour. It is a marked contrast to the somewhat prolific coinage of his colleague C. Papius Mutilus. The nomen Pompaedius is omitted in the legend, as was often the case with the Roman denarii at this and in later times.

[1] Caius "Paapius" Mutilus, who with Q. Pompaedius Silo was appointed consul of the new Confederate government, was placed in command of the Samnite forces which were to operate in the southern districts. At the outbreak of the insurrection in B.C. 91 and in the following year he invaded Campania with success, but having attacked the camp of the consul L. Julius Caesar he was repulsed with heavy loss. The next year he had to contend with Sulla, who had penetrated into Samnium, but he experienced a total defeat, being himself wounded (Appian, *Bell. civ.*, i. 42, 51). He was in consequence compelled to retire to Aesernia, which on account of the loss of Corfinium had then become the headquarters of the Confederation. His subsequent history is uncertain, as it is not known whether he died of his wounds. He may, however, have been the Mutilus, one of the proscribed by Sulla, who committed suicide (Livy, *Epit.*, 89), or the Statius mentioned by Appian (*op. cit.*, iv. 25), who was proscribed by the triumvirs in B.C. 43 on account of his riches, and who is mentioned as having distinguished himself as a leader of the Samnites during the Social war, and as having been raised to the rank of a Roman senator on account of his noble deeds. He was then eighty years of age (Mérimée, *Études sur l'Hist. rom.*, vol. i., p. 325, note).

The coins bearing the name of C. Papius Mutilus are comparatively numerous, and their types are varied. These are, however, mainly repetitions of those which occur with the legends ITALIA and V̇IJƎTꟻƆ. There are a few special obverse types, but even these are adaptations from Roman denarii of the period. As the coins of Papius must have been struck during B.C. 90—89, they afford some clue to the classification of the series generally, more especially of those pieces which bear the legends ITALIA and V̇IJƎTꟻƆ. On some of the coins Papius is styled "Embratur" (*Imperator*), a title which was granted to him on account of his early victories.

[2] This type, like similar pieces with the legend ITAꓘIA, is, as we have already shown, copied from denarii of C. Serveilius M. f., which were struck locally shortly before the war (see above, p. 322). The coins of Papius, which have the legend ITALIA on the obverse (see nos. 33, 34), are the only pieces in the series with Latin and Oscan inscriptions. They were struck in the same district as those of the same type with the legend ⅃⊢TVИ, and they may have been specially issued for the use of the Marsians serving in the army of Papius. Both varieties are of the same fabric, and in each case the National Collection possesses two coins struck from the same dies.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
33	63·5	Æ ·75	Similar; earring of triple drop; below head, ITΛ LIΛ	Similar. [Pl. xcix. 2.] (Sambon)
34	61·0	Æ ·85	Same (*same die*).	Same (*same die*). (Blacas Coll.)
			Type II.[1]	
35	61·0	Æ ·8	Bust of Mars r., with slight beard, wearing crested helmet, ornamented with feather or aigrette, and chlamys fastened on the shoulder; behind, mark of value, Ⅹ and VIꓶƎTHꓶ (downwards).	·>·HΠΠΠΠ·> (in exergue). A man or youth kneeling front on l. knee, his head turned to l., and holding a pig, which four warriors, two on either side, touch with their swords. [Pl. xcix. 3.] (Nott)
36	56·2	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar. (Cracherode Coll.)
			Type III.[2]	
	57·5	Æ ·75	Head of Italia r., wearing winged helmet, ornamented with gryphon's head; the visor in two pieces; earring and necklace of pearls; around, between two dotted lines, ꓘHTVMM·> HΠΠΠΠ·>	A warrior standing front, head to r., wearing helmet and cloak, which is fastened at the neck, covers his legs from the hips, and falls over l. arm; he rests r. hand on spear with point downwards, and holds his sword in l.; his l. foot is placed on the upper portion of a Roman standard; on his l., a recumbent bull, facing; (similar to no. 19, p. 328); on l., VIꓶƎTHꓶ (downwards).

[Bompois, *Types monét. de la Guerre Sociale*, pl. 2, no. 8.]

[1] The obverse type is adapted from coins of Ti. Veturius Barrus, who was a local moneyer *circ.* B.C. 93 (see above, p. 281), with the reverse the oath-scene, two warriors taking an oath over a pig held by a youth. The reverse type of the coin of Papius is similar to others already noticed, but in this instance four warriors only instead of eight are introduced. On other coins of Papius the number shown is only two (see below, p. 332, no. 39). It may be noticed that on these coins and on those showing two warriors only the standard in the centre of the reverse is omitted. The name of Papius is otherwise inscribed than on the previous coins, the final vowel being duplicated and made long. It is the nominative *Paapiis*, the final *s* being omitted (Friedländer, *Osk. Münz.*, p. 82).

The Hoffmann find contained two specimens of this type (Mommsen, *Hist. mon. rom.*, t. ii., p. 530).

[2] Of this coin only one specimen is known. It is in the Naples Museum (Santangelo

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type IV.[1] *With letter on reverse*	
37	61·2	AR ·75	Head of Italia l., wearing crested helmet, ornamented with crescents and annulets, and necklace; below, ⅃ᚺTVᗰ · >	Similar; the warrior is three-quarters to r.; ᗰIᗰI8ᗡ≷ (*Safinim*) on l.; in the field, above bull, letter 8 (Millingen Coll.)
38	60·9	AR ·8	Similar.	Similar; same letter. **[Pl. xcix. 4.]** (Blacas Coll.)
			Type V.	
39	62·5	AR ·8	Head of Italia l., wearing crested helmet,[2] ornamented with crescents, annulets, &c., similar to no. 37; no necklace; below, ᗡVTᗡᗡ8ᗰ3 · ⅃ᚺTVᗰ (*Mutil. Embratur*, i.e. *Imperator*).	> · Iᗡᗡᗡᗡ · > (in exergue). A man with long beard kneeling towards l., head turned to r., and holding a pig, which two bearded warriors, one on either side, touch with their swords; both lean with r. hands on spears and wear short swords. **[Pl. xcix. 5.]** (Payne Knight Coll.)
40	62·0	AR ·8	Similar; legend, ᗡVTᗡᗡ8ᗰ3 · ⅃ᚺTVIII	Similar; legend, > · ᚺᗡᗡᗡᗡ · > **[Pl. xcix. 6.]** (Cracherode Coll.)

coll.). Fiorelli (*Mon. ined.*, p. 18, pl. iii., no. 4) was the first to publish it. The reverse type has already been described (see above, p. 328, no. 19). The obverse is copied from the denarius of M. Acilius M. f., a moneyer of the Roman mint, who held office *circ.* B.C. 100 (see vol. i., p. 169). Carelli (*Num. ital. vet.*, p. 116, no. 24) suggests that this obverse type was selected in contempt of the cowardly conduct of the consul L. Acilius, who, when besieged in the city of Aesernia by the Marsic chief, P. Vettius Scato, escaped in the guise of a slave. Similar inferences have been drawn from other types also derived from Roman coins, but we are disposed to consider these types as simple adaptations.

[1] For the obverse type we have another adaptation from a Roman denarius, in this instance from the coins of Q. Minucius Thermus M. f., who was a local moneyer, and who appears to have held office in B.C. 90 (see above, p. 302). There are some slight variations: Italia wears a necklace, and the feather on the helmet takes the form of a succession of crescents. Eckhel (*Doct. num. vet.*, t. i., p. 105) was the first to recognize in the legend ᗰIᗰI8ᗡ≷ the genitive plural, equivalent to the Latin *Samnitium*. It occurs also in the censor inscription of Bovianum discovered in the temple at Calcatello in 1857 (Pauli, *Altital. Studien*, ii., pp. 77 f.), which will be referred to more fully later in discussing the coin of Minius Ieius (see below, p. 334). It is probable that the word *imperator* or *moneta* is to be supplied. The same form of genitive is found on autonomous coins of Aesernia, which read AISERNIM (Dressel, *Beschreib.*, Bd. iii., p. 55). Conway (*Ital. Dialects*, vol. i., p. 144) considers ᗰIᗰI8ᗡ≷ to be the Oscan ethnic adjective in the accusative singular, *i.e. ad Samnites pertinens*. The only other letter for mint-mark known appears to be ᗡ (Friedländer, *Osk. Münz.*, pl. ix., no. 3; Dressel, *op. cit.*, Bd. iii., p. 60, no. 21). Millingen (*Considérations*, p. 187) thought that these coins were struck by the Samnites, when they alone maintained the struggle against Rome, and for that reason the legend *Safinim* was substituted for *Italia*.

[2] Though this head is without a necklace, it is probably intended for Italia. Carelli (*Num. ital. vet.*, p. 115, no. 21) has identified it as of Mars, and suggested that it was copied from coins of L. Julius L. f. Caesar (see vol. i., p. 209), in order to deride the consul L. Julius Caesar, who early in the war was driven out of Campania by Marius Egnatius, the Samnite general. It is more probably, like the preceding coins, copied from denarii of Q. Minucius Thermus M. f.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type VI.[1]	
41	59·2	Æ ·75	Head of youthful Bacchus or Liber r., wearing wreath of ivy, tied with fillet (similar to no. 18, p. 327); before and below, 𐌀𐌅𐌕𐌐𐌃𐌂𐌌𐌉𐌄 · 𐌋𐌕𐌕𐌅𐌌; border of dots.	𐌉𐌍𐌐𐌐𐌍 · > (in exergue). Bull r., trampling on she-wolf, which it strikes with its horn (similar to no. 18, p. 327). **[Pl. xcix. 7.]** (Payne Knight Coll.)
42	57·6	Æ ·75	Similar; legend, 𐌀𐌅𐌕𐌐𐌃𐌂𐌌𐌉𐌄 · 𐌋𐌕𐌕𐌅𐌌	Similar; bull and she-wolf to l. **[Pl. xcix. 8.]** (Blacas Coll.)

𐌍𐌌 . 𐌉𐌊𐌂𐌅𐌋 . 𐌉𐌍

(NUMERIUS LUCILIUS MARCI [FILIUS]?[2])

Denarius

With letter on reverse

	62·5	Æ ·85	Head of Italia l., laureate, hair collected into knot behind and falling down her neck; she wears earring of single drop and necklace; under chin, mark of value, X; behind, 𐌅𐌉𐌋𐌔𐌕𐌊𐌂	A warrior standing front, head to r., wearing helmet and cloak, which is fastened at the neck, covers his legs from the hips, and falls over his l. arm; he rests r. hand on spear with point downwards, and holds his sword in l.; his l. foot is placed on the upper portion of a Roman standard; on his l., a recumbent bull, facing (similar to no. 19, p. 328); around from l. to r., 𐌍𐌌 · 𐌉𐌊𐌂𐌅𐌋 · 𐌉𐌍 (*Ni. Luvki. Mr.*); [in the exergue, letter 𐌀]

[Dressel, *Beschreib.*, Bd. iii., pl. i., no. 16.]

The legend "Embratur" is the Oscan form of "Imperator." This title was probably conferred on Papius after his victories in B.C. 90, or when the Confederates transferred the seat of the government to Aesernia after the fall of Corfinium. The reverse type, in which only two warriors (Samnites) are shown, is very similar to that on coins of Ti. Veturius Barrus (see above, p. 281). The Hoffmann find contained a specimen of this type (Mommsen, *Hist. mon. rom.*, t. ii., p. 530).

[1] These coins and those of similar type with the legend 𐌅𐌉𐌋𐌔𐌕𐌊𐌂 were probably issued about the same time. They only vary in the legends, in the absence of the wreath on the obverse, and in the bull and she-wolf on the reverse being turned to the left as well as to the right.

A specimen of this type with the bull and she-wolf to right was in the Hoffmann find (Mommsen, *Hist. mon. rom.*, t. ii., p. 531).

[2] Swinton (*Philosoph. Trans.*, vol. lviii., p. 253; lxiii., p. 22) was the first to notice this coin.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			IMM . ƧIHƎI . IMM (MINIUS IEIUS MINII [FILIUS]) **Aureus**[1]	
	131·3	AV ·85	Head of young Bacchus r., wearing wreath of ivy, tied with fillet.	IMM·ƧIHƎI·IMM (in exergue). Attributes of the worship of Bacchus; the cista mystica, on which is placed the skin of a fawn (*nebris*), and against which rests a thyrsus, tied with a fillet.

[Bompois, *Types monét. de la Guerre Sociale*, pl. iii., no. 1.]

In the first instance, owing to the worn state of the specimen under examination, he read the name on the reverse as M. or Ni. Luponius, whom he identified with the Lucanian leader, M. Lamponius, mentioned by Appian (*Bell. civ.*, i. 40, 90, 93). Later, from a better preserved example then in the possession of Dr. Milles, Dean of Exeter, and President of the Society of Antiquaries, he proposed to read the name as *Ni. Lufius* or *Luvvius Mer.* (*Merrix* or *Meddix*, denoting the chief magistrate of the Oscans or Samnites). Mérimée (*Rev. Num.*, 1845, p. 103), having interpreted the letters ꟼM as MR (*Marii*), identified the name as "Numerius Luvius, son of Marcus," an Italiote chief, of whom history makes no mention. "Or," he adds, "may it be of the Lucanian chief, M. Lamponius, or rather the Samnite Cluentius, whose praenomen is given by Appian as Aulus, and by Eutropius as Lucius, and whom Diodorus designates as Tiberius Clepitius." Friedländer (*Osk. Münz.*, p. 77) transliterated the inscription as *Ni. Luvkl. Mr.*, and Garrucci (*Mon. ital. ant.*, p. 107) as *Niumeres Louci(es) M(a)r(a)s* (*Numerius Lucius Marii filius*), but there is no mention by any ancient author of a Numerius Lucius or Lucilius Mr. f. amongst those who commanded for the Confederates during the Social war (Mérimée, *Études sur l'Hist. rom.*, vol. i., pp. 135-137). As the legends are in Oscan characters it may be concluded that the general in whose name these coins were issued was in command of a portion of the Samnite army in the south-west district.

There is some uncertainty about the last letter of the nomen, whether it is I or ⅃, as on all the specimens known its base is wanting. The name may therefore be Lucius or Lucilius. Only five specimens of this coin are recorded: in the Berlin collection (2), at Paris, at Naples (Santangelo coll.), and in the Hunter Museum. A variety at Berlin has the mint-letter 8 in the exergue (Dressel, *Beschreib.*, Bd. iii., p. 59, no. 20), where it is also mentioned that one of the two specimens in the collection was formerly in the Northwick cabinet, and that the other was purchased in London, November 12, 1855, at a public auction.

[1] The exceptional circumstances connected with this unique coin, more especially its issue at a period when no gold money was struck in Rome or in Italy, and its type, at one time raised considerable doubt as to its genuineness. The coin belonged successively to the Roman dealer, Capranesi, the Rev. Dr. G. F. Nott, and Thomas Thomas, both well-known English collectors. At the sale of the Thomas collection in 1844 it was purchased by the Duc de Luynes, who bequeathed it to the French cabinet. In the catalogue of the Thomas sale (no. 17), which was compiled by Thomas Burgon, an eminent authority on numismatics, it is described as *false*, this being at the time the general opinion of Italian antiquaries, who included Riccio amongst their number (*Mon. di Citt.*, Append., pp. 2, 13). Subsequent critical examinations of the coin have, however, reversed this opinion, and on grounds of style and fabric and the correctness of the Oscan legend, it is now generally considered to be authentic (Friedländer, *Osk. Münz.*, p. 73; Garrucci, *Mon. ital. ant.*, p. 107; Bompois, *op. cit.*, pp. 27 f.). It weighs 131·3 grs. (8·49 grammes), and its type is a direct copy of copper coins of Amisus in Pontus, which are assigned to the reign of Mithradates the Great, B.C. 121—63 (see *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, *Gr. Coins, Pontus*, pl. iii., nos. 7-9). This similarity of type furnishes a solution to the mystery which formerly surrounded the *motif* of this piece.

In B.C. 88, after the Allies had suffered many defeats, an embassy was sent by the Samnites

SERIES IV.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Without legends[1]	
			Denarius	
			Type I.[2]	
			With number on reverse	
43	59·0	Æ ·75	Head of Italia l., laureate, wearing earring of single drop and necklace.	A youth kneeling front at the foot of a standard with flag and holding a pig, towards which eight warriors, four on each side, point their swords (similar to no. 1, p. 323); in the exergue, number II **[Pl. xcix. 9.]** (Sambon)

to Mithradates asking for assistance against the Romans, and at the same time inviting him to renew the expedition of Hannibal with the prospect of greater success (Mérimée, *Etudes sur l'Hist. rom.*, vol. i., p. 205). The embassy was received with much favour by the Pontic king at Amisus, where he had established his residence alternately with Sinope. But the mission failed, as the answer given to the appeal was vague and tantamount to a refusal; Mithradates promising to come to Italy so soon as he had completed the subjugation of his revolted Asiatic provinces.

It was evidently to commemorate this event that this coin was issued, and out of compliment to Mithradates the type selected for it was that of one of his own coins, and the standard of weight that of his own gold staters. At what particular time this coin was struck may still be considered an open question. If before the departure of the embassy for Italy, it would have served as a present to the king on its arrival in Pontus; if on its return, it might have been issued as a memorial. Bompois (*op. cit.*, p. 40), however, was of opinion that the issue of this piece did not happen on either of these occasions, but that it was actually struck at Amisus immediately after the arrival of the embassy. Its fabric and style and the high relief of the design certainly support the opinion of Bompois. Garrucci (*Mon. ital. ant.*, p. 107) believed that the coin was issued by "Minatius" Ieius on his return to Italy in order to sustain the courage of the Confederates, to call to their minds the promises of Mithradates, and to make them believe that the gold from which it was struck had been brought back by the embassy from Asia. There are other coins, in silver, which commemorate the arrival of the embassy in Pontus (see below, p. 337, nos. 48, 49), but these must have been issued in Italy during the absence of the embassy or on its return.

The name of Minius Ieius is not recorded in Roman history, nor does it appear in the list of generals who took part in the Social war. It may, however, be inferred that he was at the head of the embassy which visited Pontus, and he may have been connected with the Aicius Marius whose name occurs in the Oscan censor inscription which was found near Bovianum, and to which reference has already been made (see above, p. 332, and Pauli, *Altital. Studien*, vol. ii., pp. 76 f.). This inscription records that Aicius Marius gave large sums to the temple of the Samnites in that city, by means of which the censor was able to defray the expense of a door or gate, a vestibule, a roof, and an altar, around which was placed a strong paling. The embassy may have started on its expedition from Bovianum, of which city Minius Ieius was probably a citizen.

[1] The date of the issue of these uninscribed coins is somewhat uncertain. Reasons for not assigning them to a period after the practical closing of the war have already been stated (see above, p. 321), and besides these the style and execution of such pieces as those having for obverse type the head of one of the Dioscuri, and for the reverse Italia in a biga, will scarcely admit of the argument that they were produced by the Samnites when driven back into their mountain homes. As some of the types occur on other coins of the series, which must have appeared not later than B.C. 88, it seems probable that we have in this money without legends the contemporary issues of some of the smaller and less important cities, which declared themselves in favour of the cause of the Confederates and joined with them in the struggle to resist the oppressive rule of Rome.

[2] This type has already been met with in three separate instances, with the legend ITALIA

No.	*Weight*	*Metal and Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
44	58·7	AR ·75	Similar.	Similar; number IIII
45	61·4	AR ·7	Similar.	Similar; number Λ (V) (Sambon)
46	56·7	AR ·7	Similar.	Similar; number IIIIX (XIIII) (Millingen Coll.)
47	58·9	AR ·75	Similar.	Similar; number XX (Blacas Coll.)

Type II.[1]

With number on reverse

	63·0	AR ·8	Bust of Italia l., wearing crested helmet and aegis; behind, stands Victory, who crowns her with wreath.	A warrior standing front, head to r., wearing helmet and cloak, which is fastened at the neck, covers his legs from the hips and falls over his l. arm; he rests r. hand on spear with point downwards, and holds his sword in l.; his l. foot is placed on the upper portion of a Roman standard; on his l., forepart of bull r., recumbent; on his r., tree, to which four shields are attached; in the exergue, number IIIIV

[Bompois, *Types monét. de la Guerre Sociale*, pl. iii., no. 11.]

or VIꓘƎTꟻƆ (see above, pp. 323, 327), and with the name of the Marsic general, Q. Pompaedius Silo (see above, p. 329). As the majority of those coins have legends in Latin, and as these uninscribed pieces bear Roman numerals for mint-marks, they should be assigned to the district of the Marsi, or to that of some other Latin-speaking community. Since the inhabitants of the northern districts had submitted before the end of B.C. 88, their issue cannot have occurred later than that date.

The numerals as mint-marks do not appear to have exceeded XX (Sambon, *Mon. ant. de l'Italie*, vol. i., p. 134). They are simply mint-marks, sometimes inscribed backwards or upside down, and not signs of value, as Olivieri, Mérimée, and others have conjectured them to be. Olivieri also interpreted IΛX (XVI) as PAX.

A specimen of this type was in the Hoffmann find (Mommsen, *Hist. mon. rom.*, t. ii., p. 530).

[1] The obverse type is evidently adapted from denarii struck at the mint at Rome. The bust of Minerva wearing a crested helmet and the aegis is found on coins of P. Servilius M. f.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type III.[1]	
			With letter on reverse	
48	65·1	AR ·8	Bust of Italia r., wearing crested helmet and aegis; behind stands Victory, who crowns her with wreath (similar to the preceding).	Two male figures grasping r. hands, both in military dress; the one on the l. holds a spear in his l. hand; the other on r. appears to be holding a round object in his l.; he has just quitted a vessel, on the forepart of which are shown a sceptre bound with a fillet and two spears with shields; in the exergue, letter A **[Pl. xcix. 10.]** (Blacas Coll.)
			With number on reverse	
49	61·7	AR ·75	Similar.	Similar; in the exergue, number II **[Pl. xcix. 11.]** (de Salis Coll.)

Rullus, who filled the office of moneyer *circ.* B.C. 89 (see vol. i., p. 230), whilst the helmeted head of Roma crowned by Victory is met with on others of C. Terentinus Lucanus issued at an earlier date (see vol. i., p. 103). The reverse type is similar to that on coins with the legend VIVEIT (see above, p. 328), or with the name of C. Papius Mutilus (see above, p. 331), but with the addition of the tree, to which shields are attached. As this addition evidently refers to the victories of the Confederates this coin must have been struck not later than B.C. 88. The bull also is turned to the right and not facing. The mint-marks being Roman numerals, not Oscan letters, this issue should be given to a Latin-speaking district. Varieties have the numbers IIV, IIIV, and XI in the exergue (Friedländer, *Osk. Münz.*, p. 79). This type is very rare, and only four specimens appear to be known, two of which are in the Paris cabinet, the others in the Berlin Museum.

[1] Cavedoni (*Bull. arch. nap.*, Ann. v., p. 8) was the first to recognise in this reverse type a record of the visit of the embassy from the Confederates to Mithradates. Borghesi (*Œuvres compl.*, t. ii., p. 274) had identified it as relating to the alliance between the Samnite leader, Pontius Telesinus, and Marius on his return from Africa in B.C. 87 (Appian, *Bell. civ.*, i. 90), when the democratic party in Rome united their cause with that of the remnant of the insurgent Italians (Fr. Lenormant, *La Mon. dans l'Ant.*, vol. ii., p. 296). The type, however, will not quite bear this solution. Ancient writers do not say what was the extent of the promises offered to Mithradates on the part of the Confederates if they obtained the assistance demanded, for Diodorus Siculus (*Reliquiae*, xxxvii. 2) only relates that when the Italians asked him to come to Italy with his army to assist them against the Roman republic, he answered that he would do so as soon as he had subdued his Asiatic provinces. The type is capable of two interpretations. Either it commemorates the arrival of the embassy in Pontus, or it may have been intended to disseminate the belief amongst the Confederates that Mithradates was actually coming to their aid. In the first instance the figure on the right would be the ambassador, represented as bearing gifts to the king; in the second, it would be Mithradates himself bearing a globe, the emblem of kingly power. The presence of the sceptre with the fillet, which is similar to that on the aureus described above (see p. 334), seems to favour the latter interpretation.

As the obverse type is similar to that of denarii of Type II., and as the mint-marks consist of a Latin letter or numerals, this issue must also have occurred in one of the northern provinces. A, or its variant Λ, appears to be the only letter known as a mint-mark, but the numbers extend at least to XII (Friedländer, *Osk. Münz.*, p. 84).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type IV.[1]	
			With letter on reverse	
50	59·2	Æ ·7	Bust of one of the Dioscuri r., wearing pileus, laureate and surmounted by star, and chlamys fastened on the shoulder.	Italia, or Minerva, draped and wearing crested helmet, in biga r., horses galloping; she holds spear and reins in r. hand, and shield in extended l.; below horses, letter T **[Pl. xcix. 12.]** (de Salis Coll.)
			With symbol on reverse	
51	63·2	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar; below horses, symbol, bucranium placed on its side; below, exergual line. **[Pl. xcix. 13.]** (Blacas Coll.)
52	58·0	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar; below horses, symbol, bucranium, upright; on l., ••; no exergual line. **[Pl. xcix. 14.]**

[1] The types of these denarii appear to be original, as no precise parallel is to be found on any of the Roman series. The head on the obverse is very similar to those of the Dioscuri on coins of Rhegium (see Garrucci, *Mon. ital. ant.*, pl. cxv., nos. 11, 19, 20). The reverse type may have been suggested by that of Victory in a biga, or by the coins of M. Aurelius Scaurus, &c., which have for reverse type a biga with an armed figure holding a shield in the left hand, and hurling a spear with the right (see vol. i., p. 184). The Duc de Luynes (*Ann. dell' Inst. arch.*, 1841, p. 129), and Bompois (*Types monét. de la Guerre Sociale*, pp. 52 f.), have identified the bust on the obverse as that of Vulcan; but it appears to be rather of one of the Dioscuri, the pileus being surmounted by a star. In support of his identification Bompois (*op. cit.*, p. 53) cites coins of Aesernia, on which the head of Vulcan is depicted wearing a laureate pileus, sometimes accompanied by his usual symbol the tongs, but his cap is never surmounted by a star. As the cult of the Dioscuri was held in special veneration by the inhabitants of the Italian States, and as in adopting the types of Roman coins for their own money the Confederates selected those representing these heroes, it seems much more probable that the bust on the obverse is that of one of the Dioscuri than of Vulcan. Since these coins evidently refer to the victories of the Confederates, they must have been issued before the close of the war.

The mint-marks, consisting of letters, symbols, numbers, and dots, prove that this issue was somewhat extensive, and of longer duration than some of the others without legends. Bompois (*op. cit.*, p. 62, pl. iii., no. 10) describes and figures a specimen in the Paris collection on which three dots are arranged in line above the head on the obverse, and the same number are placed triangularly on the reverse. He thereupon supposes them to be marks of value indicating that the coin was of the intrinsic value of three scruples, and he enters into a long discussion on the point, extending over several pages. The dots on the reverse are, however, not marks of value but only mint-marks, since on one specimen described above only two are seen (see no. 52), and those on the obverse are only intended to indicate the points of the leaves of the wreath. This is clearly shown on two of the coins above described (see pl. xcix., nos. 12, 14). It is therefore a mere accident that in one instance three dots were placed in line. Other symbols not met with on coins in the National Collection are the heads of a satyr and a ram, the latter being accompanied by the letter Ǝ, which may be an imperfectly formed Ǝ, and not the Oscan form of V, as all the other mint-marks are either Roman letters or a numeral. (Sambon, *Mon. ant. de l'Italie*, vol. i., p. 135). It is probable that these coins were also issued in one of the northern districts where the Latin language was used.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			With symbol and number on reverse	
53	65·0	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar; below horses, symbol, star, and number III; no exergual line. **[Pl. xcix. 15.]**
			Type V.[1]	
			With number (?) on obverse	
54	59·6	Æ ·8	Bust of Italia L, wearing crested helmet and aegis; behind, I	Hercules wearing lion's skin, which falls from his head and is girt about his hips, standing front, head to L.; he places his r. hand on the head of a recumbent bull facing, and rests his l. on spear with the point downwards. **[Pl. xcix. 16.]** (Blacas Coll.)

[1] The cult of Hercules amongst the Sabines was of a somewhat special character. He was worshipped as the god Semo Sancus, the reported founder of Reate, and its first king (see Preller, *Röm. Myth.*, 3rd ed. vol. ii., p. 270). He was also the father of Sabus, from whom the Sabine nation took its name. A special class of priests was set apart for the cult of this divinity, who were called *cupenci* (Servius, *Virg. Aen.*, xii. 538—*Sciendum cupencum Sabinorum lingua sacerdotem vocari—sunt autem cupenci Herculis sacerdotes*). The reverse type admits of the same interpretation as that which shows a warrior instead of Hercules. It represents the god or hero and the Sabellian ox resting after their recent successes, a type which would scarcely warrant the attribution of these coins to a date later than B.C. 88. The obverse type, like that of Type II., is adopted from the denarii of P. Servilius M. *f.* Rullus, which were struck at the Roman mint *circ.* B.C. 89 (see vol. i., p. 230).

The mark I on the obverse behind the head of Italia may be a number, but there are no variations. The fabric of the coin shows that it may have been issued by the Samnites. It is very rare, only three specimens being recorded, viz. those in the British Museum, the French cabinet, and the Maddalena collection (Sambon, *Mon. ant. de l'Ital.*, p. 136).

COINAGES OF THE PROVINCES

In the preceding pages we have dealt with the coinages of the Roman Republic, which were struck in Italy inside and outside the capital. With them have been included two other series, the Romano-Campanian and Social War coinages, which, though not forming an integral part of the Republican money proper, were more or less directly connected with it. We have now to turn our attention to those coinages which form a component part of the Roman Republican series in types, denominations, and standard of weight, but which were struck in the various provinces outside the Italian Peninsula. They extended practically throughout the Roman Empire from west to east, and they have been separated into the following geographical series—Spain, Gaul, the East (which includes Greece and Asia Minor), Sicily, Africa, and Cyrenaica. They form a distinct class from those issued at the Roman mint, and also from the local coinages of Italy, as they do not bear the names of ordinary moneyers but those of the generals who were in command of the Roman armies, or of their legates, propraetors, quaestors, proquaestors, or others to whom they delegated their authority. They are usually designated "military coinages," on account of their having been struck mainly for the use of the armies in the field. In this respect they are analogous to the local coinages of Italy. Their issue was, however, not instituted till that of the local money had ceased. These coinages comprise also the extensive issues of the triumvirs Antony and Octavius.

We do not include in these military coinages those of gold, silver, and bronze which were struck by the governors of provinces, or by their quaestors, some of which, however, may have been of a quasi-military character. These were based on local standards of weights, and do not therefore form a part of the Roman monetary system. To such issues belong the small bronze money of Sicily, Spain, and Macedonia, bearing the names of quaestors, the Macedonian tetradrachms with the names of the governors and also of their quaestors, and the cistophori of Asia and Cilicia also with the names of the governors.[1] The most remarkable coin of this class is the unique stater of the consul, T. Quinctius Flamininus, issued by him in B.C. 197 after his victory over the Macedonians at the battle of Cynoscephalae. It shows on the obverse his own portrait, and on the reverse Victory holding a wreath and a palm-branch, and his name, T·QVINCTI. This coin was struck on the Macedonian gold standard, and the reverse type was borrowed from the stater of Alexander the Great.[2]

Institution of the Coinages.—It is a somewhat remarkable coincidence that this provincial military money was instituted in the three principal divisions of the empire, West, North, and East, at about the same time. The coinage in

[1] Mommsen, *Hist. mon. rom.*, t. ii., pp. 59, 60.

[2] Babelon, vol. ii., p. 391.

the West originated with the war in Spain with Sertorius, B.C. 82—72; that in the North with the revolt of the Gauls, B.C. 82; and that in the East with the first Mithradatic war, B.C. 82—80. The issues in the West were those of C. Annius Luscus, the pro-consul, of Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius, his successor in the command, and of Cn. Pompey the Great, the colleague of the latter. C. Annius Luscus delegated his authority to his quaestors, L. Fabius Hispaniensis and C. Tarquitius; Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius struck coins in his name only; and Pompey also delegated his authority to his quaestor, Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus, his own name not appearing on the coins. In these issues are represented the three chief classes of which this military money is constituted. First, that which bears the name of the general in command and his delegates; secondly, that which gives the name of the general only; and thirdly, that on which the name of the delegate appears to the exclusion of that of the general. In Gaul in B.C. 82 the only coinage is that of the imperator, C. Valerius Flaccus, who was in command of the expedition against the revolting natives; and in the East in B.C. 82—80 those of Sulla, his proquaestor, L. Manlius, and his quaestor, A. Manlius.

The formula, EX S.C. (*Ex senatus consulto*), which occurs on most of these coinages, shows that they were struck under the express sanction of the Senate, and that their issue was not an unconstitutional act on the part of those whose names appear on the coins.[1] Even in an early stage this formula is sometimes omitted, for example, on the coins of Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius and on those of Sulla and his quaestors; but these omissions may have been due to the circumstance that the generals-in-chief knew that they were acting within the limit of their jurisdiction, and that it was not necessary for them to show that they had been invested with the right of striking money.[2] The coinages of Sulla in gold and silver may have been considered to come under a special category. They were not struck for the payment of an army actually in the field, but as bounty to the soldiers who had by their valour brought a campaign extending over several years to a successful issue. The occasion must have filled the hearts of Sulla's soldiers with pride when they found themselves rewarded with the fine gold pieces, the like of which probably their eyes had never beheld before.

In introducing this provincial money the Senate may have had two objects in view: one, the convenience of paying the armies when on active service and the consequent relief of the central mint at Rome; the other, the establishment of a local currency on the Roman standard, a mark or sign of the sovereign power which was claimed over the districts in which this money was to pass in currency. It was, as we have already remarked,[3] a policy which Rome had adopted for a long period in Italy, and which she now extended to her provinces. In the East (Greece and Asia Minor) there must still have existed a considerable local currency in silver and bronze, and in some districts possibly in gold,[4] which could be made available for the use of the Roman legions; but in

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[1] Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus, the quaestor of Pompey, adds to his name the title of *Curator denariis flandis* (see below, p. 359, no. 57).

[2] Mommsen, *Hist. mon. rom.*, t. ii., p. 61.

[3] See above, p. 144.

[4] It was about this time that Mithradates struck gold money at Athens, Pergamum and Ephesus (Wroth, *Num. Chron.*, 1897, p. 106; *Brit. Mus. Cat., Gr. Coins, Pontus*, p. xxvi.; and Head, *Num. Chron.*, 1880, p. 153).

Spain the native silver currency, though approaching in type and weight the Roman denarius, was scarce and somewhat debased; and in Gaul the coinages were Greek in their origin, both in respect of type and weight, and besides they were also much debased. By receiving payment in the current coin of his native land the soldier would on his return be furnished with the means of at once procuring the ordinary necessaries of life.

Revival of the Coinages.—From the time of the close of the Sertorian war in B.C. 72 till B.C. 50 there are no Roman coins in any metal which can be assigned to provincial issue, if we except the gold pieces of Pompey, which were probably struck in B.C. 61, after his successful expedition against the Pirates, and at the close of the third Mithradatic war, under conditions similar to those of Sulla already referred to. The gold coins of Pompey are those which have for the obverse type the head of Africa between a lituus and a one-handled jug, and the legend MAGNVS; and on the reverse Pompey in a triumphal quadriga and the legend PRO COS.[1] Julius Caesar was the first to resuscitate the provincial coinages at the termination of his long and victorious campaigns in Gaul. The coins then struck by him are the denarii, which bear his name, CAESAR, and an elephant on the obverse and the emblems of the pontificate on the reverse.[2] This revival was due to the circumstance, that when Caesar announced in B.C. 50 his intention of standing for the consulship, the Pompeian party, which was then dominant in the Senate, required of him to lay down the command of his army, as the Gaulish war was finished, and to come to Rome as a private individual. As his enemy Cato had declared openly that he would bring Caesar to trial so soon as he arrived in Rome, he refused to accept the conditions proposed, but at once crossed into Cisalpine Gaul to await the outcome of events. In order to preserve the goodwill of his veterans Caesar distributed large sums of money amongst them, and for this purpose he struck these silver coins, as no doubt supplies were not forthcoming from the capital. The issue must have been a very large one, since even now they are amongst the most common pieces in the Roman republican series. This act of Caesar was repeated by him so soon as he arrived in Rome, for having seized upon the treasury he struck money both in gold and silver, placing, as in the case of the Gaulish pieces, his name only on it.[3] From this time till the dissolution of the triumvirate by the death of Antony in B.C. 31, there is an almost continuous series of provincial coinages, which illustrate and mark the greater military movements which took place during that period.

The example set by Caesar was quickly followed by similar action on the part of the Pompeian party. In B.C. 49 the consuls, L. Cornelius Lentulus and C. Claudius Marcellus, struck coins at first in Sicily and then in the East, and Cn. Calpurnius Piso and Terentius Varro in Spain. Later, in B.C. 47—46, we have the issues of Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio and M. Porcius Cato in Africa; and in B.C. 46—44 those of Cnaeus and Sextus Pompey in Spain. In the meantime Caesar himself struck coins in his own name—in Spain on two occasions, B.C. 49 and 45; in the East, B.C. 48—47; and in Africa, B.C. 46.

There is one very important point which must be kept in view in connection

[1] See below, p. 464. [2] See below, p. 390. [3] See vol. i., pp. 505 f.

with the provincial coinages as exemplified by Count de Salis's classification. It is that, with the exception of the extraordinary coinage struck by Julius Caesar in B.C. 49, none was issued at the Roman mint from that date to B.C. 37 inclusive without the names either of the properly-appointed moneyers or those of some specially authorized officers of the state, such as praetors or praefects. Any coins with legends at variance with this general rule are here attributed to the provincial issues. The same occurred again during B.C. 16—3, when there was at Rome a succession, year by year, of triumvirates of the mint (see above, p. 43).

After the death of Julius Caesar the provincial coinages centred mainly in the triumvirs, Antony, Octavius, and Lepidus, more especially in the first two. On the first division of the Roman Empire in B.C. 43 Antony took Gaul on both sides of the Alps; Octavius, Africa, Sardinia, and Sicily; and Lepidus, Gallia Narbonensis and Spain. Antony alone at first appears to have issued money in the district assigned to him, but to his own name and portrait he added those of his colleagues. In the following year, B.C. 42, after the war with Brutus and Cassius, under a new arrangement Antony assumed the government of the eastern provinces, Octavius that of the western, and to Lepidus was given Africa. Antony thereupon transferred his issues to the East, Octavius instituted his own in Gaul, but as Lepidus remained in Rome he did not strike any money in Africa till after the third division of the empire in B.C. 40, when the arrangement of B.C. 42 was more definitely carried out. In the meantime there had been other special issues, more particularly those of Brutus and Cassius and their legates in the East, B.C. 43—42, and of Sextus Pompey in Sicily, B.C. 42—36. Antony also delegated his authority to his legates, Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, L. Munatius Plancus, and others, who included his pro-quaestors, quaestors, and *praefecti classis*. In Gaul Octavius pursued the same policy, but in a modified degree, exceptions being only met with in the case of L. Cornelius Balbus, Q. Salvius Salvidienus Rufus, and M. Vipsanius Agrippa.

The defeat of Sextus Pompey at Naulochus, B.C. 36, and the deposition of Lepidus in the same year, put an end to the issues in Sicily and Africa. Those of Gaul and the East, which only remained, were still in the hands of Octavius and Antony till the battle of Actium, when the former was left without a rival. From that time, as in the case of Italy, the coinages were mainly of an imperial character. There were, however, two exceptions, viz., the issues of Publius Carisius, the legate of Augustus in Spain, B.C. 24—22, and those of L. Pinarius Scarpus in Cyrenaïca, who had previously acted as legate to Antony in that district, B.C. 31—27. The approximate dates of the closing of these provincial issues are—in Sicily and Africa, B.C. 36; in Cyrenaïca, B.C. 27; in Spain, B.C. 22; and in the East, B.C. 18. Gaul alone continued to strike money of Roman types and standard down to and after B.C. 3; and at some time later, during the reign of Augustus, mints were revived in Spain.

Between the provincial coins struck from B.C. 50 and those of previous date there is one notable difference; it is the absence of any mention of senatorial authority for their issue. As the denarii of Julius Caesar, which are assigned to the end of his campaigns in Gaul, *circ.* B.C. 50, could not under the existing state of affairs have been struck under the special sanction of the Senate, it is evident

that he assumed a right which constitutionally he may not have been entitled to exercise. This assumed power was repeated by Caesar when he entered Rome in the following year and seized on the bullion in the State treasury. From that time with or without the special sanction of the Senate the generals and others seemed to have claimed a right to issue money for the payment of their legions. The coinages in Africa of Scipio and Cato in B.C. 47—46 could not have been issued under any senatorial sanction; nor those of Cnaeus and Sextus Pompey in Spain in B.C. 46—44; nor those of Brutus and Cassius in the East in B.C. 43—42; nor also those of Sextus Pompey in Sicily in B.C. 42—36. To these may even be added the early issues of the triumvirs. As great care was taken to adjust the gold and silver money to the standard of weight and fineness of that issued at the Roman mint, the Senate would seem to have tacitly consented to its currency with its own struck in the Capitol. This is shown by the evidence of finds, since those discovered in Italy contained provincial coins in considerable numbers.

DENOMINATIONS.—The metals in which these coins were struck were gold, silver, and bronze or copper. The gold pieces consisted of the aurens and the half-aureus; the silver, of the denarius and the quinarius; and the bronze or copper, at first of the as only, but later of the sestertius and its divisions to the sextans. Though the aureus was first struck at the Roman mint by Julius Caesar in B.C. 49, it had been introduced at an earlier date in the provinces, viz., in the East under Sulla and Pompey and in Spain during the Sertorian war. These instances are exceptional, and it is not till after the formation of the triumvirate that a regular gold currency is instituted in the provinces. The principal silver coin was, as at Rome, the denarius. The half-aureus and the quinarius occur but rarely, and not till after the death of Julius Caesar. The denarius throughout preserved its standard of $\frac{1}{84}$ of the Roman pound, but the aureus varied a good deal in weight at various epochs. Those of Sulla average $\frac{1}{80}$ of the Roman pound, those of Pompey $\frac{1}{75}$, those of Julius Caesar (at Rome) $\frac{1}{45}$, those of the period of the triumvirate $\frac{1}{40}$, and those of Augustus $\frac{1}{42}$. The weight of these gold coins appears to have depended mainly on the supply of the metal. Sulla had amassed great wealth and booty during the first Mithradatic war; and so had Pompey in his successes over the Pirates and Mithradates. When Caesar returned from his Gaulish expedition he brought with him so much gold that it was exchanged throughout Italy and the provinces at 3000 sesterces to the pound. During the time of the triumvirate the supply was less abundant, and in consequence the weight of the aureus fell considerably, and was still further reduced in the early days of the Empire. The ratio of gold and silver at various epochs appears to have been as follows:—under Sulla, 1:9; under Pompey, $1:10\frac{2}{3}$; under Julius Caesar, $1:11\frac{1}{9}\frac{1}{3}$; under the triumvirate, 1:12; and under Augustus, $1:12\frac{1}{2}$.

An interesting feature in connection with the bronze and copper money is that it was struck in the provinces at a time when none was issued at the Roman mint. In dealing with the coinage of the Roman mint it was shown that, with the exception of an unsuccessful attempt made in B.C. 45—44, there was a total suspension of the issue of bronze money from B.C. 82 to B.C. 15 (see vol. i., pp. 317, 499, and above, p. 45). In the provinces, however, various attempts were made to establish the currency in the baser metal, though in each case it was of short duration. In

Spain Cnaeus and Sextus Pompey struck the as of the old type,[1] and of the uncial standard, which had been abandoned at the Roman mint since B.C. 89.[2] In the East, *circ.* B.C. 40 and 36, Antony introduced copper and bronze coinages, based on the semuncial and quarter-uncial standards, and consisting of the sestertius, tripondius or tressis, dupondius, as, semis and sextans,[3] a system partially adopted at Rome at a later period. In Gaul about the same time Octavius instituted a bronze coinage,[4] and later in B.C. 23—22 copper coins were struck in Spain and also in Gaul, *circ.* B.C. 10. Details of these issues in each case will be given with the descriptions of the coins.

TYPES.—The types of the provincial coins are even more of a personal nature than those of the Roman mint; that is, personal to those who actually issued the coins, or who delegated their authority to others. Many, also, refer to current events. The coins of Sulla and Pompey record their triumphs; those of Julius Caesar chiefly his victories in Gaul; those of Cnaeus and Sextus Pompey either the victories of their father, Pompey the Great, or events more intimately connected with themselves (the landing of Cnaeus in Spain, and the victories of Sextus in Sicily); those of Brutus and Cassius their successes in Greece and the East after the murder of Julius Caesar; and similarly those of the triumvirs, who showed a particular inclination not only to exhibit their own portraits but also those of their colleagues. Somewhat exceptional pieces are those of Antony, which give the portraits of Octavia and Cleopatra. The legates, quaestors, proquaestors, praetors, and propraetors usually chose subjects which relate specially to the commanders under whom they served; but in some instances, not, however, numerous, they followed the custom of the moneyers of the Roman mint and recorded traditions connected with the history of their own families. These are, however, exceptional. One of the chief innovations in the provincial series is the general introduction of portraiture. This was after the foundation of the triumvirate. In the account of the coinage of the Roman mint[5] it was shown that the first portrait of a living person introduced in the Roman coinage was that of Julius Caesar in B.C. 44. This exceptional honour was due to a special decree of the Senate. In the same year, probably in conformity with a similar decree, we have the portrait of Antony. These instances, though exceptional, served as precedents, for from that time the main obverse types of the coinages of the triumvirs present their portraits. Besides these we have portraits of Brutus on coins struck by him in Greece, of Sextus Pompey in Sicily, of Q. Labienus in Asia, and others.[6] When at a somewhat later date the powers of the triumvirs were recognised by the Senate, their portraits were placed on the coinages issued at the Roman mint, and subsequently the prevailing obverse type of the Roman coinage, both at Rome and in the provinces, gives the portrait of Octavius as Caesar or Augustus, thus rendering it absolutely of a regal or imperial nature.

CLASSIFICATION.—In assigning the coinages to the various provinces the chief criteria used by Count de Salis were the same as in his arrangement of those struck

[1] See below, pp. 367, 371. [2] See vol. i., p. 241. [3] See below, pp. 510 f.
[4] See below, p. 412. [5] See vol. i., p. 500.
[6] Cassius alone was absolutely faithful to the republican tradition, and there is no numismatic portrait of him.

in Italy, viz., historical data, fabric and style, finds of coins, and, later, portraiture. Throughout, and particularly from B.C. 50 to the close of the triumvirate, the coinages assigned to the provinces illustrate the principal events in Roman history, more especially in connection with the districts in which they occurred. These data are supplied chiefly by the types of the coins and the legends which they bear. In addition, the coins are mostly of a fabric and style totally different from those of the money struck at the Roman mint. For instance, if we compare the early issues of Sulla in the East, those struck in Spain during the war with Sertorius, and also those of C. Valerius Flaccus minted in Gaul with contemporary coinages of the Roman mint, the differences of fabric are so marked that it is at once evident that they form a class absolutely distinct from the money of the Roman mint. The same may be observed of the issues of Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio and of M. Porcius Cato in Africa, of Cnaeus and Sextus Pompey in Spain, of Brutus and Cassius in the East, and more especially of the numerous and varied coinages of Antony and Octavius, whether struck in Gaul or in the East.

In a classification, which is geographical and also chronological, many difficulties present themselves, especially when the types of the coins do not supply the necessary evidence, and when the attribution of coins to a particular district rests almost solely on fabric. One of the earliest instances is met with in the issues of Julius Caesar, which are assigned to Gaul, Spain, the East, and Africa. These coins bear no distinctive mark of the district in which they were issued; yet it would be impossible to put side by side those with the reverse types, emblems of the pontificate (two issues), the Gaulish trophy and Aeneas and Anchises. One fact is evident, that they were not struck at Rome, and so must belong to provincial issues. In some instances finds supply us with data, but in most we have to trust to fabric. The same criteria have to be applied to the coinages of the triumvirs Antony and Octavius, more especially to those given to Gaul and the East. A critical examination of these coins reveals great differences, not only in style and fabric, but also in the portraits of these two members of the triumvirate. Those of Antony attributed to Gaul, which were the first issued in his name, show a small head in high relief and carefully modelled. On those given to the East we have an entirely different style of portrait, though the features and likeness undergo no great change. The head is much larger, so that it fills nearly the whole of the field within the legend, and it is in low relief. These characteristics apply, in a measure, also to the portrait of Octavius. His early coins, which were also struck in Gaul, are similar in style to those of Antony, but the head is not so small, and the hair is more delicately indicated. Later, from B.C. 36, the portrait becomes more assimilated to that on the money of the Roman mint, but it is usually in lower relief; the features bear a stiff and conventional cast, and the general details are sketchily executed. When compared with the coins struck at Rome these differences are at once perceptible. As many of the reverse types used for the Gaulish pieces by Octavius after he became Augustus are only copies of those struck at Rome, these differences, often somewhat minute, have to be carefully noted in any attempt to separate the two series. The coins of Augustus attributed to the East supply us with still another portrait, which in delicacy of

execution is often superior to that on the Roman and Gaulish pieces. The head, more especially that shown on the gold pieces, is modelled with great skill and precision.

Finds of Coins.—The evidence of the issue of coins in the provinces which can be extracted from finds is somewhat meagre. This is due mainly to the circumstance that, though numerous hoards have been unearthed in Spain, Gaul, and the East (Greece), our information as to their contents is so incomplete that, for geographical purposes, they are of little service. There are only three Spanish finds of Roman coins of any importance relating to this period of which particulars have been supplied. These were discovered at Cazlona, Oliva, and Liria.[1] The first two were buried some years before B.C. 82, when the provincial coinages began; but that of Liria, which was not concealed till *circ.* B.C. 44, contained specimens of all the Spanish issues down to the time of Sextus Pompey, B.C. 44. Of finds in France we have also the analyses of only three; they are those of Arbanats, Chantenay, and Beauvoisin.[2] It will be seen from the Tables of Finds that we can gather but little from these. Of hoards discovered in Greece there is no record, but there must have been an extensive circulation of Roman money there, more particularly of silver, and owing to the constant movements of the troops, especially during the triumvirate, a good deal of treasure must have been buried.[3] In some cases, however, finds enable us to determine the dates and even the sequence of the issues, and in no series has this evidence proved more useful than in that which is assigned to Spain, where several attributions which might have remained doubtful have been determined with a considerable degree of certainty (see below, pp. 350, 351). This subject will be more fully dealt with in each individual case, and it will then be shown that finds for chronology are often quite as important in connection with the provincial issues as with those which emanated from the Roman mint.

Mint-Places.—There is one more point which will be considered in describing the coins. It is the localities or mints at which they were struck. In dealing with the local money of Italy the debased fabric of many of the coins was suggestive of their being of the nature of camp-coins, i.e. that they were actually struck in the camps of the legions for whose use they were intended. The continuity of fabric in many of the provincial issues, especially those assigned to Gaul and the East, indicates that mints were set up by the Romans in certain cities, and that some continued in operation for a considerable time. This is very noticeable in the coinages of Antony and Octavius struck in Gaul, and in those of Brutus, Cassius, and Antony which are given to the East. Attempts, when sufficient reasons can be adduced, will be made to locate the issue of the provincial coins. In some cases the attributions can only be conjectural; but in many we have both historical and numismatic evidence which puts the matter beyond dispute.

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[1] Vol. i., pp. 190, 191, 502.

[2] Vol. i., p. 562, and above, pp. 5, 6.

[3] A find occurred recently in Greece of Roman silver coins struck during the triumvirate. It contained numerous examples of the issues of Brutus and Cassius and of Mark Antony. It was quickly dispersed, but a considerable portion found its way to England, where the owner was able to dispose of it speedily. Any numismatic and historical evidence that could have been supplied by this hoard was therefore lost.

COINAGE OF SPAIN

THE coinages which are attributed to Spain may be divided into the following chronological groups or periods:—

i. The war with Sertorius, B.C. 82—72. The issues are: (i.) of the proconsul, Caius Annius Luscus, in his own name and in those of his quaestors, Lucius Fabius L. f. Hispaniensis and Caius Tarquitius P. f., B.C. 82—80; (ii.) of Quintus Caecilius Metellus Pius, B.C. 79—77; and (iii.) of Cnaeus Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus, the quaestor of Pompey the Great, B.C. 76—72.

ii. The Civil war between the generals of Pompey and Julius Caesar, B.C. 49. The issues are of Cnaeus Calpurnius Piso and Terentius Varro, the proquaestors of Pompey, and of Julius Caesar himself.

iii. The second Civil war between the Pompeian and Caesarian parties, B.C. 46—44. This epoch comprises the following issues: (i.) of Cnaeus Pompey and his proquaestors, Marcus Poblicius and Marcus Minatius Sabinus, B.C. 46—45; (ii.) of Julius Caesar, B.C. 45; and (iii.) of Sextus Pompey and his legate, Marcus Eppius, B.C. 45—44.

iv. The expedition against the Cerretani, B.C. 39—37. The only issue is of Cnaeus Domitius Calvinus.

v. The Cantabrian war, B.C. 24—22. The issues are of Publius Carisius, the legate of Augustus.

CLASSIFICATION.—It will be seen from this summary that the coinages assigned to Spain are exclusively of a military character, and that each group is limited to a particular campaign. It will also be noticed that their issue occurred mainly before the formation of the triumvirate between Antony, Lepidus, and Octavius. With the exception of the less important issues of Cn. Domitius Calvinus, B.C. 39—37, and of P. Carisius, B.C. 24—22, the coinage consists of two main groups; the first including the Sertorian war, B.C. 82—72, the second the campaigns between the Pompeian and Caesarian parties in B.C. 49, and again in B.C. 46—44.

The protracted struggle with Sertorius furnishes several issues of coins which mark its progress. These are of the successive commanders, C. Annius Luscus, Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius, and Cn. Pompeius Magnus, the latter only issuing money in the name of his legate, Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus. It is a somewhat remarkable circumstance that we do not seem to possess any money struck by Sertorius for his legions. He must, therefore, have made use of the Roman money which was then current in the province, or have depended upon the supplies of native currency. In the first campaign between Caesar and the Pompeian party both sides struck coins, Caesar in his own name, and the Pompeian commanders through their quaestors; and in the second we have a series of coins commemorating events from the landing of Cnaeus Pompey the younger until the temporary reconciliation of Sextus Pompey with the Senate and the triumvirs. From this time the coinage is of no great

moment, and there is no numismatic record of the six generals who claimed triumphs for services in Spain between the death of Caesar and the sole rule of Augustus, with the exception of Cn. Domitius Calvinus.[1] It is in this paucity from the time of the triumvirate that the provincial issues of Spain differ so essentially from those assigned to Gaul and the East, which show much more continuity. In the case of Gaul they extend far into the reign of Augustus, and in the East they are continuous at least till the battle of Actium.

Spain held a somewhat different position from that of the other provinces under Roman domination. It was the first acquired by the Romans beyond their own seas, passing by right of conquest at the downfall of Carthage at the end of the second Punic war. The country with its rich mines soon became the resort of traders and speculators. The first Roman communities established outside Italy were planted in Spain, and the Roman legionaries married Spanish women, and when their service expired settled in the country in preference to returning to Italy (Livy, xliii. 3). In consequence Roman civilization spread rapidly, and Spain promised to be more Roman than Rome itself. It was only with the wild tribes of the north that internal difficulties from time to time arose. This appears to have been the condition of the country at the time of the formation of the triumvirate between Antony, Lepidus, and Octavius. It differed materially from that of the northern districts of Gaul or from that of the Eastern provinces. The course of events soon compelled the two principal members of the triumirate, Antony and Octavius, to turn their attention to the other districts of the empire. In consequence we have a succession of coinages in Gaul, first of Antony and then of Octavius as Caesar, and later as Augustus; and in the East, which portion of the empire Antony took under his special care after the battles of Philippi, we meet with the issues of his coins year by year till his death. It is therefore due to the absence of the direct control and supervision of the triumvirs in Spain that the scarcity of coin-issues from B.C. 43 is to be accounted for. Though by the arrangement entered upon between the triumvirs in B.C. 42 Spain was allotted to Octavius, he did not then visit the province. It was not till after the administration of the empire agreed upon in B.C. 27 between Augustus and the Senate, when Spain became an imperial province, that he resorted there in person on one occasion only, though his visits to the neighbouring province of Gaul were of frequent occurrence.

TYPES.—The types of the coins are somewhat varied in character. They commemorate either contemporary events, or they are mainly personal to the commanders whose names are inscribed on them. It is only in a few instances that we meet with references to the family history of the moneyers, who acted as quaestors or proquaestors. On the denarii of C. Annius Luscus the traditional descent of his family is recorded in the representation of the portrait of Anna Perenna, and his early successes over Sertorius form the subject of the reverse type. Those of Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius are personal to himself or to his family, and those of Cn. Cornelius Lentulus seem to record the great deeds of his kinsman, Sulla. This last moneyer, besides using the formula EX S.C., showing that the coinage was specially permitted by the Senate, adds to his title

[1] Mommsen, *Prov. of the Roman Empire*, vol. i., p. 63.

of quaestor that of *Curator denariis flandis*, as if specially to emphasize the privilege granted to him. The legend EX S.C. occurs also on the coins of C. Annius Luscus, but it is not met with on any of the Spanish issues after the Sertorian war. In the subsequent campaigns between the Pompeian and Caesarian parties, Cn. Calpurnius Piso and Terentius Varro recall the victories of Pompey the Great, and at the same time touch on their own family history, whilst the conquests of Caesar in Gaul and his descent from Venus form the themes for his types in both wars. His opponents, Cnaeus and Sextus Pompey, mark the progress of the campaigns of B.C. 46-44; the former recording his arrival and the submission of Tarraco; the latter his determination to avenge his father's and brother's deaths. The types of the coins of Cn. Domitius Calvinus are also of a personal nature, and those of P. Carisius celebrate his victories over the Cantabri and the foundation and building of Emerita. On comparison it will be seen that the types of the coins issued in Spain are more varied in character than those of Gaul and the East, where much greater prominence is given to the two principal members of the triumvirate, Antony and Octavius.

Denominations.—The coins struck in the province of Spain are of gold, silver, bronze and copper. The gold consists of a single issue of the aureus struck by Cn. Cornelius Lentulus, probably at the close of the Sertorian war in B.C. 72 (see below, p. 360). The silver includes the denarius and the quinarius, and the bronze or copper the *as* only. The denarius is common to all the issues, but the quinarius is limited to the money of P. Carisius. The bronze and copper *as* is also of a limited character, and is only found with the names of Cnaeus and Sextus Pompey, or his legate, M. Eppius, and of P. Carisius. The aureus appears to have been struck at $\frac{1}{42}$ of the Roman pound, and the denarius at $\frac{1}{84}$, which would give a ratio between gold and silver of 1:12·4; but the circumstances connected with this single gold piece are so exceptional, that it would be rash to base any theory on it or to accept it as a criterion of the existing relation between gold and silver.[1] The gold coins struck by Sulla a few years before are considerably heavier, and so are those of Pompey of a somewhat later date. The bronze and copper coinages are of two standards; that of Cnaeus and Sextus Pompey being based on the uncial, and that of P. Carisius apparently on the semuncial (see below, pp. 367, 371-2, 377).

Finds or Coins.—The evidence of finds in several instances is of considerable importance for chronology, and also of material assistance, not only in determining the dates of the issues, but also their sequence. Though this evidence will be cited more fully in dealing with the coins separately, a few examples may be mentioned.

The coins of C. Annius Luscus occurred in the Monte Codruzzo hoard, which was concealed *circ.* B.C. 82, but were not met with in those of Fiesole or Cingoli, which are assigned to B.C. 87—86. Likewise none of the denarii of Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius were discovered at Monte Codruzzo, but some were present at Carrara, San Miniato, and Hev-Szamos; and again no coins of Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus were found in any of the above-mentioned hoards, but they were met with at Roncofreddo and Rignano, the burial of which has been

[1] Mommsen, *Hist. mon. rom.*, t. ii., p. 437.

assigned to *circ.* B.C. 75—74. The order of these issues is therefore determined not only on historical grounds, but it is also fixed with equal certainty by finds.

In the war between Julius Caesar and the Pompeian generals in B.C. 49 the date of the coins bearing the name of Varro is also ascertainable from finds. Borghesi and Cavedoni[1] were of opinion that they should be given to the time of the war against the Pirates, B.C. 67; but as no specimens occurred in the San Gregorio di Sassola, Compito, and Cadriano hoards, which were buried *circ.* B.C. 51, their issue must have happened subsequently, and we have a limit of date from B.C. 50—49. The same evidence applies to the coinage of Cn. Calpurnius Piso. One other important instance may be mentioned: it is that of the coins which bear the name of Cn. Pompeius Magnus, the elder son of Pompey the Great. His name being precisely the same as his father's induced Cavedoni to assign the coins struck by M. Poblicius, the *legatus pro praetore*, to the period of the Sertorian war, on the statement of Borghesi that one specimen is said to have been included in the Roncofreddo hoard.[2] Their absence, however, from all subsequent hoards down to B.C. 48 would therefore be quite unaccountable, whilst their presence in considerable numbers in those of Villola, Collecchio, and Liria, which were deposited *circ.* B.C. 45—44, leaves no question as to their date, and proves either that Borghesi was wrong in including the specimen in the Roncofreddo hoard, or else that it was inserted after it was unearthed, a not uncommon occurrence. It is evident therefore, as we have already remarked, that finds for chronology are often as useful for determining questions of dates in connection with provincial issues as with those of the Roman mint, and with that object in view they must be carefully taken into consideration.

MINT-PLACES.—A somewhat difficult problem in connection with the coins assigned to Spain is the location of the mints at which they were struck. Being absolutely of a military character the mints must have been situated within the districts included in the operations of the legions. Some of the attributions are fairly certain, others are doubtful, and a certain number remain unsolved. In most of the wars Corduba played an important *rôle*. It was the chief city of Baetica, which witnessed most of the military operations in which the armies of Rome took part during the first century B.C. It is to this place that we shall propose to assign some of the coins of C. Annius Luscus which were struck after the flight of Sertorius in B.C. 81 (see below, p. 353). This city was also occupied by Julius Caesar after the surrender of the Pompeian generals, Afranius, Petreius, and Varro in B.C. 49, and it may have been there that he established his mint for the striking of money to be used for distribution amongst his army. Caesar was there again in B.C. 45, after the defeat of Cnaeus Pompey at Munda, and as that town was, previous to this decisive battle, the head-quarters of Cnaeus and Sextus Pompey, we may conclude that the former used it as a mint also. Another ascertainable mint is Osca, where Cn. Domitius Calvinus had his head-quarters during the Cerretanian war, and the name of which city he actually inscribed on his coins. Emerita also is inscribed on some of the coins of P. Carisius, showing their place of mintage. These attributions may be con-

[1] *Saggio*, p. 113; *Ripostigli*, p. 210. [2] Mommsen, *Hist. mon. rom.*, t. ii., p. 533, note.

sidered as fairly proved, but amongst those mints which are doubtful are Hispalis and Gades, where Varro, the legate of Pompey the Great, had his chief seats of government in the war with Caesar B.C. 49, and Ilerda, which was occupied by his colleagues in command, Afranius and Petreius, and to which we shall venture to assign the coins of the proquaestor, Cn. Calpurnius Piso. Whether Sextus Pompey struck his coins at Carteia must remain an open question, and we have not ventured to assign to any particular locality the money of Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius and Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus of the time of the Sertorian war. This is mainly due to the circumstance that the records of that war are so scanty and incomplete.

PERIOD I.[1]

Circ. B.C. 82—72; A.U.C. 672—682.

No.	*Weight*	*Metal and Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
			Circ. B.C. 82—80; A.U.C. 672—674.	
			C . ANNI . T . F . T . N : L . FABI . L . F . HISP (CAIUS ANNIUS TITI FILIUS TITI NEPOS [LUSCUS]: LUCIUS FABIUS LUCII FILIUS HISPANIENSIS)[2]	
			Denarius	
			Type I.	
			With symbol on obverse	
1	59·5	AR ·8	Female bust, Anna Perenna, r., draped, wearing diadem, earring of three drops, and necklace; hair rolled back and collected into a knot behind, and falling in one lock down the neck; before, scales; behind, winged caduceus; below, symbol, carnyx; around, C · ANNI · T · F · T · N · PRO · COS · EX · S · C (*Proconsul; ex senatus consulto*).	Victory in quadriga r., horses galloping; she holds palm-branch in r. hand and reins in l.; in the exergue, L · FABI · L · F · HISP; above horses, Q (*Quaestor*).

[1] The coinages included in this Period are, as mentioned above (p. 348), those which were issued for the Roman army in Spain during the war with Sertorius. They may be divided into three series or groups: (i.) those which were struck by L. Fabius L. f. Hispaniensis and C. Tarquitius P. f., quaestors of C. Annius Luscus, who was the first to command in the war, B.C. 82—80; (ii.) those issued by Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius, who succeeded Luscus in B.C. 79; and (iii.) those by Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus, the quaestor to Pompey, who was sent to Spain to assist Metellus in B.C. 76. With the exception of the rare aureus struck by Lentulus (see below, p. 360, no. 61), these coinages consist of the denarius only.

[2] Caius Annius Luscus was the son of T. Annius Rufus, consul B.C. 128, and grandson of

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
2	60·8	AR ·75	Similar; below bust, symbol, falx.	Similar. [Pl. c. 1.]
3	59·7	AR ·75	Similar; symbol, helmet.	Similar.
4	59·2	AR ·8	Similar; symbol, pelta.	Similar.
5	59·7	AR ·75	Similar; symbol, plough.	Similar.
6	60·0	AR ·75	Similar; symbol, scorpion.	Similar.
7	57·8	AR ·75	Similar; symbol, staff with double hook.	Similar. (de Salis Coll.)
8	61·3	AR ·8	Similar; symbol, sword with broad blade.	Similar. [Pl. c. 2.] (Nott)
9	59·5	AR ·75	Similar; symbol, thunderbolt.	Similar. (Nott)

T. Annius Luscus, consul B.C. 153. This information is supplied by the legend on the obverse of the coins. He served under Q. Caecilius Metellus Numidicus in Africa in the war against Jugurtha, B.C. 107, commanded the garrison at Leptis, and later, in B.C. 82, was sent by Sulla to Spain, with the title of proconsul, to oppose Sertorius, who had retired there after the collapse of the Marian party in Rome. On account of the murder of Julius Salinator (Plutarch, *Sertorius*, 7), who had collected forces to oppose Luscus in the Pyrenees, Sertorius was compelled to embark at Carthago Nova, and to take refuge in Mauretania. Returning in B.C. 80 Sertorius defeated Cotta, the legate of Luscus, in a naval engagement in the Straits over against Mellaria, which was followed by the repulse of the Roman army in Baetica. In consequence of these disasters Luscus appears to have been recalled, and the command of the army in Spain was transferred at first to L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, and later, in B.C. 79, to Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius (Plutarch, *Sertorius*, 7, 12). It was during these years, B.C. 82—80, that these coins were struck under a special mandate of the Senate in the name of C. Annius Luscus by his quaestors, L. Fabius Hispaniensis and C. Tarquitius. Nothing certain appears to be known of these two quaestors before or after this time, but Sallust (*Hist.*, iii. 4) mentions a L. Fabius, and Frontinus (*Strateg.*, ii. 5, 31), a Tarquitius Priscus, who were amongst the assassins of Sertorius. If these were the quaestors of B.C. 82—80, it would appear as if they had deserted the forces of the Senate for those of Sertorius some time after the recall of C. Annius Luscus. It is not known when Fabius received the cognomen of Hispaniensis. He may have assumed it during the campaign. Babelon (vol. i., p. 139) has suggested that on account of the difference in the style of these coins one was quaestor in Hither Spain, the other in Further Spain. The difference in style, however, only exists in the coins of Type I. of Fabius; for those of Type II. and those of C. Tarquitius are in this respect precisely similar, and appear to have been issued in the same district if not at the same *officina*. It may be suggested that these latter pieces were struck for the use of the Roman army at Corduba, which was occupied by Luscus after the flight of Sertorius.

The head on the obverse has been identified as of Anna Perenna, who according to Ovid (*Fast.*, iii. 523, &c.) and Virgil (*Aen.*, iv. 31 f.) was the sister of Dido, and was worshipped in Italy in the character of a rustic deity. It may have been from her that the Annia gens claimed descent. The caduceus, the symbol of commerce, may refer to the corn-producing wealth of Spain, or even to Anna Perenna herself, of whom Ovid relates that when the people of Rome were in want of food she distributed cakes amongst the hungry multitude, who in gratitude erected a temple to her. The scales may have a monetary significance, whilst the Victory in a quadriga on the reverse is no doubt intended to record the successes of C. Annius Luscus at the beginning of the campaign.

Specimens of this issue occurred in the Monte Codruzzo and Carrara hoards which were concealed *circ.* B.C. 82—80; but none were met with in those of Fiesole and Cingoli, the burial of which has been assigned to a somewhat earlier date, B.C. 87—86 (see vol. i., pp. 242, 243, 319, 361).

This coinage was of considerable extent, not only on account of the variations in the types, but also because a considerable variety of mint-marks was used, consisting of symbols and letters. The former only occur on the obverse, but the latter are met with on the reverse as well as on the obverse.

No.	*Weight*	*Metal and Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
10	59·0	Æ ·8	Similar; same symbol.	Similar.
11	61·4	Æ ·8	Similar; symbol, trophy.	Similar.
12	61·0	Æ ·8	Similar; symbol, wing.[1]	Similar.
			With letter on obverse[2]	
13	59·9	Æ ·75	Similar; below bust, letter ·D·	Similar. (Townley Coll.)
14	60·8	Æ ·75	Similar; letter ·E·	Similar. [Pl. c. 3.]
15	58·8	Æ ·8	Similar; letter ·F·	Similar. (Townley Coll.)
16	61·5	Æ ·75	Similar; letter ·M·	Similar.
17	61·2	Æ ·8	Similar; letter ·N·	Similar. (Townley Coll.)
18	58·4	Æ ·8	Similar; letter ·X·	Similar.
			Type I. var.	
			With letter on obverse	
19	57·0	Æ ·75	Similar; without winged caduceus and scales at sides of bust of Anna Perenna; below, letter Λ·; all within bead and reel border.	Similar.
20	65·5	Æ ·8	Similar; letter C·	Similar. (de Salis Coll.)
21	60·0	Æ ·85	Similar; letter D·	Similar.
22	59·8	Æ ·8	Similar; letter N·	Similar. (Blacas Coll.)
23	59·0	Æ ·8	Similar; same letter.	Similar. [Pl. c. 4.]
24	60·6	Æ ·75	Similar; letter O·	Similar.

[1] For other symbols see Babelon, vol. i., p. 140.

[2] In this series and the next the letters extend throughout the alphabet, but with the difference that in the first the letter has a dot on each side, but in the second it is placed only on the right.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
25	60·6	AR ·75	Similar; letter Γ.	Similar. (Nott)
26	61·0	AR ·8	Similar; letter Q.	Similar.
27	56·5	AR ·8	Similar; letter R.	Similar.
28	59·7	AR ·8	Similar; letter X.	Similar.
			With letter on reverse	
29	62·0	AR ·85	Similar; no letter under bust.	Similar; below horses, letter A. [Pl. c. 5.] (Blacas Coll.)
30	49·7 (*mare*)	AR ·75	Similar.	Similar; letter E.
			Type II.[1]	
			With letter on reverse	
31	60·8	AR ·75	Female head, Anna Perenna, r., wearing diadem, &c., similar to no. 1, p. 352; no drapery; earring in form of cross; hair falling in three locks down the neck; before, scales; no caduceus behind; around, C. ANNIVS. T. F. T. N. ΓRO. COS. EX. S. C	Similar; horses walking; below which, letter T [Pl. c. 6.]
			Type II. var.	
			With letter on obverse	
32	59·9	AR ·75	Similar; behind head of Anna Perenna, letter G	Similar; horses walking; in the exergue, L. FABI. L. F.; above quadriga, HISΓ. Q. [Pl. c. 7.] (Nott)

[1] In fabric the denarii of this type are the same as those of C. Tarquitius, and in each instance the nomen of the proconsul, C. Annius, is given in full. The mint-letters are unaccompanied by dots.

No.	*Weight*	*Metal and Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
33	58·6	*AR* ·8	Similar; letter N	Similar.
34	61·3	*AR* ·75	Similar; letter X	Similar. (Nott)

C. ANNIVS T. F. T. N: C. TARQVITI. P. F

(CAIUS ANNIUS TITI FILIUS TITI NEPOS; CAIUS TARQUITTIUS PUBLII FILIUS[1])

Denarius

With number on reverse

35	60·5	*AR* ·75	Female head, Anna Perenna, r., wearing diadem, earring in form of cross and necklace; hair rolled back, collected into a knot behind, and falling in three locks down her neck; before, scales; around, C · ANNIVS · T · F · T · N · PRO · COS · EX · S · C ·	Victory in biga r., horses galloping; she holds palm-branch in r. hand and reins in l.; below, C TAR QVITI P F; above name, Q (*Quaestor*); above biga, number III [Pl. c. 8.]
36	60·2	*AR* ·75	Similar.	Similar; number V [Pl. c. 9.] (Nott)
37	57·3	*AR* ·75	Similar.	Similar; number X
38	56·5	*AR* ·75	Similar.	Similar; number XVIIII
39	59·5	*AR* ·75	Similar.	Similar; number XX
40	61·1	*AR* ·75	Similar.	Similar; number XXVI (Cracherode Coll.)
41	61·5	*AR* ·7	Similar.	Similar; number XXVIIII (Blacas Coll.)
42	56·5	*AR* ·7	Similar.	Similar; number XXXXIIII

[1] The few particulars that we know of Caius Tarquitius are given above (see p. 353). His coinage is somewhat limited as compared with that of his colleague, L. Fabius Hispaniensis, and was issued from one *officina* only, probably at Corduba, at which it has been suggested that the coins of Fabius of Type II. were also struck. The two series are of precisely the same fabric and have the same variety of obverse type, with the name of Annius in full. For mint-marks Tarquitius used numbers only and not letters or symbols. These numbers run at least to XXXXVI, as shown by a specimen in the Haeberlin collection (see Bahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1896, p. 21).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Circ. B.C. 79—77; A.U.C. 675—677	
			Q . C . M . P	
			(QUINTUS CAECILIUS METELLUS PIUS[1])	
			Denarius	
			Type I.[2]	
43	59·2	*R* ·75	Head of Pietas r., diademed, wearing earring of triple drop; hair drawn back, collected into a knot behind, and falling down her neck; before, stork r.	Elephant, with bell hanging from its neck, walking l.; in the exergue, Q . C . M . P . I (*Imperator*).
44	58·6	*R* ·75	Similar.	Similar. (Cracherode Coll.)
45	56·5	*R* ·8	Similar.	Similar. (de Salis Coll.)
46	56·5	*R* ·75	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. c. 10.] (Blacas Coll.)
			Type II.[3]	
47	61·4	*R* ·75	Similar.	Lituus and jug with handle (*capis*); in the exergue, IMPER (*Imperator*); all within laurel-wreath.

[1] Quintus Caecilius Metellus Pius has been already met with in the capacity of an ordinary moneyer at the Roman mint (see vol. i., p. 156), where some account of him is given. In B.C. 79, after the failure of C. Annius Luscus, he was sent by the Senate as proconsul to Spain to prosecute the war against Sertorius. After frequent failures Metellus gained a victory over Sertorius, with which he was so elated that he allowed himself to be hailed *Imperator* by his army. He celebrated the event with magnificent entertainments, at which he wore a triumphal robe (Plutarch, *Sertorius*, 22). It was on this occasion that these coins were struck, and it may be to them that Sallust (*Fragm.* ap. *Donat.* ad *Ter. Phorm.* I., i. 4) referred in the passage, *Quae pecunia ad Hispaniense bellum Metello facta est* (Cavedoni, *Riv. Num.*, da Olivieri, 1884, p. 288). The date of Metellus' victory is not certain, but it must have occurred before the arrival of Pompey in Spain early in B.C. 76. Count de Salis has therefore assigned the coins to the years B.C. 79—77, when Metellus was in chief command. They were, however, probably struck towards the end of that period, but we have no evidence which would enable us to locate their issue. In respect of finds it may be mentioned that no specimens of this issue were met with in the Monte Codruzzo hoard, which was buried *circ.* B.C. 82, but that they occurred in those unearthed at Carrara, San Miniato, and Hev-Szamos, the burial of which took place *circ.* B.C. 78—77 (see vol. i., pp. 361, 362).

[2] The type of the head of Pietas was selected by Metellus in recognition of the title *Pius*, which he received on account of the affection displayed by him for his father, when in B.C. 99 he sought the people of Rome to recall him from banishment. The divinity is here the representative of paternal affection and not of piety in general. The stork was the emblem of Pietas (Preller, *Röm. Myth.*, 3rd ed. vol. ii., p. 263), and occurs as an adjunct to the figure of that divinity on later coins of Mark Antony (see below, pp. 400 f.). The elephant was the special symbol adopted by the Caecilia gens (see vol. i., p. 155).

[3] The lituus and the *capis* are supposed to record the office of pontifex maximus,

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
48	60·6	AR ·75	Similar.	Similar. (Cracherode Coll.)
49	60·0	AR ·8	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. c. 11.]
50	59·4	AR ·8	Similar.	Similar. (de Salis Coll.)
51	59·2	AR ·8	Similar; counter-marked on face of Pietas with wheel-shaped ornament.	Similar. (Townley Coll.)

Circ. B.C. 76—72; A.U.C. 678—682

CN . LEN

(CNAEUS [CORNELIUS] LENTULUS [MARCELLINUS[1]])

Denarius

52	60·7	AR ·75	Bust of the Genius of the Roman People r., bearded, draped and wearing diadem; behind, sceptre; above, G·P·R (*Genius Populi Romani*).	A globe between a rudder on the r. and a sceptre, to which is attached a laurel-wreath with fillet, on the l.; in the field, EX S·C (*Ex senatus consulto*); below, CN · LEN · Q (*Quaestor*). [Pl. c. 12.] (Nott)

which was held by L. Metellus Dalmaticus, the uncle of the general (Babelon, vol. i., p. 275). Metellus, however, was himself pontifex maximus, but the date of his appointment is uncertain. It may have been as early as B.C. 82 (Pauly-Wissowa, vol. iii., p. 1224). These symbols are seen on the coins of Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio, the adopted son of the general, which were struck in Africa some years later, B.C. 47—46 (Babelon, vol. i., p. 280, no. 52). In the above instance they may relate to the auguries which were taken before the departure of Metellus for Spain, and which may have foretold the success commemorated by these coins. They also occur on coins of Mark Antony struck at Lugdunum, which refer to his title of augur (see below, pp. 392—394). The wreath commemorates the victory over Sertorius.

[1] Cnaeus Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus, who struck these coins, has already been identified as the member of the Cornelia gens who held the office of moneyer at the Roman mint *circ.* B.C. 85 (see vol. i., p. 309; Mommsen, *Hist. mon. rom.*, t. ii., p. 435), and who subsequently served in the war against the Pirates, B.C. 67, and was praetor B.C. 59, and consul B.C. 56. We know very little of his early career, but Cicero (*in Verr.*, ii. 42, 103) qualifies him as *clarissimus adolescens*. Mommsen (*op. cit.*, p. 475) has suggested that the above coins were struck in B.C. 74, when the Senate ordered an increase both of the land and sea armaments to operate against Mithradates of Pontus, and against the Pirates who infested the Mediterranean. To meet this expenditure a sum of eighteen millions of denarii (3000 talents) was voted (Plutarch, *Lucullus*, 13), the issue of which under the special order of the Senate (*ex senatus consulto*) was entrusted to Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus, who at the time filled the office of quaestor. Mommsen adds that "the type is perfectly in accord with this explanation." Babelon (vol. i., p. 416), whilst accepting Mommsen's view, remarks that it would be quite exceptional for the Senate to entrust the coinage of money from bullion preserved in the *aerarium* to a quaestor urbanus. The attribution of these coins to Spain and to a period extending from B.C. 76—72 necessitates the association of

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
53	60·2	*AR* ·75	Similar.	Similar. (Cracherode Coll.)
54	60·0	*AR* ·75	Similar.	Similar. (Woodhouse Coll.)
55	59·5	*AR* ·8	Similar; head of the Genius larger.	Similar.
56	59·2	*AR* ·8	Similar.	Similar. (Blacas Coll.)
57	60·3	*AR* ·75	Similar.	Similar; moneyer's name, LEN · CVR ✕ F · (*Lentulus curator denariis flandis*). [Pl. c. 13.] (Blacas Coll.)
58	59·6	*AR* ·75	Similar.	Similar; moneyer's name, LEN CVR ✕ FL
59	59·0	*AR* ·7	Similar.	Similar. (de Salis Coll.)
60	61·6	*AR* ·75	Similar.	(*Incuse of obverse*). (Blacas Coll.)

their issue with quite different circumstances from those suggested by Mommsen, and also a somewhat different interpretation of the types. It was in the spring of B.C. 76 that Pompey, with the title of proconsul, arrived in Spain to assist Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius in the war against Sertorius. Acting as his quaestor was Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus, who appears to have received from the Senate a special mandate to strike money for the use of the army, to which he was attached as paymaster (*curator denariis flandis*). In fixing the first issue of these coins to B.C. 76 we have the confirmatory evidence of finds. No specimens were met with in the hoards unearthed either at Carrara, San Miniato, or Hev-Szanos, each of which, however, contained coins of Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius described above, and attributed to B.C. 79—77. It is to B.C. 78—77 that the burial of these hoards has been assigned. On the other hand there were specimens in the finds at Roncofreddo and Rignano which contained coins of the Roman mint of a somewhat later date, and the burial of which has been put at *circ.* B.C. 75 (see vol. i., pp. 362 f. and Tables of Finds). This is fairly conclusive evidence that the coins were first struck in B.C. 76, and that therefore their types cannot bear the interpretation suggested by Mommsen. Following the usage of the time, and also the example of those who had issued money under similar circumstances in Spain, we must consider the types to be of a personal nature, i.e. connected with the history of the moneyer or of his family. If this solution is accepted there seems no doubt but that Lentulus intended to illustrate the great deeds of his illustrious kinsman, Sulla. The globe may be emblematic of the extended rule of Rome, brought about by the recent victories in the East; the rudder, a record of the naval successes of Lucullus, the famous general of Sulla, which placed the command of the Hellespont in his hands; and the sceptre bound with a laurel-wreath, a reference to the battles of Chaeroneia and Orchomenos, the effect of which was to compel Mithradates to evacuate Europe and to submit to the harsh conditions of Sulla. These victories are attributed not as usual to Roma, but to the protection and aid of the Genius of the Roman People, whose bust is placed on the obverse. The cult of this divinity was specially honoured by the Cornelia gens, and reference is made to it on coins issued by other members of the family (see vol. i., p. 234, note). This seems to be a probable solution of the types of the denarii, but it might also be suggested that as the rudder and the globe are the special symbols of Fortuna, they may relate to that divinity. It was to Fortuna that Sulla attributed his successes, and in consequence assumed the title *Felix*, an epithet borne by the goddess herself.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse

Circ. B.C. 72; A.U.C. 682

CN . LENTVL

(CNAEUS [CORNELIUS] LENTULUS [MARCELLINUS])

Aureus [1]

61	121·5	*A* ·75	Head of Jupiter r., laureate; bead and reel border.	CN · LENTVL below Eagle standing l. on thunderbolt, wings spread, head turned to r.; bead and reel border. **[Pl. c. 14.]** (Montagu Coll.)

[1] The extreme rarity of this aureus and its weight and peculiar fabric have rendered its identification and classification a matter of singular difficulty. Till recently the only example known was that in the Paris Cabinet, but in 1896 the above specimen was purchased for the National Collection at the Montagu sale. In the catalogue of that sale (no. 15) it is stated that the coin was formerly in the Borghesi collection. Mommsen (*Hist. mon. rom.*, t. iii., p. 437) remarks that these coins are of the weight of the aurei of Augustus, but there is no moneyer of that time of the name of Cn. Lentulus, and moreover their fabric will not admit of their being assigned to so late a date. He therefore decided that they are of the time of Sulla or Pompey, and has classed them with the denarii of Lentulus, which he struck as a moneyer, not as a quaestor, and which are given to B.C. 85 (see vol. i., p. 309). By Babelon (vol. i., p. 418) they are associated with the denarii issued by Lentulus as quaestor, and he adds "it is the only aureus which was struck at the Roman mint before Caesar." W. v. Voigt (*Philologus*, 1905, pp. 341 f.) offers another solution. On account of their weight he considers these coins to be Caesarian or post-Caesarian, and he therefore attributes them to P. Cornelius Dolabella, who in B.C. 48, when standing for the tribuneship, had been adopted into the plebeian family of Cn. Lentulus. V. Voigt would, therefore, assign them to B.C. 43 when Dolabella was in Asia, and being in want of money plundered the cities and temples. There are two reasons which preclude the acceptance of this suggestion; one, as Mommsen says, fabric and style, the other that Dolabella appears nowhere under the name of Lentulus or Cn. Lentulus. In attributing these gold coins to Spain with the silver struck by Lentulus we avoid the difficulty raised by Babelon, and they take their place with other provincial coins of the same class issued a few years before by Sulla and his proquaestor, L. Manlius, and his quaestor, A. Manlius, in the East. The fabric is strongly in favour of their attribution to Spain. The head of Jupiter is similar in style and fabric to that of the Genius of the Roman People on the silver money of Lentulus; and the bead and reel border, which does not occur on any coins issued at this time at the Roman mint, is found also on those of C. Annius Luscus, which are likewise Spanish. This coinage was therefore a very special one, and it was probably struck at the end of the campaign in B.C. 72 for distribution amongst the soldiery of Pompey who remained in Spain, or it may have been issued just before his departure. The great rarity of the specimens may be due to the limited number issued, or to the circumstance that as no gold coins were being struck at the Roman mint they would not pass readily in circulation, and so were melted down, the usual fate of such abnormal pieces. The types of Jupiter and the eagle have no doubt a reference to the increasing power of Rome. Types of a similar nature are found on denarii struck a few years later (see below, p. 362) by Terentius Varro, who acted as proquaestor to Pompey at the outbreak of the Civil war. These last coins are also given to Spain by Count de Salis.

PERIOD II.[1]

Circ. B.C. 49; A.U.C. 705

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			CN . PISO	
			(CNAEUS [CALPURNIUS] PISO[2])	
			Denarius	
62	61·2	AR ·75	Head of Numa Pompilius r., bearded, wearing diadem, inscribed NVMA; behind, CN·PISO·PRO·Q (*Pro-quaestor*).	Prow r.; above, MAGN (*Magnus*); below, PRO·COS (*Proconsul*). [Pl. c. 15.] (Cracherode Coll.)
63	60·0	AR ·75	Similar.	Similar.

[1] The coins assigned to this period are those which were struck in Spain during the war between Julius Caesar and the armies of Pompey. They are of two series: (i.) that struck for the Pompeian legions by the proquaestors, Cn. Calpurnius Piso and Terentius Varro; and (ii.) that issued by Julius Caesar for his own troops. The denarius is the only denomination.

After the flight of Pompey from Brundusium for the East, B.C. 49, Caesar, being unable to follow him through want of ships, determined first to make himself master of Spain, over which Pompey exercised a proconsular rule, and which was held for him by his three legates, L. Afranius, who had the command of Hither Spain, M. Petreius, who was stationed in Lusitania, and M. Terentius Varro, to whom was entrusted the protection of all Further Spain (Caesar, *Bell. civ.*, i. 38). On his way Caesar laid siege to Massilia, but without waiting for the result of the investment of that place he passed on into Spain, where he found the Pompeian forces under Afranius and Petreius massed near Ilerda in Hispania Tarraconensis. After at first experiencing some reverses, Caesar reduced these generals of Pompey to such difficulties that they were obliged to surrender. He then marched against Varro, who had remained in the southern province of Further Spain. Deprived of the assistance of his colleagues, and unable to resist the tide of opinion in favour of Caesar, Varro also surrendered to the conqueror at Corduba.

[2] The identification of the proquaestor Cn. Calpurnius Piso is not quite certain. He may have been Cn. Calpurnius Cn. f. Cn. n. Piso, who was consul suffectus B.C. 23, and a member of the aristocratic party. He fought against Caesar in Africa, B.C. 46, and after the death of the dictator joined Brutus and Cassius. Being pardoned he returned to Rome, and in B.C. 23, without solicitation, was elected consul. From these particulars it is quite possible that, like Varro, whose coins are next described, Cn. Calpurnius Piso served in Spain as proquaestor to the Pompeian party, being attached to the legions of Afranius and Petreius, whom he subsequently joined to oppose Caesar in the war in Africa (Pauly-Wissowa, vol. iii., p. 1391). As the legions of Afranius and Petreius were chiefly engaged in the neighbourhood of Ilerda, the coins of Piso may have been struck in that city, where there had already existed a Celtiberian mint (see Heiss, *Mon. ant. de l'Esp.*, pp. 133 f.). The date of the coinage of Piso is practically fixed within a limit of three years at the utmost, B.C. 50—48, by the evidence of finds. No specimens were present in the San Gregorio di Sassola, Compito, or Cadriano hoards (see vol. i., pp. 413, 414), but as they bear the name of Pompey the Great they could not have been issued later than B.C. 48.

The head of Numa Pompilius records the claim of the Calpurnia gens to be descended from Calpus, the son of Numa (Plutarch, *Numa*, 21), and the prow on the reverse refers to the naval victories of Pompey, more especially to those over the Pirates, though no member of the Calpurnia gens is mentioned as having taken a prominent part in that war (Mommsen, *Hist. mon. rom.*, t. ii., p. 536). It may be noticed that both Piso and possibly Varro use for the obverses of their coins types personal to their own families, whilst the reverses relate to the victories of Pompey, under whose delegated command they took part in the Spanish campaign.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			VARRO	
			([TERENTIUS] VARRO[1])	
			Denarius	
			Type I.	
64	64·5	*R* ·88	Bust of Jupiter Terminalis r., wearing diadem; hair and beard in small curls; behind, VARRO·PRO·Q (*Proquaestor*).	An upright sceptre between an eagle on the r., and a dolphin on the l.; in the exergue, MAG·PRO COS (*Magnus, Proconsul*).
65	60·2	*R* ·75	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. c. 16.] (Cracherode Coll.)
66	51·1	*R* ·6	Similar.	Similar. (Nott)

[1] Before discussing the identification of the proquaestor Varro, it is necessary to ascertain the date when the coins bearing his name were issued. Eckhel (*Doct. num. vet.*, t. v., p. 281), Borghesi, and also Cavedoni (*Saggio*, p. 116; *Ripostigli*, p. 210) were all of opinion that they were struck during the war against the Pirates, B.C. 67. Mommsen (*Hist. mon. rom.*, t. ii., p. 534), however, decided that though the types might admit of the attribution of the coins to that date, the evidence of finds established beyond doubt the fact that they must have been struck in B.C. 49, and that Varro and Cn. Calpurnius Piso, whose coins cannot be separated from each other, were proquaestors of Pompey in Spain in that year. The evidence of finds is precisely the same in the case of both moneyers. The coins of Varro are of somewhat coarse fabric, and therefore probably the work of a provincial die-engraver. Their attribution to Spain by Mommsen seems to be beyond question, and this opinion was also held by Count de Salis.

These data may assist us in identifying the moneyer Varro, who was a member of the Terentia gens. He is usually associated with M. Terentius Varro, "the most voluminous of Roman authors, and the most learned of the Romans" (Cicero, *ad Att.*, xiv. 68). Little is known of Varro's early public life, but at the age of forty-nine (B.C. 67) he held a high naval command under Pompey in the war against the Pirates, and later in that with Mithradates (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, iii. 11, vii. 30; Appian, *Mithr.*, 95), and for his services was awarded by Pompey with a rostral crown (see above, p. 96). At the outbreak of the Civil war in B.C. 49 he was serving as one of the legates of Pompey in Spain. His conduct on this occasion was most vacillating, and finally with but a faint show of resistance he surrendered to Caesar, by whom he was pardoned. Varro, however, remained faithful to his party, crossed over to Greece, and was present at the battle of Pharsalus. From that time he devoted himself to his various literary pursuits, and died in B.C. 28. When the above coins were struck Varro was sharing with Afranius and Petreius the chief command of the Pompeian army in Spain, and it therefore seems impossible to identify him with the moneyer of that name who held the inferior rank of a proquaestor. In order to reconcile the identification of the general with the issuer of these coins, Mommsen (*op. cit.*, p. 535) has suggested that he may have been a *legatus pro quaestore*; but if this had been so, this rank would certainly have been noted on the coins, as was done a few years later by M. Poblicius, who acted in Spain as *legatus pro praetore* to Cnaeus Pompey (see below, p. 364). This moneyer must therefore have been some other member of the Terentia gens, possibly a son of the general to whose legions he would be attached in the capacity of proquaestor.

The reverse type of the sceptre, the eagle, and the dolphin may, as Mommsen has suggested, illustrate the position of the partisans of Pompey in Spain, whose success depended on the united action of the legions of the West with the fleet of the East; or it may relate to the previous victories of Pompey by sea and land, more especially in connection with the wars against the Pirates and Mithradates. The obverse type of Jupiter Terminalis may be a record of the great powers given to Pompey by the Senate, who at one time had placed under his protection nearly the whole of the Roman dominions, by granting him proconsular rule over all the coasts and islands of the Mediterranean, and the whole of Asia so far as Armenia. The proconsular power was now vested in Pompey over Spain on the terms arranged with Caesar and Crassus in B.C. 56 and confirmed by the *Lex Trebonia* in the following year. Mommsen (*op. cit.*, p. 533) has, however, ingeniously suggested that the type may be an allusion to the name of Terentius, which Varro may have associated with Terminus, as he derived *terminus* from *terra* or *terere* (*de Ling. lat.*, v. 21, ed. Müller), and as his pupil

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type H.	
67	49·6 (*broken*)	AR ·8	Similar.	Bust of Jupiter Terminalis r., wearing diadem; hair and beard in small curls; behind, VARRO. ΓRO. Q (*same as obverse type*). [Pl. c. 17.] (Martinetti Coll.)
68	47·4 (*plated*)	AR ·8	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. c. 18.]
69	45·4 (*plated*)	AR ·75	Similar.	Similar. (Blacas Coll.)
			CAESAR (CAIUS JULIUS CAESAR)	
			Denarius[1]	
70	66·5	AR ·75	Head of Venus r., encircled with a broad band or fillet; hair collected into a knot behind.	Trophy of Gaulish arms; at the base are a chariot on one side and an oblong shield, two spears and a carnyx on the other; around, CAESAR IMP (*Imperator*). [Pl. c. 19.] (de Salis Coll.)
71	52·9	AR ·8	Similar.	Similar. (Blacas Coll.)

Verrius, quoted by Festus (pp. 350, 351, ed. Müller), derived *terentum* from *terra*. In support of this view it may be noticed that Cn. Calpurnius Piso selected a personal type for the obverse of his coins. The repetition of the obverse type for that of the reverse on nos. 67—69, may be due to the exigencies connected with the striking of the coins, and to a scarcity of reverse dies. The coins of this type are usually of base metal, and two of the specimens in the National Collection are plated. Babelon (vol. ii., p. 486) thinks that they are hybrids. Bahrfeldt (*Num. Zeit.*, 1900, p. 115) is also of that opinion. It is difficult to say where these coins were struck, but it may have been at Hispalis, where M. Terentius Varro the legate had his seat of government, or it may have been at Gades, to which place he removed all the money and ornaments which he had taken from the celebrated temple of Hercules in the neighbourhood (Caesar, *Bell. civ.*, ii. 18).

The small bronze coins, as and semis, with the reverse type, wolf and twins, and bearing the moneyer's initials, Γ. Ƭ (Publius Terentius ?), described by Babelon (vol. ii., p. 487, nos. 16, 17), are, as he says, of Panormus in Sicily, and therefore do not form part of the Roman series proper, whether issued in Italy or the provinces. The triens (no. 18) described by Babelon does not belong to this issue, but is a coin of the moneyer Quintus Caecilius Metellus (Bahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1897, p. 82, and vol. i., p. 157, no. 1060).

[1] Count de Salis has assigned these coins, on account of their fabric, to Spain, and to the time of Caesar's first campaign against the forces of the Pompeian party in that province. In style they resemble the coins of Varro and Cn. Cornelius Piso, the obverse type being in high relief. The evidence of finds does not help much to fix the precise date of their issue, but they must have been struck after B.C. 50, as no specimens were met with in the San Gregorio de Sassola, Compito, or Cadriano hoards. Of those buried about B.C. 44 they only occurred in that of Liris (see vol. i., pp. 413, 414, 502). The trophy on the reverse is composed of Gaulish arms, and Babelon (vol. ii., p. 13; *Rev. Num.*, 1902, p. 8) has suggested that the war chariot, on account of its special form, is that which was used by the Britons, and which was called an *essedum*, and that these denarii recall the triumph of Caesar over the Britons in his second expedition in B.C. 54 (Caesar, *Bell. Gall.*, iv. 33). There may have been a special reason for selecting a type which did not record a contemporary event, but one which had happened a few years previously. In Spain Caesar had not been contending against the Celtiberians, but

PERIOD III.[1]

Circ. B.C. 46—44; A.U.C. 708—710

No.	*Weight*	*Metal and Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
			Circ. B.C. 46—45; A.U.C. 708—709	
			M . POBLICI ; CN . MAGNVS (MARCUS POBLICIUS; CNAEUS [POMPEIUS] MAGNUS)	
			Denarius	
72	62·8	Æ ·8	Head of Roma r., wearing helmet with crest; hair long; around, M·POBLI CI·LEG·PRO·PR (*Legatus pro praetore*); all within bead and reel border.	Hispania, or Baetica, draped, standing r., holding in l. hand two spears, to which a shield is attached, and with r. presenting a palm-branch to Cnaeus Pompey, who stands l. on a prow; he is armed with sword; below and on r., CN·MAG NVS·IMP (*Imperator*); plain border. **[Pl. ci. 1.]** (Townley Coll.)

against a portion of the Roman army composed of his own countrymen. On the surrender of the Pompeian legions Caesar treated them with great magnanimity, promising them security not only of person, but also of property. He allowed a portion of the troops to settle in the country, and to the rest he promised a safe conduct to Italy, no one being compelled against his inclination to take the military oath under him (Caesar, *Bell. civ.*, i. 86). In ordering a coinage for distribution amongst his own troops Caesar therefore selected a type which would not be offensive to those of the Pompeian party who had surrendered, but one which would nevertheless be gratifying to his own legions, and which probably recorded victories in which many may have taken an active part. The head of Venus on the obverse and its special application to the Julia gens has been mentioned in dealing with the coinage struck at that time at the Roman mint (see vol. i., pp. 542, 543).

As these coins were probably not issued till after the surrender of Afranius and Petreius, their mint-place may have been Corduba, which Caesar held during the greater part of the time that he was operating against Varro in Western Spain.

[1] After the defeat of Pompey the Great at Pharsalus, B.C. 49, and after the capture of Alexandria and the subjugation of Syria in the following year, Caesar left Rome at the end of B.C. 47 to meet the Pompeians in Africa, who were under the command of Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio and M. Porcius Cato Uticensis (see COINAGE OF AFRICA, *e.g.*, B.C. 47—46). This war was speedily brought to an end by the battle of Thapsus in the spring of B.C. 46, when both the Pompeian generals perished. Returning to Rome for a short time to celebrate a series of triumphs, Caesar in the following September again set out for Spain, where the sons of Pompey, Cnaeus and Sextus, had rallied the scanty remnants of the African army to make a final stand against their implacable enemy. The contending forces met at Munda in Hispania Baetica on the 14th March, B.C. 45, and after a desperate struggle the Pompeians were defeated, and Cnaeus Pompey fled to the coast, where he was captured and slain. Sextus Pompey, who was at Corduba, escaped into Northern Spain, and for a time remained in concealment in the country of the Lacetani (see below, p. 370).

The coinages which are attributed to this campaign, and which are of silver and bronze consist of three separate groups: (i.) that issued by M. Poblicius and M. Minatius Sabinus the *legatus pro praetore* and the propraetor respectively of Cnaeus Pompey, and that of Cnaeus Pompey himself (B.C. 46—45); the former is of silver, the latter of bronze; (ii.) that struck by Julius Caesar, B.C. 45, which is of silver only; and (iii.) that bearing the names of Sextus Pompey and of his legate, Marcus Eppius, B.C. 45—44; the former struck in silver

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
73	60·3	AR ·75	Similar.	Similar. (Cracherode Coll.)
74	59·8	AR ·8	Similar.	Similar; the palm-branch is longer and broader. (Blacas Coll.)
75	60·7	AR ·8	Similar; border of dots.	Similar. (Blacas Coll.)
76	58·8	AR ·75	Similar.	Similar.

and bronze, the latter in bronze only. The approximate date of these issues is ascertainable from the evidence of finds. No specimens were met with in the Carbonara II. hoard, buried *circ.* B.C. 48, but they were found in those of San Niccolò de Villola, Collecchio, and Liria, which were concealed *circ.* B.C. 45—44 (see vol. i., pp. 501, 502, and Tables of Finds).

Marcus Poblicius was *legatus pro praetore* to Cnaeus Pompey in Spain, and it was in that capacity that he issued these coins for the use of his legions. His name is not otherwise recorded. The identification of Poblicius as the legate of Cnaeus Pompey has, however, not passed unchallenged. Eckhel (*Doct. num. vet.*, t. v., p. 282) appears to have been the first to recognise in the type of these denarii a reference to the younger Pompey, who bore the same praenomen as his father. This view was accepted by Cavedoni (*Saggio*, p. 113) until the discovery of the Roncofreddo hoard (see vol. i., p. 362), in which a specimen of the coinage of M. Poblicius is said to have occurred. In consequence Cavedoni (*Ripostigli*, p. 205) changed his mind and assigned the coins to the elder Pompey, and to the period of the war against Sertorius, B.C. 75—74. The evidence of later hoards, however, entirely supports the later date, and it is therefore possible either that Borghesi (Cavedoni, *Ripostigli*, pp. 26, 29) was in error in including the denarius of Poblicius in the Roncofreddo hoard, or that it was inserted after the hoard was unearthed, a not uncommon circumstance (Mommsen, *Hist. mon. rom.*, t. ii., p. 536).

Cnaeus Pompeius Magnus, whose name also appears on these and the following coins, was the elder son of Pompey the Great. His first campaign was against the Pirates under his father, B.C. 67, and at the outbreak of the Civil war he went to Alexandria to obtain troops. After Pharsalus he took refuge in Corcyra, and from thence went to Africa, where he heard of his father's death. Being desirous of securing Spain for his party he crossed thither early in B.C. 46, and at first was opposed by C. Didius, and at the end of the year by Caesar himself. He survived the disastrous battle of Munda, but was slain shortly afterwards. Like his brother Sextus (see below, p. 370) he took his father's title, *Magnus*, and he was probably proclaimed *Imperator*, or assumed that title on his landing in Spain. His watchword at Munda was *Pietas* (Appian, *Bell. civ.* ii., xv. 104), a representation of which divinity his brother used for the type of his coins.

The reverse type of the denarius of M. Poblicius is a record of Pompey's arrival in Spain, where it was hoped that his presence would revive the spirit of his party. His landing took place before the battle of Thapsus in Africa. The head on the obverse is that of Roma, whose aid was specially invoked by the Pompeian party against the "usurper," Caesar. It is without a beard, and the hair is long, which is against its being a representation of Mars. It may be noticed that on some of the denarii the obverse type is within a bead and reel border. A similar border is found on earlier denarii of L. Fabius Hispaniensis, the quaestor of C. Annius Luscus, and on the aurens of Cn. Lentulus (see above, pp. 352, 360). Though often well struck, the denarii of M. Poblicius are of somewhat coarse work, showing that they were of provincial issue.

In addition to the above reasons for assigning these coins to B.C. 46—45 it should be mentioned that Pompey the Great never placed his praenomen on his coins, that when he went to Spain in B.C. 76 he journeyed by way of Gaul, and also that the coins of M. Poblicius cannot be separated from those of M. Minatius Sabinus, which were first met with in the Liria hoard, buried *circ.* B.C. 44.

The coins of M. Poblicius and also those following of M. Minatius Sabinus were probably struck at Corduba, where the Pompeian leaders had their head-quarters till it was captured by Caesar after the battle of Munda.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			CN . MAGNVS: M . MINAT . SABIN (CNAEUS [POMPEIUS] MAGNUS; MARCUS MINATIUS SABINUS[1])	
			Denarius	
			Type I.	
77	57·2	AR ·75	Head of Pompey the Great r., bare; before, CN · MAGN; behind, IMP (*Imperator*).	Hispania, or Baetica, turreted, standing r. on a heap of arms, and holding spear in l. hand; with her r. she grasps the hand of Cnaeus Pompey, who disembarks from a vessel, the stern of which is shown; in the exergue, M·MINAT / SABIN; on l., PR·Q (*Proquaestor*). **[Pl. ci. 2.]** (Blacas Coll.)
78	54·0	AR ·75	Similar; legend, before head, CN · MAGN; behind, IMP · F (*Imperator, filius*).	Similar. (Blacas Coll.)
79	55·6	AR ·75	Similar; legend, before head, CN · MAGNVS; behind, IMP · F (downwards).	Similar. **[Pl. ci. 3.]** (Cracherode Coll.)
			Type II.	
80	57·7	AR ·7	Head of Pompey the Great r., bare; before, CN · MAGNVS; behind, IMP	Baetica turreted, standing r., her r. hand raised in the act of greeting Cnaeus Pompey, who turns towards Tarraco, turreted, kneeling on one knee and presenting shield to him; in the exergue, M·MINAT / SABI [on l., PR · Q]. **[Pl. ci. 4.]** (Blacas Coll.)

[1] Marcus Minatius Sabinus is only known to history from his coins. He was proquaestor to Cnaeus Pompey during the campaign in Spain, B.C. 46—45. His name, or that of a member of his family, occurs in an inscription (*Inscr. regni Neapol.*, no. 277; *C.I.L.*, vol. x., no. 291) where a "M. Minatius M. f. Pom. Sabinus" is mentioned (Mommsen, *Hist. mon. rom.*, t. ii., p. 537). The reasons given for attributing the coins of M. Poblicius to this date apply equally to those of M. Minatius Sabinus. The earliest instance of their occurrence in finds was in that discovered at Liria, which was concealed *circ.* B.C. 44 (see vol. i., p. 502, and Tables of Finds).

The obverses of the coins of M. Minatius Sabinus bear the name of his chief, Cnaeus Pompey, but show the portrait of Pompey's father, who had in past days played such an important *rôle* in the history of Spain, and who had been invested from B.C. 55 till his death with proconsular power over that province. The reverse types are varied, and illustrate the victorious progress of Cnaeus Pompey in Spain before the arrival of Caesar. They show: (i.) the arrival of Cnaeus Pompey in Spain, where he is greeted by a female figure representing Hispania or the province of Baetica; (ii.) the greeting of Baetica and the offer of assistance or the

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type III.	
81	60·8	AR ·7	Head of Pompey the Great r., bare; before, CN · MAGNVS; behind, IMP	Baetica turreted, standing r., holding caduceus in l. hand and with r. grasping the hand of Cnaeus Pompey, who is crowned with wreath by Tarraco, turreted and bearing trophy; in the exergue, M·MINAT / SABI; on l., PR · Q [Pl. ci. 5.] (Blacas Coll.)
			Type III. var.	
82	57·6	AR ·75	Similar.	Baetica turreted, standing r., holds caduceus in l. hand and with r. presents laurel-branch to Cnaeus Pompey, standing front, leaning with r. hand on spear, and crowned by Tarraco, who is turreted and bears trophy; in the exergue, M · MINAT / SABIN; on l., PR · Q [Pl. ci. 6.] (Sir G. Musgrave)
83	58·2	AR ·75	Similar; before head, CN · MAGN; behind, IMP (upwards).	Similar. [Pl. ci. 7.] (Sir G. Musgrave)
			CN . MAG (CNAEUS [POMPEIUS] MAGNUS) As[1]	
84	451·0	Æ 1·3	Head of Janus, laureate; above, I	Prow r.; before, I; above, CN · MAG; below, IMP (*Imperator*). [Pl. ci. 8.]
85	296·0 (*worn*)	Æ 1·25	Similar.	Similar.

submission of Tarraco, who, in the form of a kneeling turreted woman, presents Pompey with a shield; and (iii.) the congratulations of the two provinces, probably after the taking of Carthago Nova, Baetica being represented as either grasping Pompey's right hand or presenting him with a laurel-branch, and Tarraco as crowning him with a wreath and bearing a trophy. The legends on the obverse of each type show the same variations, viz., CN . MAGN . IMP .; CN . MAGNVS IMP .; CN . MAGN . IMP . F .; and CN . MAGNVS IMP . F . (Bahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1897, pp. 47, 48; 1900, p. 72). These variations are only the result of an interchange of obverse dies.

[1] These bronze coins were issued by Cnaeus Pompey during his campaign in Spain,

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Circ. B.C. 45; A.U.C. 709	
			CAESAR	
			(CAIUS JULIUS CAESAR[1])	
			Denarius	
			Type I.	
86	62·3	AR ·8	Bust of Venus l., slightly draped, wearing diadem and earring of single drop; hair rolled back and collected into a knot behind, which is ornamented with a star; before, bust of Cupid and lituus; behind, sceptre.	Trophy of Gaulish and Spanish arms, composed of helmet and cuirass, two shields, one oval, the other oblong, two spears and two trumpets (*carnyces*); at the base on the l. kneels on one knee a naked figure (a Gaul) with long beard, looking upwards, his hands tied behind him; on the r. is seated a draped female figure (Hispania) weeping, and supporting her head with her left hand; in the exergue, CAESAR.
				[Pl. cl. 9.] (Nott)

B.C. 46—45. They were probably struck in the province of Baetica, a region specially rich in copper, the most famous mines being at Cotinae in the Mons Marianus (Sierra Morena). The Rio Tinto mines, which were also worked in antiquity, were probably nearly as rich (G. F. Hill, *Handbook of Gr. and Rom. Coins*, p. 23). These coins are quite exceptional, as at that time no bronze money was struck at Rome. They are also of the uncial standard, a standard which had long been superseded at Rome by a semuncial one under the provisions of the *Lex Papiria*, B.C. 89 (see vol. i., p. 241). The plentiful supply of metal in the above-mentioned districts may have been the cause of so little care being exercised in adjusting the coin to the right standard. In adopting the old type of the as, however, the current value of the piece became at once apparent. The bronze coins struck by Sextus Pompey and his legate, Eppius, soon afterwards (see below, pp. 371, 372) are of the same standard, but those of P. Carisius of a slightly later date are adjusted to the semuncial (see below, p. 377). The analysis of the metal of which these bronze coins of Cnaeus and Sextus Pompey were struck shows that it was composed of 71 per cent. copper, 9·7 tin, and 19·3 lead (see *Num. Chron.*, 1904, pp. 220, 244), which practically confirms what Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*, xxxiv. 2) says of the bronze of Corduba, (*Aes Cordubense*) *a Liviano cadmeam maxime sorbet et auricalchi bonitatem imitatur in sestertiis dupondiariisque.* These coins were therefore struck from the natural product of the mines in Baetica. Their abnormal weight has occasioned their attribution to Pompey the Great, and to a period before the passing of the *Lex Papiria*. Cohen (*Mon. rép. rom.*, p. 264) assigns them to B.C. 89, and Borghesi (*Œuvres compl.*, t. i., p. 219), in order to account for their exceptional weight, suggested that they may have been struck by a general (*imperator*) of the name of Cn. Magulnius or Cn. Magius, a purely hypothetical suggestion, as those names are not known to history. Subsequently he attributed them to Pompey the Great. Mommsen (*Hist. mon. rom.*, t. ii., p. 536) points out that as Pompey the Great never placed his praenomen on his coins, these pieces must have been struck by his son, Cnaeus. He also draws attention to the fact that they are of precisely the same weight as those of Sextus Pompey.

Cohen (*op. cit.*, p. 260, pl. lxiii., no. 6) describes and figures a coin of this issue with the legend ROMA before the prow as well as the mark of value; but this is incorrect, as no such legend occurs on any of these pieces (Mommsen, *op. cit.*, t. ii., p. 534).

[1] Within twenty-seven days of his leaving Rome Caesar met the Pompeian forces at

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
87	58·3	AR ·8	Similar.	Similar. (Blacas Coll.)
88	56·8	AR ·8	Similar.	Similar. (Cracherode Coll.)
			Type II.	
89	63·0	AR ·8	Bust of Venus r., not draped; hair rolled back and collected into a knot behind; she wears diadem ornamented with jewels, earring of triple drop and necklace of pendants; behind her neck, Cupid.	Trophy of Gaulish and Spanish arms, similar to no. 86; but both shields are oval in form; the positions of the figures at the base are transposed; Hispania on the l. supports her head with her r. hand; and the Gaul on the r. is seated, not kneeling; in the exergue, CAESAR [Pl. ci. 10.]
90	61·5	AR ·8	Similar.	Similar. (Cracherode Coll.)
91	61·5	AR ·75	Similar.	Similar.
92	58·0	AR ·75	Similar.	Similar. (Townley Coll.)

Munda and inflicted on them a total defeat. Cnaeus Pompey was slain shortly afterwards, but Sextus Pompey escaped northwards.

These coins of Caesar, which are assigned to Spain, B.C. 45, appear to commemorate two events, the conquest of Gaul and the defeat of the Pompeians at Munda. It is possible that the reverse type was specially adopted, as many of the soldiers who fought for Caesar in Spain may have taken part in the previous campaigns in Gaul (see above, p. 363, for other coins of similar type). These denarii show considerable variation in fabric; some are well executed and neatly struck, whilst others are of crude workmanship, and have all the appearance of being of local or provincial manufacture. Count de Salis has therefore assigned them to Spain, where they may have been struck, not only as rewards to those who had taken part in this short campaign, but also for the use of the legions which Caesar left behind to quell any further resistance on the part of Sextus Pompey. Babelon (vol. ii., p. 12) has assigned this issue to B.C. 50, but the evidence of finds proves that it must have occurred a few years later. There were no specimens in the Cadriano and Carbonara II. hoards, which were buried *circ.* B.C. 50 and 48, but some were met with in those of San Niccolò di Villola and Liria, which were concealed a few years later, *circ.* B.C. 44 (see vol. i., pp. 414, 501 f., and Tables of Finds).

The bust on the obverse is that of Venus Genitrix, to whom Caesar in the previous year had dedicated a temple in the Forum Julium, her annual festival being held on the 25th September (Dion Cassius, lxiii. 23). The sceptre and Cupid are her usual attributes, and the star in her hair may represent her constellation. The lituus is often met with on coins of Caesar struck at Rome at this time (see vol. i., p. 532 *pass.*). The male figure on the reverse, being similar to that on the silver coins struck by Caesar on his arrival in Rome, B.C. 49, may be intended to represent the Gaulish chief, Vercingetorix (see vol. i., p. 506), whilst the female figure is Hispania. Babelon (*loc. cit.*, and *Rev. Num.*, 1902, pp. 23 f.), identifies the female figure as Gallia, since he attributes this issue to B.C. 50. As these coins were not struck till the end of the campaign their mint-place may also have been at Corduba, which surrendered to Caesar soon after the battle of Munda (Caesar, *Bell. Hisp.*, 33, 34.).

No.	*Weight*	*Metal and Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*

Circ. B.C. 45—44; A.U.C. 709—710

SEX . MAGNVS ΠIVS

(SEXTUS [POMPEIUS] MAGNUS PIUS[1])

Denarius

Type I.

	57·2	*R* ·75	Head of Pompey the Great r., bare; around, SEX · MAG ΠIVS · IMΠ (*Imperator*).	Pietas draped, standing front, head turned to l., holding laurel-branch in r. hand and sceptre in l.; on r., ΠIETAS

[Babelon, vol. ii., p. 350, no. 16.]

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[1] Sextus Pompeius Magnus was the younger son of Cnaeus Pompeius Magnus, the triumvir, his elder brother being Cnaeus Pompeius Magnus (see above, pp. 364-367). The title *Magnus*, which had been accorded to Pompey the Great on his return from Africa in B.C. 81, was assumed by his two sons. After the murder of his father, of which he was an eye-witness, Sextus Pompey joined his brother Cnaeus in Africa. The battle of Thapsus in B.C. 46 compelled him to rejoin his brother in Spain, where he held Corduba till the defeat at Munda in March of the following year. So soon as he heard of the loss of the battle Sextus quitted Corduba and took refuge in the country of the Lacetani, where he collected an army, invaded Baetica, and captured Carteia and other cities. After the death of Caesar his hopes were revived by his defeat of C. Carrinas and C. Asinius Pollio, who had been placed in command of the Roman legions (Appian, *Bell. civ.*, iv. 84; Vell. Paterc., ii. 73). A reconciliation having been effected by M. Aemilius Lepidus, the triumvir, who was governor of Hither Spain and of Narbonese Gaul, Sextus Pompey received his patrimonial inheritance, and on the proposition of Cicero was appointed to the command of the naval forces of the Republic. Being, however, included amongst the murderers of Caesar, though innocent, he was declared an outlaw by virtue of the *Lex Pedia*; but taking refuge on his fleet he soon established his headquarters in Sicily, where he drew into his alliance Q. Cornuficius, the governor of Africa (see COINAGE OF AFRICA, *s.a.*, B.C. 44—42). The following year, B.C. 42, he defeated Q. Salvidienus Salvius Rufus (see COINAGE OF GAUL, *s.a.*, B.C. 40), the legate of Octavius, in an engagement in the Straits of Sicily, for which his soldiers honoured him with the title of "Son of Neptune" (see COINAGE OF SICILY, *s.a.*, B.C. 38—36). Pompey did not avail himself of the advantages of this success, nor of the struggle in the East between the triumvirs Antony and Octavius, and Brutus and Cassius, but contented himself with starving Italy by ravaging her coasts and seizing all the supplies of corn which came from Egypt and the eastern provinces. Through the mediation of L. Scribonius Libo, his father-in-law, a treaty was negotiated between the triumvirs and Pompey, which was concluded at Misenum, B.C. 39, and under which the latter received the provinces of Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, and Achaia, and a large sum of money for his private fortune. Hostilities again broke out between Pompey and Octavius in B.C. 38, and in spite of a serious defection in the ranks of his forces Pompey was at first successful; but Octavius having appointed M. Vipsanius Agrippa to the supreme command of his fleet a decisive battle was fought near Naulochus, 3rd September, B.C. 36, in

No.	*Weight*	*Metal and Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
93	55·5	℞ ·75	Similar; legend reading, SEX MAGN IMP SAL (*Imperator salutatus*).	Similar. [Pl. ci. 11.]
			Type II.	
94	51·0	℞ ·75	Similar; head of Pompey the Great l., bare; around, SEX··MAGNVS SAL IMP	Similar; legend, PIETAS (*Obverse and reverse of coarse work.*) [Pl. ci. 12.] (de Salis Coll.)
			As[1]	
95	404·0	Æ 1·25	Head of Janus laureate; above, MGN	Prow r.; above, PIVS; below, IMP [Pl. ci. 13.]
96	322·0	Æ 1·25	Similar.	Similar.

which Pompey lost the greater part of his fleet. With the few vessels which remained to him he fled to Greece, where he attempted to organize a new fleet, but being unable to cope with the superior forces under M. Titius, the legate of Antony, he determined to seek refuge in Armenia, was taken prisoner, and put to death at Miletus, B.C. 35.

It has been necessary to give some details of the history of Sextus Pompey, as we shall have to deal later with the extensive coinage which he struck in Sicily, and also with those of his ally, Q. Cornuficius, and his legate, Q. Nasidius.

The coins struck by Pompey in Spain are of two series—those which give his name only, and those which bear also that of his legate, Marcus Eppius. As Pompey did not assume the cognomen *Pius* till after the battle of Munda, when he vowed to avenge not only his brother's death but also that of his father, his coinage must have been issued subsequent to that event. It was therefore probably struck after he had left Corduba, and during his sojourn in the north of Spain. He may have established a mint at Carteia, which he held for some time before the defeat of C. Asinius Pollio. He issued both silver and bronze money. For the obverse of his denarii he followed the example of his brother, and placed on it his own name but the portrait of his father. His own portrait, which occurs on his gold coins struck at a later date in Sicily, depicts him with a large head and wearing a thick beard (Babelon, vol. ii., p. 353, no. 24), whilst that of his father is always beardless. The reverse type of Pietas is illustrative of his determination to avenge his father's and brother's deaths, and also of the cognomen *Pius* which he assumed.

There does not appear to be any record when Pompey assumed or received the title of *Imperator*. Babelon (vol. ii., p. 349) supposed it to have been after the defeat of C. Asinius Pollio, but it was more probably immediately after the death of his brother, when he took over the command of the remnant of the Pompeian army. Cnaeus Pompey took the title as soon as he arrived in Spain and before he had achieved any successes. In this also Sextus may have followed the example of his brother. The denarii of Pompey are all of somewhat coarse work, but those of Type II. are specially so. They show the peculiar high relief of the obverse type which is so characteristic of imperial denarii struck at a later period in Spain, more particularly those of Galba.

Varieties of Type I. read on the obverse, SEX. MAGNVS IMP. SAL. and SEX. MAGN. PIVS IMP. SAL.; and of Type II., SEX. MAGN. SAL. PIVS IMP. (Bahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1897, pp. 50, 51).

The bronze money of Sextus Pompey is precisely similar to that of his brother. The only denomination is the as, which is of the uncial standard, and of the same type as that formerly used at the Roman mint. An analysis shows the same composition of metal as the coinage of Cnaeus Pompey. These coins are mostly of rude fabric, which distinctly proves them to be of provincial striking.

No.	*Weight*	*Metal and Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
97	298·0	Æ 1·2	Similar.	Similar.
98	263·0	Æ 1·15	Similar.	Similar. (Blacas Coll.)
99	259·0	Æ 1·3	Similar.	Similar.
100	223·0	Æ 1·15	Similar.	Similar.
101	341·0	Æ 1·2	Similar; above head of Janus, MAGN	Similar.
102	274·0	Æ 1·25	Similar.	Similar. (Blacas Coll.)
103	246·0	Æ 1·25	Similar; above head of Janus, MAGNVS	Similar. [Pl. ci. 14.]

MAGNVS PIVS; EPPIVS

([SEXTUS POMPEIUS] MAGNUS PIUS; [MARCUS] EPPIUS[1])

As

104	375·0	Æ 1·2	Head of Janus, laureate; between the heads, top of altar; above, MAGNVS; below, PIVS IMP · F (*Imperator, filius*).	Prow r.; above, EPPIVS; below, LEG (*Legatus*). [Pl. ci. 15.]
105	270·5	Æ 1·2	Similar.	Similar.

[1] Marcus Eppius, a Roman senator, took an active part in favour of Pompey on the breaking out of the Civil war in B.C. 49. He was one of the legates of Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio in the African war, B.C. 47—46, by whom he was commissioned to issue silver coins which bear his name, EPPIVS LEG . F . C .—*Eppius legatus flandum curavit* (see COINAGE OF AFRICA, *s.a.*, B.C. 47—46). After the battle of Thapsus he is said to have been pardoned by Caesar (Hirt., *Bell. Afric.*, 89), but he shortly joined Sextus Pompey in Spain and acted as his legate, in which capacity he struck the above coins. From this date there is no further mention of him. The coins which he issued in Spain are of bronze only, and the only denomination is the *as*. It corresponds in type, weight, and fabric to those of Sextus Pompey. It must, therefore, have been issued at the same time and probably in the same district. The representation of an altar between the heads of Janus is unusual. It occurs in a previous instance in connection with the coins of L. Rubrius Dossenus (see vol. i., p. 312, nos. 2461-2).

Garrucci (*Sylloge*, p. 124, no. 384) gives the following description of a bronze coin bearing the name of Eppius as legate to Caesar:—C . CAESAR . DIC . TER . *Caput biceps; rev.* EPPIVS LEG . *Prora.* No specimen is now known. If a genuine piece and correctly described by Garrucci, it must have been issued in Spain in B.C. 45, and it would show that after being pardoned by Caesar Eppius acted as his legate for a time, but soon returned to the Pompeian party. As Caesar did not strike any bronze coins in Spain, the genuineness of this one or the accuracy of Garrucci's description is open to question. Bahrfeldt (*Num. Zeit.*, 1896, p. 112) is also of this opinion.

No.	*Weight*	*Metal and Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
106	199·0	Æ 1·25	Similar; MAGNVS for MAG NVS; a complete altar is seen between the heads of Janus.	Similar.
107	190·5	Æ 1·15	Similar.	Similar.
108	207·5	Æ 1·25	Similar; no legend?	Similar.

PERIOD IV.

Circ. B.C. 39—37; A.U.C. 715—717[1]

DOM

([CNAEUS] DOMITIUS [CALVINUS])

Denarius

109	60·3	AR ·75	Head of Hercules r., bearded; around neck, chain; behind head, OSCA	Emblems of the Pontificate; apex, securis (sacrificial axe), terminating in wolf's head, "aspergillum" (sprinkler) and simpulum; below and on r., DOM · COS · ITER · IMP (*Consul iterum, imperator*). [Pl. cii. 1.] (de Salis Coll.)

[1] The only coins assigned by Count de Salis to Spain from B.C. 44 to this date are the denarii bearing the name of Cn. Domitius M. f. M. n. Calvinus, who led an active public life, both political and military. His name first appears in B.C. 62 as legate to L. Valerius Flaccus in Asia (Cicero, *Flacc.*, 31, 68). He was a tribune of the plebs B.C. 59, praetor B.C. 56, and consul B C. 53, mainly through the influence of Pompey. After the outbreak of the Civil war in B.C. 49 he was engaged in the service of Caesar's party and served in Africa, Greece, and subsequently in Asia, but returned to Africa in B.C. 46, and was present at the battle of Thapsus (Hirt., *Bell. Afric.*, 86). He was in Rome at the time of Caesar's murder, was elected consul for the second time in B.C. 40, and in the following year was sent as proconsul to Spain to quell the insurrection of the Cerretani, which he did so effectively that his troops saluted him *Imperator* (Vell. Paterc., ii. 75). He remained in Spain for some time, and in B.C. 36 was rewarded with a triumph. The denarii which bear his name were struck by Calvinus during his campaign in Spain, B.C. 39—37, but not until after his defeat of the Cerretani, as they are inscribed with the title of *Imperator*. They were issued in the town of Osca, where Calvinus had his head-quarters, and which was situated on the border of the country of the Cerretani. The head of Hercules on the obverse is copied from the contemporary Celtiberian coinage of that city. It is the type of the *argentum oscense* (Heiss, *Mon. ant. de l'Esp.*, pl. xiii., no. 2). The emblems on the reverse refer to Calvinus's election to the pontificate. The precise date of his election does not appear to be recorded. The title of pontifex also occurs in an inscription found on the Palatine, *Cn. Domitius Calvinus, Pontifex, Cos. iter., Imper.* (*C.I.L.*, vol. vi., no. 1301). This type is evidently copied from coins of Julius Caesar struck some years earlier in Gaul (see below, p. 390, no. 27). There were no specimens of the coinage of Calvinus in any of the finds of which analyses have been recorded.

Babelon (vol. i., p. 457) has not included the coins of Cn. Domitius Calvinus in his descriptions, as he considered them to be Spanish, on account of their bearing the mint-name of Osca. They are, however, of the Roman standard, and the reverse type is also Roman. They were no doubt struck for the use of the legions of Calvinus.

PERIOD V.

Circ. B.C. 24—22; A.U.C. 730—732[1]

No.	*Weight*	*Metal and Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
			Ꝑ . CARISIVS (PUBLIUS CARISIUS) **Denarius** Type I.	
110	59·7	Æ ·8	Head of Augustus r., bare; around, IMP · CAESAR AVGVSTVS	A circular shield ornamented with central boss, within a pentagon, and with studs, between a spear on l., and a sword with handle closed with bar (*aopis*) on r.; below and on r., Ꝑ · CARISIVS · LEG · PRO · PR (*Legatus pro praetore*). **[Pl. cii. 2.]** (Nott)

[1] There do not appear to be any coins of Roman types and standard which can be attributed to provincial issue in Spain from the defeat of the Cerretani by Cnaeus Domitius Calvinus in B.C. 37 till nearly the close of the revolt of the Cantabri and Astures, B.C. 25—22.

After spending the summer and winter B.C. 27—26 in organizing the Gallic provinces, Augustus in the early part of the latter year proceeded to Spain in order to continue his peaceful reforms. In the spring of B.C. 25, however, he was forced to enter upon a campaign against the Cantabri and Astures, but he fell ill from fatigue and anxiety (Suetonius, *Augustus*, 81), and being obliged to return to Tarraco left the conduct of the war to Caius Antestius Vetus and Publius Carisius (Dion Cassius, liii. 25). In B.C. 24 the hardy mountaineers again rose, and the chief command appears to have been handed over to Carisius, who held the rank of *legatus pro praetore*. Little seems to be known of Carisius beyond what we learn from his coins. His greatest success was the capture of Lancia, the chief city of the Lanceati, a tribe of the Astures in Hispania Tarraconensis, in commemoration of which and of subsequent victories he struck denarii and quinarii of various reverse types representing Spanish arms and trophies. In B.C. 23 he completed the building of the city of Augusta Emerita in Lusitania, which had been founded by Augustus two years previously, and which was destined for the veterans of the Vth and VIIth legions, whose term of service had expired (*emeritus*) at the close of the Cantabrian war. It was on that occasion that he struck the silver and copper coins which bear a view of that city. The obverse type of all the coins of Carisius shows the head of Augustus bare, similar in treatment to that on contemporary pieces struck at Rome. The actual date of the coins commemorating the building of the city of Emerita may also be determined by the occurrence of the legend, TRIB. POTEST. (*Tribunitia potestate*), a power with which Augustus was invested by the Senate for life in B.C. 23. As the tribunitian years of Augustus were dated from the 27th June, B.C. 23, Count de Salis has assigned these coins to B.C. 23—22.

The arms shown on Types I. and II. were those used by the Celtiberians of that period. Diodorus Siculus (*Lib.* v. 33) in writing of the manners and customs of the Celtiberians, in which they copied their neighbours the Gauls, says, "Some of the Celtiberians are armed with the Gaulish light shields; others with round bucklers as long as shields, and they wear greaves about their legs made of rough hair, and bronze helmets upon their heads adorned with red plumes. They carry two-edged swords exactly tempered with steel, and have daggers besides of a span long, which they make use of in close fights." Previously (*Lib.* v. 30) in writing of the Celts the same author also mentions, "Upon their heads they wear bronze helmets with large pieces of wood raised upon them for ostentation sake; for they have either horns of the same metal joined to them, or the shapes of birds and beasts carved on them. . . . For swords they use a long and broad weapon called *spatha*, and for spears they cast these and

No.	*Weight*	*Metal and Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
111	46·5	Æ ·8	Similar; legend reading, IMP · CAESAR AVGVST	Similar; spear with long shaft. **[Pl. cii. 3.]** (Nott)
112	46·5	Æ ·75	Similar; head of Augustus l.	Similar; the shield and sword are larger, and the legend reads, P · CARISIVS LEG IRO (*sic*) PR **[Pl. cii. 4.]**
			Type II.	
113	58·6	Æ ·75	Head of Augustus r., bare; around, IMP CAESAR AVGVSTVS	A Celtiberian helmet facing, surmounted by two crests in the form of cornucopiae,[1] between a two-edged sword on l. and a bipennis on r.; around, P CARISIVS LEG PRO PR **[Pl. cii. 5.]** (Devonshire Coll.)
114	55·8	Æ ·8	Similar; legend, IMP CAE SAR AVGVST	Similar. **[Pl. cii. 6.]** (Cracherode Coll.)
115	60·8	Æ ·75	Similar; head of Augustus l.	Similar. **[Pl. cii. 7.]**
			Type III.	
116	57·0	Æ ·75	Head of Augustus r., bare; around, IMP CAESAR AVGVST	Trophy of Celtiberian arms erected on heap of shields, spears, swords, bipennis, &c.; around, P CARISIVS LEG PRO PR **[Pl. cii. 8.]** (Boyne Coll.)
117	59·6	Æ ·75	Similar; head of Augustus l.	Similar.
118	59·0	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar.
119	56·6	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. cii. 9.]** (de Salis Coll.)

call them *lances*, whose iron shafts are a cubit or more in length, and almost two hands in breadth. Their swords are as big as the *saunia*, but the points are larger than those of their spears, some being straight, others curved."

The coins of P. Carisius were the latest struck in Spain which come within the scope of this work.

[1] The helmet appears to have covered the face, the form of which is rudely represented.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type IV.	
120	55·0	Æ ·8	Similar; head of Augustus r.	Trophy of Celtiberian arms, which a captive, his hands tied behind him and kneeling r. on r. knee, supports on his head; around, Ꝑ CARISIVS LEG ꝐRO ꝐR [Pl. cii. 10.]
			Quinarius	
121	28·0	Æ ·6	Head of Augustus r., bare; behind, AVGVST	Victory standing r., and with both hands placing wreath on trophy of Celtiberian arms; against the base rest a two-edged dagger and a sword with handle closed with bar; around, Ꝑ CARISI LEG [Pl. cii. 11.] (Cracherode Coll.)
122	23·9	Æ ·55	Similar.	Similar. (Nott)
123	29·0	Æ ·55	Similar; head of Augustus l.	Similar. [Pl. cii. 12.] (Nott)
124	26·6	Æ ·55	Similar.	Similar.
			Circ. B.C. 23—22; A.U.C. 731—732	
			Denarius	
125	61·0	Æ ·75	Head of Augustus r., bare; around, IMꝐ CAESAR AVGVST	Bird's-eye view of the gateway, with two entrances, and walls of a city; above the gate is inscribed, EMERITA; around, Ꝑ CA RISIVS LEG ꝐRO ꝐR [Pl. cii. 13.]
126	59·0	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar.
127	57·5	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar.
128	61·0	Æ ·75	Similar; head of Augustus l.	Similar. [Pl. cii. 14.] (Cracherode Coll.)
129	58·6	Æ ·75	Similar; head of Augustus r.; around, IMꝐ CAESAR AVGVSTVS	Similar. [Pl. cii. 15.] (Nott)

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			As[1]	
			Type I.[2]	
	166·2	Æ 1·1	Head of Augustus r., bare; around, AVGVST · TRIB ΠOTEST (*Tribunitia potestate*).	Bird's-eye view of the gateway, with two entrances, and walls of a city; above the gate is inscribed, EM ERITA (similar to no. 125); around, Π · CARISI VS LEG AVGVSTI

[Babelon, vol. i., p. 321, no. 26.]

			Type II.	
130	156·0	Æ 1·05	Head of Augustus r., bare; around, CAESAR AVG TRIBVN ΠOTES	Π · CARISIVS LEG AVGVSTI across the field.
131	174·4	Æ 1·0	Similar; legend, CAESAR AVGVST TRIB ΠOTEST	Similar.
132	176·0	Æ 1·1	Similar; legend, CAESAR · AVG · TRIB · ΠOTEST	Similar. [Pl. cii. 16.]
133	137·0	Æ 1·0	Similar.	Similar.
134	253·4	Æ 1·1	Similar; head of Augustus l.; legend, CAESAR · AV GV · TRIBVN · ΠOTES ·	Similar. [Pl. cii. 17.]
			Type II. var.	
135	164·5	Æ 1·05	Similar; head of Augustus r.; legend, CAESAR AVG TRIB ΠOTEST	Π CARISIVS LEG across the field. [Pl. cii. 18.] (Pres. by W. C. Boyd)

[1] These copper coins were struck on the semuncial standard, which had been adopted at Rome in B.C. 88 (see vol. i., p. 241). They are half the weight of those issued by Cnaeus and Sextus Pompey in B.C. 46—44 (see above, pp. 367, 371). The denomination is therefore the as. The obverse type was adopted for the coin of that denomination issued at Rome some years later.

[2] A variety of this type has the head of Augustus turned to the left (Babelon, vol. i., p. 322, no. 27). There are other copper coins struck at Emerita similar in type to the above, but as they do not bear the name of the legate, Carisius, they are classed with the Spanish local series.

COINAGE OF GAUL

The issues of coins which are assigned to Gaul begin *circ.* B.C. 82, and from the time of the formation of the triumvirate between Antony, Lepidus and Octavius in B.C. 43 they are, with the exception of an interval from B.C. 35—30, continuous down to *circ.* B.C. 5—3, which is our limit of date in connection with the coins of the Roman mint. They therefore extend over a longer period than those of any other province of the Roman empire. These coinages of Gaul fall into the following six groups or periods:—

i. That of Caius Valerius Flaccus, which he struck as propraetor in Gaul, *circ.* B.C. 82.

ii. That of Julius Caesar, struck at the termination of his campaigns in Gaul, *circ.* B.C. 50—49.

iii. Those of Mark Antony, issued after the siege of Mutina, and during the first two years of the triumvirate, B.C. 43—42.

iv. Those of Octavius from the second arrangement respecting the government of the Roman provinces after the battles of Philippi to the defeat of Sextus Pompey in Sicily, *circ.* B.C. 41—36. In this Period are included the special coinages of Lucius Antonius struck by him in the name of his brother, Mark Antony, and of Publius Ventidius, and also those of Lucius Cornelius Balbus, Quintus Salvius Salvidienus Rufus, and Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa, legates of Octavius.

v. Those of Octavius as *Imperator perpetuo, circ.* B.C. 29—27.

vi. Those of Octavius after he had received the title of Augustus, *circ.* B.C. 27—3.

Classification.—If this summary of the coinages assigned to Gaul is compared with that of the Spanish issues (see above, p. 348), it will be seen that the latter practically cease before the former are established on a regular basis. In the case of Spain there are only two issues which were struck after the death of Caesar, B.C. 44, while in Gaul the same number only occurs before that date. This difference in the periods of these coinages illustrates in a remarkable manner the respective conditions of these provinces during the second half of the first century B.C. The coinages of Spain were mostly confined to B.C. 49—44, when that province was used as the fighting ground between the rival partisans of Pompey and Caesar. These wars consisted of a struggle between Roman and Roman, so that we have money issued by both sides. In Gaul the positions were different, as the Romans were on one side and the native tribes on the other.

Though the result of Caesar's campaigns from B.C. 60—50 had been to bring Gaul into the Roman sphere of influence, the numerous tribes who dwelt within its limits were not as yet reduced to a state of subjection, and little had been effected towards the organization of the province. Caesar was debarred from doing anything of great moment in this respect on account of his wars in Spain, the East, and Africa, which occupied him till within a short period of his death.

When the triumvirate was formed in B.C. 43, and when the provinces of the West were partitioned, it was agreed that Antony should rule the Gauls on either side of the Alps, with the exception of Gallia Narbonensis, which together with Iberia was allotted to Lepidus. Octavius on his part took over the islands of Sicily and Sardinia, and also the province of Africa. The government of Hither and Further Gaul thus fell under the proconsular rule of Antony, and he at once asserted his authority by striking a coinage in gold and silver. In fact he had already exercised that power on his arrival in Gaul after the siege of Mutina, and before the compact at Bononia. He did not, however, accomplish much in the administration of his provinces, as his presence was more urgently needed at Rome, and in the following year (B.C. 42) in the East to oppose Brutus and Cassius. When by agreement with Antony after the battles of Philippi Octavius took over the charge of the western provinces, he ruled Gaul almost as an independent governor, and it is from that time that he inaugurated a coinage in his own name, which lasted at least till the end of the century.

It is not necessary here to follow the course of Octavius's policy in Gaul during the triumvirate, in which he was so ably supported by his intimate friend, M. Vipsanius Agrippa. His work of organization, however, was interrupted by his disputes with Antony, but when in B.C. 27 he entered into an arrangement with the Senate to take under his special control certain provinces, which from their position and character seemed to require the vigour of military superintendence, he selected amongst them the Galliae beyond the Alps. From this time his visits to the province, whether for the suppression of the revolting tribes or for purposes of administration, were very frequent, and most of them appear to have been commemorated by the issue of coins. It is this personal control, which was exercised at first by Antony and later by Octavius, which gives to the coinages assigned to Gaul an element of imperialism which is not met with in those of Spain, both as regards their mode of issue as well as their types. When we come to consider the coins which are given to the East, it will be found that these show a combination in their characteristics of those of Spain and Gaul.

In order to avoid repetition we will not at present discuss in detail the succession of the issues. These particulars will be given under the dates to which the coins are assigned, as many minute points will then have to be dealt with. Our remarks, therefore, will be limited to a general survey of the coinage, and to an attempt to explain the principles on which Count de Salis based his classification.

The first coinage assigned to Gaul is that of C. Valerius Flaccus, B.C. 82. It relates directly to his successful campaigns in Spain and Gaul, in which provinces he had commanded first as proconsul and later as propraetor. His denarii, which are inscribed with the formula EX S. C. (*Ex senatus consulto*), show that, like the contemporary issues in Spain, they were struck under special senatorial authority. This is the only occurrence of this formula in this sense in the issues assigned to Gaul.

There is an interval after B.C. 82 of over thirty years before another coinage of this nature is met with. This was in B.C. 50, when Julius Caesar had completed his long and arduous campaigns in Gaul and was on his way with his

army to Rome, having already crossed the Alps into Cisalpine Gaul. He did not strike any money during the progress of his campaigns, and it was only when supplies appear to have ceased from Rome that he resorted to the then unusual method of providing his own money. At that time it was a power which perhaps legitimately he was not entitled to exercise. This coinage, as has already been noticed,[1] was of considerable importance in the history of the Roman monetary system, as it heralded the revival of military issues in the provinces, which before had been of a sporadic character, but which now became frequent in the East as well as in the West.

From B.C. 50—49 till after the death of Julius Caesar there is another interval during which no further military money is met with in Gaul. Its resumption does not occur till after the failure of Antony at Mutina, and his junction with Lepidus in Gaul, B.C. 43. When Antony arrived in that province he took up his head-quarters at Lugdunum, where he immediately established a mint, striking coins in his own name and in that of Lepidus. This renewal of the coinage was more lasting, and it extended at least to the close of the century. When the triumvirate was formed a few months later its foundation was commemorated by an extensive series of gold and silver pieces, on which Antony placed not only his own portrait, but also those of his colleagues. To these he added the portrait of Julius Caesar. This coinage of Antony lasted for less than two years, for after the battles of Philippi, when he assumed the direction of affairs in the East, his immediate connection with the western provinces ceased.

The government of the western provinces of the Roman empire now passed into the hands of Octavius, and it is from that time, B.C. 41, that the succession of issues stamped with his name and bearing his portrait commenced in Gaul. On some of his earlier pieces Octavius introduced the portraits of Antony and of his adoptive father, Julius Caesar, but there is an entire absence of reference both in name and portrait to Lepidus. This circumstance shows that even as early as B.C. 41 there already existed that want of confidence on the part of Antony and Octavius towards their colleague Lepidus which in later years became still more pronounced. The same circumstance is also noticeable in the case of the coinage struck by Antony in the East.

For a guide to the classification of the coins issued by Octavius between B.C. 41—36, i.e., till after the battle of Naulochus, which in their types do not record any special contemporary events, we have those which, besides bearing the portrait and name of Octavius, give also the names of L. Cornelius Balbus, who was propraetor in Gaul B.C. 40, of Q. Salvius Salvidienus Rufus, who was also commanding in Gaul in that year and at the same time was consul designate, and of M. Vipsanius Agrippa, who was sent by Octavius to the province in B.C. 39 to put down the revolt of the native chiefs.[2] The fact that we are able to supply the precise dates of these coinages enables us, by comparison of fabric and portraiture, by the succession of the reverse designs and by the legends, to classify other issues which from the general nature of their types are chronologically of a somewhat indeterminate character.

[1] See above, p. 342.

[2] See below, pp. 406, 407, 410—412.

There are two remarkable exceptions to this general rule in the nature of the issues assigned to Gaul during B.C. 41—36. These are met with in the two series which bear the name and portrait of Mark Antony, one of which was struck by his brother, Lucius Antonius, the other by his legate, Publius Ventidius. These exceptional pieces were associated with the siege of Perusia, B.C. 41—40, and are an interesting record of that event.[1]

A break in the coinage again occurs from B.C. 35—30 inclusive. The absence of coins at this particular time in the Gaulish series is somewhat remarkable, as during a part of that period Octavius was carrying on a war against several of the Gaulish tribes and also in Dalmatia and Pannonia. We have therefore to wait till B.C. 29 for a revival of the coinage, and even then it is supplied in a somewhat meagre form. There were only two issues between that date and B.C. 27, when Octavius received the title of Augustus. One of these has for reverse type a shield, which is adopted from denarii struck at the Roman mint, the other is a memorial of the XVIth Legion, which supplies the portrait of Octavius but not his name.[2] It was in B.C. 29 that Octavius was proclaimed *Imperator perpetuo*, and on coins issued at Rome the only title given to him is "Imp. Caesar." On those attributed to Gaul he is styled "Imp. Caesar Divi f.," which is also found on earlier Gaulish pieces, but usually with the additional title of triumvir. Previous to that time the name of Octavius and his titles were varied, being "C. Caesar," "Caesar," "Divi f.," "Imp. Divi Juli f.," or "Imp. Caesar Divi Juli f."

Babelon in his classification of the early coins of Octavius (vol. ii., pp. 35, 36, nos. 59—63), appears to have laid too much stress for chronology on the evidence of titles given to Octavius and Antony, and he considers that the coins with *Imperator* only were struck before the formation of the triumvirate. Within a short time of the meeting at Bononia the relations between Octavius and Antony were most hostile, and though later there was the intention on both sides to come to terms, yet the result of the negotiations hung in the balance. It seems extremely improbable, therefore, that Octavius would at this time have struck coins bearing his name and that of Antony, especially those with the reverse type a caduceus,[3] which is one of a commercial significance. Nor can we accept the assignment to the same date of the denarii with the reverse type an equestrian statue, on which Octavius is styled IMP. only,[4] for they could not have been struck at Rome as the coinage from 43—37 was under the control of the appointed moneyers, who never failed, even when giving the names and portraits of the triumvirs, to add their own names also. It must therefore be concluded that the titles given to the triumvirs are not always to be considered as criteria for dating the coins.

In B.C. 27 Octavius received the title of Augustus and it is from that time, when Gallia became an imperial province, that a more regular issue of coins is maintained.[5] Though they are somewhat intermittent and dependent on special circumstances, most of the coinages mark the actual presence of the emperor in the province.

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[1] See below, pp. 400 f.
[2] See below, p. 409, and pl. cv., nos. 1, 2.
[3] See below, pp. 416, 417.
[4] See pl. civ., no. 14.
[5] See above, p. 370.

The last series with which we have to deal, and which extends from *circ.* B.C. 27—3, may be divided into two groups, which correspond with the years B.C. 27—15 and 14—3. The order of the coinages from B.C. 27—15 is somewhat conjectural, but one of the chief guides is the portrait of Augustus, which at first approaches in style and form that on contemporary pieces struck at Rome[1] (B.C. 27—25). The head, however, soon assumes, as will be shown, a form which is special to this provincial money and is not met with elsewhere. The reverse types are only adaptations of those used for the coinages of the Roman mint, and as they record events which are not quite contemporary, they do not lend themselves to any certain chronological order. In classifying this group care has to be exercised in observing what was occurring at Rome; for it is much more probable that the provinces in selecting the types for their coins adopted those of the central mint than that Rome copied those of the provinces. The titles given to Augustus during this period are "Caesar Augustus" or "Augustus" only.

The sequence of the issues from B.C. 14 onwards is established either by the legends or by the types, more especially by the former. These record the Xth, XIIth, and XIVth imperatorships of Augustus and his XIIIth, XVIth, and XVIIth tribunitian years. For these dated pieces there is no difficulty in establishing a sequence, and those which are without dates can be brought into order either by their fabric or types, especially in connection with the portrait of Augustus. From B.C. 14—11 the head is always bare; from B.C. 11—9 it is laureate or bare; and after that date it is laureate only. Throughout this series, B.C. 14—3, the only title given to the emperor on his gold and silver money is "Augustus Divi f.," which does not occur previously on the coins of this province.

We possess in some degree other evidence which not only is of assistance in determining the sequence of the coinages, but serves also as a guide for separating them from those of the capital or of other coin-issuing districts. First of all there is fabric. Little need be said on this point in respect of the coins of C. Valerius Flaccus and Julius Caesar. These fall into order and place on historical grounds. During B.C. 43—36 the workmanship is of a very uniform character, much more so than in the case of the Roman coinage. It is particularly neat in style and of careful execution; the letters of the legends are small in comparison with those of other series, and carefully formed, and the reverse designs, when not consisting of portraits, are in low relief. During these years and later portraiture is a most important factor. The only portraits which we meet with in this series are those of Antony, Lepidus, Octavius and Julius Caesar. The heads are small and at first in high relief, and in this respect present a marked contrast to those shown on the coinages of Antony struck in the East, and also to those found on the money of the Roman mint.[2] A very careful attempt appears to have been made to give a portrait as true to life as possible. Subsequently, when the portraits of Antony and Lepidus are excluded, a somewhat lower relief is introduced. This change is so gradual that we are able to trace its variations almost year by year. A similar portrait of Octavius, but without

[1] Cf. pl. lx., nos. 12—14, and pl. cvi., nos. 3, 4. [2] See pl. cliii., nos. 11—21, and pl. civ.

a beard, was used for the coinage of B.C. 29—27, from which date for a short time it is like that on the urban coinage. As the issue of coins in Gaul had been practically in abeyance for some years, it is not improbable that when Augustus visited that province in B.C. 27 he took with him engravers from Rome, who would naturally follow their own designs.[1] From B.C. 24—15 the portrait undergoes a very marked change. It is very characteristic of local workmanship, and very different from any met with previously. It has lost much of its original scheme, being in low relief, the features angular, the nose much arched, and the general appearance conventional, inartistic and unrealistic.[1] It is sometimes adorned with an oak-wreath. In B.C. 14 a further slight change takes place, when the imperatorships and the tribunitian years are first inscribed on the coins. The head is then in somewhat high relief and much better modelled, attempts being made to produce a more realistic representation.[2] As these coins are dated the precise time of this change is ascertainable. The laureate head, as already mentioned, was first introduced in B.C. 11; but the bare head was not entirely excluded till after B.C. 9.

It has been thought necessary to enter into some detail respecting portraiture in connection with these Gallic pieces, as their classification and separation from other series can often be based on this characteristic only.

Types.—The chief feature in the types which distinguishes the coinages of Gaul and the East from those assigned to Spain, and also from those of the other provinces, Sicily and Africa, is the portraying of living personages. True portraiture, as we have already seen, was not introduced on Roman money till the year of Caesar's death. It was an honour which was decreed to him by the Senate, and which later was extended to Mark Antony.[3] When the triumvirs assumed a quasi-regal power over the provinces which they had allotted to each other, they appear to have assumed as a matter of course the right of placing their portraits on their coins. Fr. Lenormant[4] says that Antony and Octavius, even before they had taken the title and absolute authority of triumvirs, placed their portraits on their military money, but the classification proposed by Count de Salis shows that this did not occur till after that event. Mark Antony was the first to put in force this sign of imperialism, and the earliest money issued by him in Gaul after the formation of the triumvirate gives not only his own portrait but also those of his colleagues, Lepidus and Octavius.[5] It would appear from this circumstance that Antony was anxious to show his colleagues that he was not disposed to assume a distinction which he was not willing they should share with him. It may, however, be noticed that the heads of Lepidus and Octavius do not occur on the same coin, but separately, and always in conjunction with that of Antony. In the following year Antony added the portrait of Julius Caesar, and when later he transferred his coinage to the East he included members of his family, his brother Lucius, his son Marcus, and his wife Octavia, and even that of a foreign queen, Cleopatra.[6] When Octavius took over

[1] See pl. cvi., nos. 5—17; pl. cvii., nos. 1—7.

[2] See pl. cvii., nos. 8—20; pl. cviii.

[3] See vol. i., pp. 500, 548.

[4] *La Mon. dans l'Ant.*, vol. ii., p. 330.

[5] See below, pp. 395, 396.

[6] The portrait of Fulvia, Antony's first wife, is supposed to occur on the early issues of Lugdunum (see below, p. 395).

the government of the West, at the end of B.C. 42, he followed the example of Antony, and from that time, with very few exceptions, the obverse type of his money always gives his portrait, the changes in which, as we have seen, are an important factor in the classification of his later issues. Octavius was, however, more conservative than Antony, for the only other portraits that we meet with on his coins are those of Antony and of his adoptive father, Julius Caesar.

The types of the coins of C. Valerius Flaccus, the first assigned to Gaul, are similar in character to those of contemporary issues in Spain and the East. They commemorate his recent victories in Spain and Gaul, specially emphasizing the devotion of his troops in those campaigns. Julius Caesar, whose money next follows, was more personal in the selection of the designs for his denarii, as he recorded on the reverse his election to the office of pontifex maximus, and on the obverse his recent campaigns in Gaul, the elephant being symbolical of the name of Caesar and the dragon representing the war-trumpet (*carnyx*) used by the Gauls.[1] The coinage of Antony, struck in B.C. 43, illustrates the course of events subsequent to the siege of Mutina—his meeting with Lepidus in Gaul, the establishment of his head-quarters at Lugdunum, and the formation of the triumvirate. The first event is recorded by coins with the names of Antony and Lepidus and emblems relating to the offices of augur and of the chief pontificate, held by them respectively; the second by a lion, which may be either the symbol of the city of Lugdunum, where these coins were struck, or the genethliac sign of Antony himself;[2] and the third by aurei giving the portraits of the three triumvirs. The remaining issues struck in the following year are of a similar nature, but the portrait of Lepidus is excluded for that of Julius Caesar; and there appears to be a reference in the temple of the Sun to the campaign in the East against Brutus and Cassius.

The coins of Octavius struck by him in Gaul during his triumvirate, B.C. 41—36, are lacking in interest. Their types refer to the honours paid to him by the Senate in the erection of public statues, his reconciliation with Antony in B.C. 40 (aurei with portraits), and the restoration of commerce by the treaty of Misenum with Sextus Pompey in the following year (*rev.* caduceus), his office as augur (*rev.* emblems of the augurship), &c. His generals, L. Cornelius Balbus and Q. Salvius Salvidienus Rufus, whilst placing the head of Octavius on the obverse of their denarii, use types for the reverses which are personal to themselves (the club and the thunderbolt).[3] But the most remarkable group of coins of this period is that of Lucius Antonius and the legate P. Ventidius, which was produced during the siege of Perusia.[4] As in this war Octavius was opposed by the party favourable to Antony, the portrait of the latter is introduced into both issues, but on the reverse of the gold and silver coins of Lucius Antonius we meet with the figure of Pietas, in illustration of the name which Lucius had adopted in reference to his conduct towards his brother. The reverse type of the denarii of P. Ventidius (figure of Jupiter or a hero) still needs explanation, but it may also be personal to himself. From B.C. 29—15, that is during the period of the imperatorship of Octavius and the first twelve years of his rule as

[1] See below, pp. 390, 391.
[2] See below, pp. 394, 395.
[3] See below, pp. 406, 407.
[4] See below, pp. 400 f., and pl. civ., nos. 2—9.

Augustus, the types of his coins, both gold and silver, are merely copies or adaptations of such as had already appeared in the issues of the mint at Rome. These refer to his victories generally (a shield), to his birth (the sign of the capricorn), to the shield of valour awarded by the Senate, as also to the *corona civica* and the trees which were placed on either side of his house in Rome, to the comet which appeared after the death of Julius Caesar, and to the restoration of the standards by the Parthians. After B.C. 15 the battles of Naulochus and Actium find a frequent record, and the domination of Rome is illustrated by a butting bull, or Victory seated on a globe. The victories of Tiberius and Drusus over the Rhaeti B.C. 15, the submission of the Germanic tribes B.C. 8, and lastly the *deductio in forum* of Caius Caesar and his election as *Princeps Juventutis* complete the series. The only type of any interest on the bronze coins is that which commemorates the building of the altar, dedicated to Roma and Augustus at Lugdunum *circ.* B.C. 10.

Though historically this section of the provincial issues is of extreme importance as illustrating the position which Gaul as a province held during the last years of the republic and the early ones of the empire, the types are lacking in the variety which we meet with on those of other provinces, more especially of Spain and the East. In the case of Gaul contemporary events meet with but scanty record, in the others the coin-types serve as a table of events.

Denominations.—The coins struck in Gaul are of gold, silver, bronze and copper. The chief denomination in gold is the aureus; the half-aureus not being introduced till quite late in the series. The gold coinage dates from the time of the formation of the triumvirate, B.C. 43, and is continued with much profusion throughout the rest of the series. It shows a considerable uniformity of weight. The early pieces of Antony and Octavius give a maximum weight of 126 grs., and the later pieces of Augustus of 122 grs., or at the rate of $\frac{1}{40}$ and $\frac{1}{42}$ of the Roman pound respectively. These weights coincide with those of similar coins struck in Rome. With the exception of a few quinarii of Antony, which were struck when the mint was established at Lugdunum,[1] the silver money consists of the denarius only. This followed the standard in use at Rome, viz. $\frac{1}{84}$ of the Roman pound. The bronze and copper coins are limited to two series only, viz. *circ.* B.C. 38 and *circ.* B.C. 10. The earlier issue is of bronze (*orichalcum*) and consists of the sestertius only. The later one is of pure copper and comprises the dupondius, as, and quadrans.[2]

Finds of Coins.—With the exception of a few of the earlier finds, these do not throw much light on the sequence of the coinages. The date of issue ascribed to the denarii of C. Valerius Flaccus is confirmed by the evidence of the Monte Codruzzo hoard, and that of the coins of Julius Caesar by those of Cadriano and San Cesario (see vol. i., pp. 319, 414). Of finds of later date which have been unearthed in France, sufficient details have not been preserved, and there are only three of which complete analyses have been supplied. These are of Arbanats, Chantenay, and Beauvoisin. The denarii of L. Cornelius Balbus and Q. Salvius Salvidienus Rufus, *circ.* B.C. 40, were the latest in the Peccioli hoard, which was

[1] See below, pp. 394, 396. [2] See below, pp. 412, 439, and *Num. Chron.*, 1904, pp. 223, 244.

buried *circ.* B.C. 38 (see vol. i., p. 561). Similarly those of Octavius and Antony, with the reverse type a caduceus, *circ.* B.C. 39, were the latest in the Garlasco and Arbanats finds (see vol. i., pp. 561, 562), concealed *circ.* B.C. 37. Though the Chantenay and Beauvoisin hoards contained denarii of Octavius struck at Rome after B.C. 36 and 29 respectively (see above, pp. 5, 6), they did not include any attributable to Gaul after B.C. 36. These were hoards discovered in the south of France, and their evidence seems to confirm Count de Salis's classification, as he has not assigned any Gaulish pieces to the years B.C. 35—30 inclusive. The hoard found at Palazzo Canavese, and buried about B.C. 14, contained a denarius with the reverse type of two laurel-trees, assigned to B.C. 16; and that of Terranova Pausania, concealed *circ.* B.C. 6, included others commemorating the Xth[1] imperatorship of Octavius (*rev.* butting bull), B.C. 14—12. Though the evidence of finds is very slight, yet they seem to support the order of the coinages in a general way.

MINT-PLACES.—The wealth of gold money assigned to Gaul is very remarkable, and is in marked contrast to that of Spain, where only one issue in that metal, and that of a very special nature, is met with. It is the almost unique piece of Cn. Cornelius Lentulus.[2] This may perhaps have been due to the fact that whereas gold was scarce in Spain, it was abundant in Gaul.[3] Where most of the Gaulish coinage was struck is not a very difficult question to answer. In the case of the provincial coins given to Spain the location of the mints depended upon the districts in which military operations occurred. There is in consequence a marked absence of uniformity of style and fabric. It is otherwise with the Gaulish coinage. From the foundation of the triumvirate, when the series begins to show a continuity of issue, there exists not only a uniformity in the character of the types, but also a progressive uniformity of style and fabric. This is strong evidence that the coins emanated mainly from one particular centre or mint. This point seems to be practically settled by some of the early issues of Mark Antony, which from their inscriptions and types must have been struck at Lugdunum, where as recently as B.C. 43, the same year as Antony took up his residence after the siege of Mutina, a Roman colony had been founded by L. Munatius Plancus.[4] This city, which was situated at the confluence of the Rhone and Saone, soon rose to importance, and became the chief military and commercial centre of Southern Gaul. The inhabitants at the outset being composed of Italians were in possession of the Roman franchise, and the city stood forth unique in its kind among the communities of the Tres Galliae, of which it became the capital, and to it converged a network of roads.[5] Here was established the first Gaulish mint,[6] the only one for imperial money which can be pointed at with certainty for the West during the earlier period of the empire. It was here also that Augustus resided on the occasions of his frequent visits to the province, over which he exercised an imperial jurisdiction. It is therefore to Lugdunum that we may assign most of the coinages from B.C. 43.

The fabric of the coins of a few issues during the triumvirate shows that

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[1] See above, pp. 47, 48.
[2] See above, p. 360.
[3] Diodorus Siculus, v. 27.
[4] See below, pp. 394, 395.
[5] Mommsen, *Prov. of the Roman Empire*, vol. i., p. 88.
[6] Strabo, iv. 3, 2, and below, p. 396.

there are exceptions to this general rule. They are, however, limited in number, and it is only necessary to call attention to a few instances. The coinages of Lucius Antonius and P. Ventidius, which are ascribed to the period of the Perusine war, B.C. 41—40, are striking examples. Both issues have for obverse type the portrait and name of Mark Antony, and certain of the coins show considerable similarity in fabric and in the legends.[1] The coins of Lucius Antonius are of gold and silver, and in each metal they are of two distinct styles. The style of one series is similar to that of the coins of Mark Antony struck at Lugdunum,[2] and it is to this place that we would assign their mintage. The style of the other series is very rude. As it is evident that these pieces belong to a different locality, they may have been struck at Perusia or in the neighbourhood. The coins of Ventidius resemble this second series and may therefore be given to the same district.[3] There are also aurei with the portraits of Antony, Julius Caesar and Octavius of somewhat rude fabric. Though they were probably issued in Gaul, their attribution to Lugdunum is a little uncertain.[4] With these exceptions it would appear that most of the coins of gold and silver, and also those of bronze and copper issued after the formation of the triumvirate and assigned to Gaul, were struck at Lugdunum.

It would be somewhat speculative to attempt to assign to any particular places the two issues which occurred before the formation of the triumvirate. As that of C. Valerius Flaccus was struck after his campaign in Gaul, we may select the town of Narbo as a likely place for its mintage. That city was situated in a convenient position on the road connecting Gaul with Spain, and from the earliest time of its existence it was a commercial centre. There is also some uncertainty respecting the mint-place of the denarii of Julius Caesar. As Count de Salis was of opinion that they were not issued till after the Gaulish campaign, and when Caesar was watching in Cisalpine Gaul the course of events at Rome, they may have been struck at Mediolanum, even at that time the chief city of the province; or at Ravenna, where Caesar during the winter of B.C. 50—49 had established his head-quarters, and where he waited for the answer of the Senate to his demands, which he hoped would bring to a peaceful termination the action of his enemies in the capital.[5]

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[1] See below, pp. 400—403. [2] See pl. civ., nos. 2—5. [3] See pl. civ., nos. 6—9.
[4] See below, pp. 397, 398, nos. 52, 59, and pl. ciii. 15, 19. [5] Caesar, *Bell. civ.* i. 5.

PERIOD I.

Circ. B.C. 82; A.U.C. 672

No.	*Weight*	*Metal and Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
			C. VAL. FLA	
			(CAIUS VALERIUS FLACCUS[1])	
			Denarius[2]	
			With symbol on obverse	
1	56·9	AR ·75	Bust of Victory r., draped, wearing earring of single drop and necklace of pendants; her hair is braided and collected into a knot behind; two locks are drawn from the side to the top of the head; before bust, symbol, caduceus.	C·VAL·FLA IMPERAT (*Imperator*) in the field. A legionary eagle (*aquila*) between two standards (*signa*); the one on l. is inscribed H (*Hastati*); the other on r., P (*Principes*); between the standards, EX·S·C (*Ex senatus consulto*). (Cracherode Coll.)

[1] The earliest coinage of Roman types assigned to Gaul is that of C. Valerius Flaccus. It consists of denarii, and was contemporary with the issues of C. Annius Luscus and his quaestors, L. Fabius Hispaniensis and C. Tarquitius in Spain (see above, pp. 352—356), and with those of Sulla and his propraetor L. Manlius and his quaestor A. Manlius in the East (see Babelon, vol. i., p. 406; vol. ii., pp. 177—179).

Caius Valerius Flaccus was propraetor in Gaul during the consulship of L. Cornelius Scipio and C. Norbanus, B.C. 83. Previous to that date he had received the title of *Imperator* (Cicero, *pro Quinct.*, vii. 28). It was this Flaccus who accorded the right of citizenship to the Gaulish chief, C. Valerius Caburus (Caesar, *Bell. Gall.*, i. 47). He had been praetor urbanus B.C. 98, consul B.C. 93, and later succeeded T. Didius as proconsul in Spain. For his victories there and also in Gaul Flaccus received the honour of a triumph B.C. 81 (Licinianus, ed. Bonn, p. 39—*ex Celtiberia et Gallia*). Babelon (vol. ii., p. 512) thought that these denarii bearing the name of Flaccus were issued in Spain; but the evidence of finds tends to prove that they were struck in Gaul, for though comparatively common at the present time only two specimens (in very fine condition) occurred in the Monte Codruzzo hoard, which was buried *circ.* B.C. 82, and none in those of Fiesole and Cingoli, the concealment of which happened a few years earlier, *circ.* B.C. 87, 86 (see vol. i., pp. 242, 243, 319). They were also fairly numerous in hoards buried subsequent to B.C. 82, amongst which were those of Carrara, San Miniato, Roncofreddo, and Frascerolo (see Tables of Finds). The coins were therefore struck by Flaccus towards the end of his Gaulish campaign, and possibly at the city of Narbo (see above, p. 387).

[2] The obverse type, bust of Victory, was adopted from the denarii of L. Valerius Flaccus, issued in Italy *circ.* B.C. 90 (see above, p. 300), and the reverse, which was afterwards copied by Cn. Nerius, the quaestor urbanus at Rome, B.C. 49 (see vol. i., p. 504), records the services of the cohorts which accompanied Flaccus to Spain and Gaul, and which earned for him his victories. The legend EX S. C. (*Ex senatus consulto*) shows that Flaccus

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
2	60·3	AR ·7	Similar; symbol, crescent.	Similar.
3	57·5	AR ·7	Similar; symbol, ear of corn.	Similar. (Blacas Coll.)
4	61·0	AR ·75	Similar; symbol, palm-branch.	Similar. [Pl. ciii. 1.]
5	60·3	AR ·75	Similar; symbol, spear.	Similar.
6	58·6	AR ·7	Similar; symbol, tripod.	Similar.
7	60·6	AR ·75	Similar; behind head, symbol, cornucopiae.	Similar. [Pl. ciii. 2.]
8	57·2	AR ·75	Similar; same symbol.	Similar. (Claude Stewart Coll.)
9	55·6	AR ·75	Similar; symbol, rudder.	Similar. [Pl. ciii. 3.]
10	57·4	AR ·75	Similar; symbol, star.	Similar.
11	60·8	AR ·75	Similar; symbol, tripod.	Similar. (Blacas Coll.)
12	55·4	AR ·7	Similar; symbol, wreath with fillet.	Similar.
			With letter on obverse [1]	
13	60·0	AR ·75	Similar; behind head, letter B	Similar.
14	70·2	AR ·7	Similar; letter C	Similar.

received the special sanction of the Senate to strike this issue. It is the only instance of the occurrence of the legend in this sense on coins attributed to Gaul.

The variety of mint-marks consisting of symbols and letters shows that this issue was of considerable extent.

There are restorations by Trajan.

[1] The letters include the whole alphabet.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
15	56·3	AR ·7	Similar; same letter.	Similar.
16	58·0	AR ·7	Similar; letter D	Similar.
17	60·4	AR ·7	Similar; letter E	Similar. (Cracherode Coll.)
18	55·7	AR ·7	Similar; letter G	Similar.
19	59·6	AR ·75	Similar; letter K	Similar. [Pl. ciii. 4.] (Sambon)
20	53·0	AR ·75	Similar; letter N	Similar.
21	61·5	AR ·75	Similar; letter O	Similar.
22	58·0	AR ·75	Similar; same letter.	Similar.
23	57·9	AR ·75	Similar; letter Ꝑ	Similar.
24	60·3	AR ·75	Similar; letter S	Similar. (Blacas Coll.)
25	56·5	AR ·8	Similar; letter T	Similar. (Townley Coll.)
26	59·2	AR ·75	Similar; letter X	Similar.

PERIOD II.[1]

Circ. B.C. 50—49; A.U.C. 704—705

CAESAR

(CAIUS JULIUS CAESAR)

Denarius

27	63·0	AR ·75	Elephant r., trampling on a dragon; in the exergue, CAESAR	Emblems of the pontificate: apex, securis (sacrificial axe) terminating in a wolf's head, "aspergillum" (sprinkler), and simpulum. [Pl. ciii. 5.]

[1] Between the coinage of L. Valerius Flaccus and that of Julius Caesar, the only one assigned to this period, there is an interval of over thirty years.
From the evidence of finds it is possible to ascertain almost the precise date of this

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
28	62·0	R ·75	Similar.	Similar. (Nott)
29	60·0	R ·75	Similar.	Similar. (Nott)
30	57·5	R ·7	Similar.	Similar. (Woodhouse Coll.)

issue. Babelon (vol. ii., p. 10) has remarked, "Cette monnaie n'est pas antérieure à 696 (58 av. J.C.), mais c'est sans raisons sérieuses qu'on a voulu en fixer la fabrication à l'an 704 (50 av. J.C.)." Among the very few notes left by Count de Salis the following one may be quoted, "Cette pièce extrêmement commune ne s'est pas trouvée à Grésigny (*Rev. arch.*, 1866, vol. xiv., pp. 1—7), mais elle faisait partie du dépôt de Cadriano près de Bologna, qui ne contenait aucune des monnaies de 705 (B.C. 49) et des années suivantes, et doit avoir été enfoui au moment du passage du Rubicon. Si elle n'a pas *été* frappée en 702 (B.C. 52) il n'est pas probable qu'elle l'ait été pour la campagne bien moins importante de l'année suivante. Je l'assigne donc à l'année 704 (B.C. 50), et au commencement de 705 (B.C. 49), époque à laquelle Jules Caesar en rupture ouverte avec le sénat doit avoir commencé ses préparatifs de guerre." The evidence of the Cadriano hoard cited by Count de Salis is confirmed by that of San Cesario, which was buried about the same time, and also by those of San Gregorio di Sassola and Compito, which did not contain any of these coins of Caesar, yet included pieces which must be assigned to B.C. 52, 51 (see vol. i., pp. 413, 414, and Tables of Finds). These finds therefore confirm the date given to this issue by Count de Salis.

Special interest and importance are attached to these denarii, as they mark the revival of the military coinages outside Italy. Under the existing position of affairs they quickly spread into every province of the State (see above, p. 342). Previous to this date the only province which issued coins in any number and over a period of some duration was Spain; those of Gaul and the East being limited to a few years only.

The obverse type of the elephant trampling on a dragon refers to Caesar's recent campaigns in Gaul, and more especially to his victories over Ariovistus and the Germans (Babelon, vol. ii., p. 11; *Rev. Num.*, 1902, p. 7). The etymology and origin of the name "Caesar" greatly exercised ancient writers. It is somewhat uncertain which member of the Julia gens originally obtained it, but the first who occurs in history is Sextus Julius Caesar, praetor in B.C. 208. Spartian (*ad Ael. Ver.*, ii.) mentions four different opinions respecting its origin: (i.) that the word signified an elephant in the language of the Mauri (see Clermont-Ganneau, *Rec. d'Arch. orient.*, 1888, vol. i. 8°, p. 233), and was given as a surname to one of the Julii, who had killed an elephant; (ii.) that one of the Julii received it because he had been cut (*caesus*) out of his mother's womb after her death; (iii.) because he was born with a quantity of hair (*caesaries*) on his head; and (iv.) because he had azure-coloured (*caesii*) eyes of an almost supernatural kind. Of these opinions the second was the most popular one with ancient writers (Servius, *Virg. Aen.*, i. 290; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, vii. 7), but the first was generally accepted by learned men, though so little appears to have been known of the language of the Mauri. The elephant may therefore be only a punning allusion to the name of Caesar, whilst the dragon which it tramples under foot is a representation of the Gaulish war-trumpet (*carnyx*) as shown on coins of contemporary date struck at the Roman mint by D. Postumius Albinus Brutus (see vol. i., p. 507, pl. xlix. 17). The pontifical emblems on the reverse are an allusion to the office of pontifex maximus, with which Caesar was invested in B.C. 63.

As Caesar crossed over into Cisalpine Gaul in the spring of B.C. 50, these coins may have been struck at Mediolanum or at Ravenna, where he spent the winter of that year (see above, p. 387).

The small bronze coins bearing the name of Aulus Hirtius, and of the same types as the above denarii, have already been noticed (see vol. i., p. 526).

PERIOD III.

Circ. B.C. 43—42; A.U.C. 711—712

Coinages of Mark Antony[1]

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Circ. B.C. 43; A.U.C. 711	
			M . ANTON : M . LEPID (MARCUS ANTONIUS; MARCUS [AEMILIUS] LEPIDUS[2])	
			Denarius	
31	54·7	*R* ·75	Lituus, one-handled jug (*capis*) and raven l.; above, M ANTON IMP (*Imperator*).	Emblems of the pontificate: apex, securis (sacrificial axe), terminating in a wolf's head, "aspergillum" (sprinkler), and simpulum; on l. and above, M LEPID · IMP (*Imperator*). [Pl. ciii. 6.] (Nott)

[1] Though the coins given to this period bear the names of Antony, Lepidus and Octavius (as Caesar), they appear to have been issued under the direction of Antony only. Some (nos. 31—45) evidently preceded the formation of the triumvirate, in November, B.C. 43 (Mommsen, *Res gestae*, p. 31). By this compact it was arranged that Antony should have control of the government over the Gauls on either side of the Alps with the exception of Gallia Narbonensis, which together with Iberia was allotted to Lepidus, who had already been appointed to those districts by Julius Caesar in the previous year. Octavius received as his share the islands of Sicily and Sardinia together with the province of Africa. Italy proper was declared to be neutral ground. This arrangement remained in force till after the battles of Philippi, October and November, B.C. 42, when a fresh one was entered upon between Antony and Octavius, the former taking over the superintendence of the Eastern provinces, whilst Octavius received those of the West. Lepidus, who had been suspected by his colleagues of holding treasonable intercourse with Sextus Pompey, was deprived of his provinces; but it was agreed that should he be proved innocent of the charge, Antony would hand over Africa to him. As Lepidus had been appointed consul for B.C. 42, he remained in Italy during that year, and as Octavius was engaged with Antony in carrying on the war against Brutus and Cassius in Greece, Sicily, his principal province, being then occupied by Sextus Pompey, Antony alone of the triumvirs appears to have issued coins at this time. After B.C. 42, when the new arrangement of the State came into force, Antony transferred his coinages to the East and Octavius assumed his in the West, *i.e.*, in Gaul. As Lepidus was not allowed to take possession of Africa till B.C. 40, there exist in consequence no coins struck by him before that date (see COINAGE OF AFRICA, *s.a.* B.C. 40—36).

During B.C. 43 Antony issued coins in his own name and also in those of his colleagues. On the gold he placed the portraits of Lepidus and Octavius as well as his own, which, however, always formed the obverse type. In the following year the name and portrait of Lepidus are omitted, and Antony represents only himself and Octavius, if we except the memorial pieces of Julius Caesar (see above, p. 380). The coins attributed to Gaul during B.C. 43, 42, especially those bearing portraits, are well executed, though in their style there is a lack of force. The heads are small but the features are modelled with considerable care, attempts being made to portray a truthful likeness. For iconography they are therefore of the first importance. The mode of wearing the hair, which is delineated by fine lines, is characteristically shown in each case. There is in this respect a marked difference in style between the coins struck by Antony in Gaul and those issued by him after B.C. 42 in the East, where we meet with quite another portrait, bolder and larger. The same characteristics are noticeable in the case of Octavius, the coins first issued by him in Gaul from B.C. 41 resembling in style and fabric those of the previous years of Antony.

[2] As these coins with the name of Antony and Lepidus make no reference to the

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
32	57·2	AR ·75	Similar; legend, above and below type, M·ANTON·COSIMP (*Consul, imperator*).	Similar; legend on l., M·[LEPID·COS] IMP (*Consul, imperator*). [Pl. ciii. 7.] (Nott)
		AR ·75	Similar; legend, above, M ANTON·IMP	Similar.

[Babelon, vol. i., p. 131, no. 32.]

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triumvirate it would appear that they were struck before its constitution, that is at some time between April, B.C. 43, when the siege of Mutina was abandoned, and November of that year, when Antony, Lepidus and Octavius met at Bononia and formed their famous compact. After the failure at Mutina Antony crossed the Alps, and in a short time united his forces with those of Lepidus, who was then in Gallia Narbonensis watching the outcome of events in Italy. From the evidence of the coins (see below, p. 394, no. 40) it would appear that Antony made Lugdunum his head-quarters, where L. Munatius Plancus very recently had founded a colony, the settlers being the people of the neighbouring city of Vienna, whence they had been driven by the Allobroges (E. Jullian, *Le Fondateur de Lyon*, *Ann. de l'Univ. de Lyon*, 1892, pp. 93 f.). Here Antony established a mint, at which most of the coins assigned by Count de Salis to Gaul were struck (see above, p. 386). This mint continued intermittently in operation throughout imperial times and onwards down to almost the present day.

The types of the denarii and quinarii relate to the offices of augur and pontifex maximus, which were held by Antony and Lepidus respectively. It was by the influence of Julius Caesar that Antony was elected to the college of Augurs in B.C. 50 (Caesar, *Bell. civ.*, viii. 50). Lepidus, after the murder of Julius Caesar, was appointed pontifex maximus, an office which he retained till his death in B.C. 13. On the denarius bearing the portrait of Antony, struck at the Roman mint by P. Sepullius Macer in B.C. 44 (see vol. i., p. 550), he is represented with the attributes of the augurship, and as they are frequently shown in his subsequent issues it is evident that he held that office in great repute. Throughout his coins struck in the East the title "Augur" occurs frequently. The introduction of the raven into the group and its position on the right may have been intended to point to a favourable omen (see above, p. 284). The reference to the consulships of Antony and Lepidus on some of the denarii is somewhat enigmatical, as neither held that office in the year that these coins were struck. Antony was declared *Imperator* for the first time by his troops at the siege of Mutina (Calland, *de Num. M. Ant.*, p. 10; Drumann, *Gesch. Roms*, vol. i., p. 156), and Lepidus had assumed that title in B.C. 47 during his campaign in Spain against the proconsul Q. Cassius Longinus, for which he claimed a triumph though he did not strike a blow (Drumann, *op. cit.*, vol. i., p. 9). But at no time did Antony and Lepidus hold the consulship together, as the former obtained it for the first time in B.C. 44, and for the second in B.C. 34; and the latter in B.C. 46 and B.C. 42. Calland (*op. cit.*, pp. 28 f.) has therefore suggested that the legend COS might be attributed to the ignorance or negligence of the engraver of the dies, and that in each case PROCOS should be read. It is, however, more probable that the engraver only intended that this title should be commemorative like that of *Imperator*. The absence of the legend COS on the denarius figured above from Babelon (vol. i., p. 131, no. 32) is in that case either an omission of the engraver or it may be due to an interchange of obverse dies, some of the coins of this issue being without that title. This particular piece cannot possibly be assigned to the next year, when Lepidus was actually consul.

A variety of no. 31 reads LEP. for LEPID. and another of the denarius figured above, M. ANT. IMP. and M. LEP. COS. IMP. (Babelon, vol. i., pp. 130, 131).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Quinarius [1]	
33	28·9	AR ·55	Similar; legend, M AT. IMP above type.	Similar; legend on l., and above type, M · LEP IMP [Pl. ciii. 8.] (Cracherode Coll.)
34	27·3	AR ·55	Similar.	Similar. (Nott)
35	25·3	AR ·5	Similar.	Similar. (Woodhouse Coll.)
			M . AT (MARCUS ANTONIUS)	
			Quinarius	
36	27·4	AR ·5	Lituus, one-handled jug (*capis*) and raven l. (same as no. 31); above, M · AT · IMP.	Victory draped, standing r., and placing wreath on trophy.[2] [Pl. ciii. 9.] (Woodhouse Coll.)
37	27·3	AR ·55	Similar.	Similar.
38	26·7	AR ·5	Similar.	Similar. (Woodhouse Coll.)
39	25·3	AR ·55	Similar.	Similar. (Cracherode Coll.)
			Without the name of Antony	
			Quinarius [3]	
40	28·0	AR ·55	Bust of Victory r., hair drawn back and collected into a knot behind, from which one long plait is brought and arranged in a loop along the top of the head.	Lion walking r.; below, LVGV; above, DVNI (*Lugduni*); on l. and r. of lion, A XL (*Anno* XL). [Pl. ciii. 10.] (Cracherode Coll.)

[1] Varieties read M. ANTON (or AN. IMP.) and LEP. IMP. (or LEPID. IMP.) (Babelon, vol. i., p. 130, no. 30).

[2] The victories to which this type refers do not appear to have actually been won. Though successful for the moment in some of his assaults at the siege of Mutina, Antony was defeated in each of the principal engagements with the consuls Pansa and Hirtius. His troops, however, found in these temporary successes an occasion to acclaim Antony *Imperator*. The type may have been intended to foreshadow victories which Antony hoped would fall to his lot when he united his forces with those of Lepidus. Babelon (vol. i., p. 162) thinks that these coins were struck by Antony during the siege of Mutina for the payment of his legions; but if they are to be assigned to Lugdunum they could not have been issued till after his arrival in Gallia Narbonensis.

[3] These quinarii, as the legend on the reverse shows, were struck at Lugdunum, and their date is ascertainable by the inscription A XL (*Anno* XL), which, as Borghesi (*Œuvres compl.*, t. i., p. 498) has conclusively proved, represents the age of Antony at the time of their issue (see also others with A XLI below, p. 396). This would be in B.C. 43, and

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
41	26·5	AR ·55	Similar.	Similar. (Nott)
42	24·5	AR ·5	Similar.	Similar. (Payne Knight Coll.)
43	24·7	AR ·5	Similar.	Similar. (Payne Knight Coll.)
44	24·0	AR ·5	Similar.	Similar. (Woodhouse Coll.)
45	22·0	AR ·5	Similar.	Similar. (Morel Coll.)

M. ANTONIVS: M. LEPIDVS

(MARCUS ANTONIUS; MARCUS [AEMILIUS] LEPIDUS)

Aureus[1]

46	125·5	AV ·8	Head of Antony r., bare; behind, lituus; around, M·ANTONIVS·III·VIR·R·P·C (*Triumvir reipublicae constituendae*).	Head of Lepidus r., bare; behind, simpulum and "aspergillum"; around, M·LEPIDVS·III·VIR·R·P·C (as obverse). [Pl. ciii. 11.] (Payne Knight Coll.)

they therefore correspond in date with Antony's presence in Lugdunum. When the colony was established there by L. Munatius Plancus in or about June, B.C. 43, it would appear, from a bronze coin bearing the legend COPIA FELIX MVNATIA, that this was the name given to the city by its founder (H. de la Tour, *Comptes rendus, Acad. des Inscr.*, 1901, vol. i., pp. 82 f.). On later coins struck there by Octavius the city was called Copia only (Muret et Chabouillet, *Cat. Mon. gaul.*, pp. 105, 106), and in inscriptions its title was C.C.C.AVG.LVG. (*Colonia Claudia Copia Augusta Lugdunensis*). Antony, however, seems to have adhered to the original name of Lugdunum, the precise derivation of which is uncertain. The lion on the reverse may be the symbol of the city, as it had been formerly of Massilia, or more probably, as Dr. Willers (*Num. Zeit.*, 1902, p. 83) suggests, the genethliac sign of Antony, as the capricorn was of Octavius. Babelon (vol. i., p. 169) has connected it with the passage in Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*, viii. 21), who relates that Antony tamed lions which he trained to drag his car, and that after the battle of Pharsalus he took pleasure in appearing in public in a biga drawn by lions (see vol. i., p. 553). These coins may have been issued for distribution amongst his legions on his 40th birthday (Hirschfeld, *C.I.L.*, xiii., p. 251). In the features of Victory on the obverse there has been recognized a portrait of Fulvia, the first wife of Antony, and this identification seems to receive some confirmation from a coin of the town of Fulvia in Phrygia, named after Antony's wife, which bears a similar portrait with the hair arranged in precisely the same manner (Waddington, *Voy. num. en Asie Min.*, p. 149, pl. xi., no. 5). Duchalais (*Rev. Num.*, 1853, p. 53) identified the portrait as that of Octavia; but when these coins were struck Fulvia was still living. She did not die till B.C. 40, and it was in that year that Antony married Octavia, the sister of Octavius.

[1] This aureus with the portraits of Antony and Lepidus, and the following one with the portrait of Antony and that of Octavius, commemorate the establishment of the triumvirate. If correctly assigned to B.C. 43 they must have been issued between November and the end of that year. As each one bears the portrait of Antony it is presumed that they were struck by his orders. They are therefore not only a record of one of the greatest events in Roman history, but also remarkable as being the first gold pieces issued from Lugdunum, where a mint had only been recently established. Their fabric leaves no doubt

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			M . ANTONIVS : C . CAESAR (MARCUS ANTONIUS; CAIUS CAESAR)	
			Aureus [1]	
47	122·5	*N* ·85	Head of Antony r., bare; behind, lituus; around, M · ANTONIVS · III · VIR · R · P · C (same as no. 46).	Head of Octavius r., bare; around, C · CAESAR · III · VIR · R · P · C · (*Triumvir reipublicae constituendae*). [Pl. ciii. 12.]
			Circ. B.C. 42; A.U.C. 712 [2]	
			ANTONI (MARCUS ANTONIUS)	
			Quinarius [2]	
48	29·6	*R* ·55	Bust of Victory r., hair drawn back and collected into a knot behind, from which one long plait is brought and arranged in a loop along the top of the head (similar to no. 40); around, III · VIR · R · P · C (*Triumvir reipublicae constituendae*).	Lion walking r.; above, ANTONI; below, IMP (*Imperator*); on l. and r. of lion, A XLI (*Anno* XLI). [Pl. ciii. 13.] (Nott)

that they emanated from that place. Strabo (iv. 3, 2) states that there existed in his time a mint at Lugdunum for the issue of gold and silver coins—καὶ τὸ νόμισμα χαράττουσιν ἐντοῦθα τό τε ἀργυροῦν καὶ τὸ χρυσοῦν οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμόνες. The lituus behind the head of Antony relates to his membership of the college of Augurs, and the simpulum and "aspergillum" behind that of Lepidus to the office of pontifex maximus, to which he had been raised after the death of Julius Caesar.

[1] This coin is a companion to the preceding one with the portraits of Antony and Lepidus. Octavius is also only given his official title of triumvir. It will be noticed that the title of *Imperator*, which all three triumvirs were at this time entitled to use, is in each case omitted. Octavius was acclaimed *Imperator* for the first time at the siege of Mutina, 15 April, B.C. 43 (see Mommsen, *Res gestae*, p. 11). He is not styled consul, because on the formation of the triumvirate he resigned that office, and his colleague Pedius having died suddenly at Rome, C. Carrinas and P. Ventidius received the consulate for the remainder of the year.

[2] The coins attributed to Gaul during this year were struck by Mark Antony; some bear his name only, others also those of Julius Caesar and Octavius. If it be accepted that Victory on the quinarii is a representation of Fulvia, the wife of Mark Antony, we have a portrait or portraits in each issue. The proposed order of these issues is somewhat conjectural. The style and fabric of the gold and silver coins are very similar to those assigned to the same district in the previous year. It will be noticed that the portrait of Lepidus is not here met with (see above, p. 392).

[3] These quinarii have been placed first in the issues assigned to the above date, as they are only a repetition in type of those of the previous year; the only differences being the omission of the mint-name, Lugdunum, and the substitution of that of Antony; and the alteration of the numerals representing his age from XL to XLI.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
49	27·6	*R* ·55	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. ciii. 14 rev.] (Cracherode Coll.)
50	27·3	*R* ·5	Similar.	Similar.
51	25·5	*R* ·5	Similar.	Similar. (Morel Coll.)

M. ANTON: CAESAR

(MARCUS ANTONIUS: CAIUS JULIUS CAESAR)

Aureus [1]

52	122·6	*N* ·85	Head of Antony r., bare; behind, lituus; before, M ANTO IMP (*Imperator*).	Head of Julius Caesar r., laureate; behind, one-handled jug (*capis*); before, CAESAR DIC (*Dictator*). [Pl. ciii. 15.] (Wigan Coll.)

Denarius

53	59·8	*R* ·75	Similar; head with slight beard; legend, M ANTON IMP	Similar; legend, CAESAR · DIC
54	56·7	*R* ·8	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. ciii. 16.] (Cracherode Coll.)
55	62·2	*R* ·75	Similar; the head of Antony is narrower and longer, and has an attenuated appearance; before and below, M ANTON IMP R P C (*Imperator reipublicae constituendae*).	Similar. [Pl. ciii. 17.] (de Salis Coll.)

[1] These coins were intended as memorials of Julius Caesar. Antony may have issued them with the object of instilling into the mind of the Roman people, and more especially of the army, that he was about to avenge the murder of Caesar in declaring war against Brutus and Cassius. Though the title DIVVS is absent it was in B.C. 42 that Caesar was decreed divine honours. Eckhel (*Doct. num. vet.*, t. vi., p. 36), who has assigned all the coins on which Antony is represented wearing a beard to B.C. 43, 42, has given these to the earlier date. Babelon (vol. i., pp. 161, 162) considers that they were struck soon after the death of Caesar, at the time of the siege of Mutina, for the payment of the army; and that the legend *imperator reipublicae constituendae* foreshadowed the title which was to be adopted a few months later when the triumvirate was constituted. The date B.C. 42 seems the more probable one, as the portrait of Antony differs slightly from that on the coins assigned to the previous year. The absence of the legend III. VIR may have been an omission on the part of the die-engraver. These coins are of somewhat coarse work, and may have been struck at some local mint other than Lugdunum, where less care was used in making the dies. The one-handled jug (*capis*) is, as we have seen on earlier coins of Antony, the symbol of his augurship.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
56	58·7	AR ·75	Similar; legend, M ANT ON IMP · R · P · C	Similar.
57	60·3	AR ·75	Similar; legend, M ANTO IMP R P C	Similar. [Pl. ciii. 18.] (Cracherode Coll.)
58	56·6	AR ·75	Similar; legend, M · ANTO · IMP · R · P · C	Similar. (Nott)

M . ANTONIVS: C . CAESAR
(MARCUS ANTONIUS; CAIUS CAESAR)

Aureus [1]

59	124·0	AV ·75	Head of Antony r., bare, with beard; around, M · ANTONIVS · IMP · III · VIR · R · P · C · AVG · (*Imperator, triumvir reipublicae constituendae, augur*).	Head of Octavius r., bare, with slight beard; around, C · CAESAR · IMP · III · VIR · R · P · C · PONT · AV (*Imperator, triumvir reipublicae constituendae, pontifex, augur*). [Pl. ciii. 19.] (Cracherode Coll.)

M . ANTONI
(MARCUS ANTONIUS)

Denarius [2]

60	62·6	AR ·8	Head of Antony r., with beard; around, reading downwards and inwards, M · ANTONI IMP (*Imperator*).	Façade of distyle temple, within which is a medallion bearing the radiate head of Sol, facing and draped; at sides, and below, III VIR R · P · C (*Triumvir reipublicae constituendae*). [Pl. ciii. 20.] (Cracherode Coll.)

[1] It is somewhat difficult to fix the precise date of issue of this aureus. If it was struck in Gaul by Antony, or under his direction, it must have appeared not later than B.C. 42. Octavius wore a beard as a sign of mourning from the time of Caesar's murder till after the war with Sextus Pompey, B.C. 36 (see vol. i., p. 574). In this he appears to have been more consistent than Antony, who is represented either with or without a beard. Though the fabric of this aureus is somewhat different from that of others assigned to Gaul at this period, especially in the coarse rendering of the head of Antony, yet the style approaches more that of the Gaulish than the Eastern pieces. The type was repeated by Antony on more than one occasion on his coinage struck in the East during B.C. 41—39; but on those coins his portrait is quite different, and therefore they cannot be separated by style from others assigned to that district. On this aureus the triumvirs are given their full titles. Both were acclaimed *Imperator* at the siege of Mutina. Antony as we have already shown was elected to the college of Augurs in B.C. 50; and Octavius was made a member of the college of Pontiffs by Julius Caesar in B.C. 48, after the battle of Pharsalus. The date of his augurship is uncertain; but it could not have been later than B.C. 41, as his portrait accompanied by a lituus is seen on coins bearing his name and those of Antony and L. Gellius, which must have been issued in that year (see Babelon, vol. i., p. 177, nos. 53, 54; and COINAGE OF THE EAST, *s.a.* B.C. 41).

[2] These denarii are placed the latest in the year B.C. 42, as the reverse type seems to refer

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
61	62·0	AR ·8	Similar.	Similar. (Blacas Coll.)
62	57·6	AR ·75	Similar; legend reading, IMP for IMΠ; countermark, circle above head.	Similar. [Pl. cliii. 21.] (Nott)

PERIOD IV.[1]

Circ. B.C. 41—36; A.U.C. 713—718

Coinages of Octavius as Triumvir

Circ. B.C. 41; A.U.C. 713

C. CAESAR

(CAIUS CAESAR)

Denarius[2]

63	64·2	AR ·65	Head of Octavius r., bare, slight beard; around, C·CAESAR·III·VIR·R·P·C (*Triumvir reipublicae constituendae*).	Equestrian statue of Octavius r., his r. hand extended; in the exergue, S·C (*Senatus consulto*). (Bank of England Coll.)

to the campaign of Antony in Greece against Brutus and Cassius. Sol was the emblem of the East, and Antony about this time placed the radiate head of that divinity on coins struck by him in those districts (see Babelon, vol. i., p. 168, nos. 28—31; COINAGE OF THE EAST, s.a. B.C. 42). Vaillant (*Num. fam. rom.*, vol. i., p. 109) has suggested that this type might relate to Antony's assumption at a later date of the attributes of Osiris, Cleopatra having taken those of Isis; and Havercamp would connect it with the Parthian war and the victories of Publius Ventidius. As Eckhel has assigned the coins of Antony on which he is shown wearing a beard to B.C. 43, 42, he does not accept either suggestion (*Doct. num. vet.*, t. vi., p. 36). The date here ascribed to these coins seems the most probable one if they are considered from the standpoint of fabric.

[1] After the battles of Philippi, when by mutual consent Antony took over the direction of affairs in the East, and those in the West were entrusted to Octavius, the coinages of the former in Gaul ceased and those of Octavius began. This was at the end of B.C. 42, or at the beginning of the following year. From this time the issues of Octavius, first as Caesar and later as Augustus, were continuous, and with one interval, B.C. 35—30, they can be traced year by year down to *circ.* B.C. 5—3. As already stated (see above, p. 378) the money of Octavius assigned to Gaul is divisible into three periods or groups:—(i.) that which was struck during the triumvirate, B.C. 41—36; (ii.) that issued as *Imperator perpetuo*, B.C. 29—27; (iii.) that after he had received the name of Augustus, from B.C. 27.

Besides the coins of Octavius which are given to B.C. 41 there are two other issues of a quite exceptional nature. They are of Lucius Antonius, with the portrait and name of his brother, Mark Antony, and of Publius Ventidius, the legate of Antony, with a similar obverse type. The coins of Octavius were probably struck before the Perusine war, those of Lucius Antonius and Publius Ventidius during its progress (see below, pp. 400 f.).

[2] The attribution by Count de Salis of these denarii to Gaul at this particular time is

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
64	54·4	AR ·75	Similar; legend, C·CAESAR III VIR R P C	Similar. [Pl. civ. 1.] (Devonshire Coll.)

M. ANTONIVS

(MARCUS ANTONIUS)

Aureus[1]

65	124·5	AV ·8	Head of Antony r., bare, without beard; behind, lituus; around, M·ANTONIVS·IMP·III·VIR·R·P·C· (*Imperator, triumvir reipublicae constituendae*).	Pietas draped standing towards l., holding in her r. hand a lighted censer (*turibulum*); and in her l. a cornucopiae, on which stand two storks; across the field, PIETAS COS (*Pietas consul*). [Pl. civ. 2.] (Cracherode Coll.)
66	122·6	AV ·8	Similar.	Similar; legend, PIETAS COS [Pl. civ. 3.] (Blacas Coll.)

somewhat conjectural. Finds do not afford any evidence. During B.C. 41 Octavius was in Italy, and Gaul was mainly held by the legates of Antony. Dion Cassius (xlviii. 12), however, relates that when the soldiers of Octavius in Rome rose in open revolt and demanded that the convention made between Antony and Octavius relating to the allotment of lands should be carried out, they collected money in all parts, even from the temples and also from the people of Gallia Togata, who supplied troops as well as money. It was also in B.C. 41 that Octavius sent some legions to Spain under the command of Q. Salvius Salvidienus Rufus. These crossed the Alps into Gaul unhindered; but on the breaking out of hostilities between Octavius and Lucius Antonius they were recalled, and took part in the siege of Perusia. It is possible that these coins, if correctly assigned to B.C. 41, were struck on one of those occasions. The head of Octavius, which shows a slight beard, is very similar to that on the aurei of Mark Antony of the previous year and also to those on coins given to the following one. The reverse type may represent one of the equestrian statues which by order of the Senate were erected to Octavius in B.C. 43, previous to his departure to oppose Antony at Mutina (Vell. Paterc., ii. 61). The legend S. C. (*Senatus consulto*) does not in this case imply that these coins were issued in compliance with a special mandate of the Senate, but it relates to the order given for the erection of the statue here displayed. The type was repeated on the coinage of the following year with some variations, the equestrian figure being turned to the left instead of to the right, and the name and title of Octavius being also varied.

[1] The circumstances, in which these coins bearing the name of Mark Antony and the next one of P. Ventidius were struck, were as follows. When Octavius returned to Rome after the battles of Philippi he commenced at once the task of the allotment of lands to the veterans, as agreed upon by him and Mark Antony. Lucius Antonius, who was consul in that year, having failed to get himself associated in this work, and being encouraged by his brother's

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Denarius	
67	60·7	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar; legend, PIETAS COS [Pl. civ. 4.] (Cracherode Coll.)
68	61·0	Æ ·7	Similar.	Similar; legend, PIETAS COS [Pl. civ. 5.] (Nott)

ambitious wife, Fulvia, set himself up as the patron of those who had been evicted or were threatened with eviction from their lands. A civil war was soon inevitable, but the actual outbreak of hostilities was delayed till Octavius advanced to Rome, when Lucius quitted the city, pursuing a northerly course. Octavius followed with his army and overtook Lucius at Perusia, where he was compelled to seek refuge. The city was at once besieged, and the blockade lasted throughout the winter till March of the following year, when Lucius was compelled by hunger to surrender, receiving from his successful opponent more favourable terms than he had anticipated (Appian, *Bell. civ.*, v. 42-48).

Eckhel (*Doct. num. vet.*, t. vi., p. 42) appears to have been the first to recognize in the legend PIETAS the cognomen which Lucius Antonius, the brother of Mark Antony, assumed at the time of the Perusine war in order to signalise his fraternal zeal (Dion Cassius, xlviii. 5). This cognomen is also met with in various versions of the Fasti (Mommsen, *Fast. cons.*, *C.I.L.*, vol. i., 2nd ed., p. 542). Eckhel has therefore assigned these coins to B.C. 41, in which year Lucius was consul. In consequence of this identification they are supposed to have been struck at the time of the siege of Perusia (Babelon, vol. i., p. 175). Though this attribution may appear conjectural on account of its exceptional nature, the legend "Pietas Cos," if interpreted as *Pietas Consulis*, in the same sense as we meet with "Clementia Aug.," "Pietas Aug.," &c., on coins of Imperial times, could scarcely be applicable to Mark Antony, as he was not consul at any period within which these coins could have been issued. He was consul for the first time in B.C. 44, and not again till B.C. 34. As this precludes our connecting the reverse type and legend with Mark Antony, the solution proposed by Eckhel must for the present be accepted. There is a difficulty, however, associated with these coins which does not seem to have been commented on, but which is apparent in the case of a classification based on fabric and style. It is that there are two series which vary not only in the legends and the types, but more particularly in fabric. In one series the head of Antony is small and in high relief; in the other on the gold coins it is still in high relief but much larger, but on the silver the relief is very low. The name of Antony shows even more marked differences, and there is a considerable variation in the representation of the figure of Pietas on the reverse. It is therefore very evident that the two series cannot have been struck at the same mint, or even in the same locality. As the coins of the first series resemble in their fabric and in the obverse legend those given to Lugdunum, these may also be assigned to that district, whilst the others, which are of ruder fabric, were probably struck in Cisalpine Gaul for the use of the troops which had been collected there for the relief of Perusia. It is also to be noticed that there is a certain resemblance between these rude coins and those of P. Ventidius issued at the same time (see below, p. 403).

Pietas is here not the personification of piety generally, but is expressive of true and self-sacrificing attachment of kinsman to kinsman, more especially of parents and children (Preller, *Röm. Myth.*, 3rd ed., vol. ii., p. 262). In the present instance it exemplifies the piety shown by Lucius Antonius towards his elder brother, whose portrait and name are given on the obverse. Other instances of this nature have already been met with (see coins of M. Herennius, vol. i., p. 195, with the representation of one of the Catanaean brothers; of Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius, with the head of Pietas, see above, p. 357; and of Sextus Pompey, with the figure of Pietas, see above, p. 370). The object which Pietas holds in her right hand is probably a censer (*turibulum*). It is usually called an altar, as that object is often found placed before her. The stork, of which two are seen standing on the cornucopiae, was the special emblem of Pietas (*P. Syrus* ap. *Petron. Satyr.*, 55—*Ciconia etiam grata, peregrina, hospita, pietatique cultrix, gracilipes, crotalistria*, Preller, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 263, note 5).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			AV	
			(MARCUS ANTONIUS)	
			Aureus[1]	
69	124·3	AV ·9	Head of Antony r., in high relief, bare, without beard; around, M ANTONIVS IMP III VIR R P C (*Antonius augur, imperator, triumvir reipublicae constituendae*).	Pietas standing l., holding rudder with r. hand and cornucopiae with l.; before her, at her feet, stork; below, PIETAS COS (*Pietas Consul*). [Pl. civ. 6.] (Bank of England Coll.)
			Denarius	
70	63·2	AR ·85	Similar; head of Antony in low relief.	Similar; legend, PIETAS COS [Pl. civ. 7.] (de Salis Coll.)
71	61·4	AR ·75	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. civ. 8.] (Claude Stewart Coll.)
72	58·0	AR ·85	Similar.	Similar. (Cracherode Coll.)

[1] The date and locality of issue of these coins have been discussed in connection with those immediately preceding. Their very peculiar fabric (*pièces de mauvaise fabrique*, Ct. de Salis, note) shows that they were struck under special conditions; probably for the troops of the Antonian party in Cisalpine Gaul, which were to relieve Lucius Antonius at Perusia. These were commanded by C. Asinius Pollio, L. Munatius Plancus, Publius Ventidius, and others (Appian, *Bell. civ.*, v. 35 f.). Ventidius struck special denarii for his legions (see below). The portrait of Antony on the aureus is quite unlike those on other coins of this series, being much larger and probably more true to life. It, however, resembles somewhat closely that on similar coins which Octavius struck two years later in his own name and in that of Mark Antony (see below, p. 408, nos. 90, 91, pl. civ. 18, 19). What, however, should be specially noticed is the form in which Antony's name and titles are given. His praenomen is omitted, his nomen is in monogram only, and his title of triumvir is abbreviated from III · VIR to III · V. This last peculiarity is only met with on the following denarius of P. Ventidius, which is assigned to the same date and district. On the silver coins the head of Antony is in very low relief, and unusually spread. The reverse type gives a somewhat different representation of Pietas. She is shown as uniting with other attributes that of Fortuna, and her symbol, the stork, is placed prominently before her, and not standing on the cornucopiae. On the coins of Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius above referred to the stork is placed before the head of Pietas on the obverse.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			M . ANT : P . VENTIDI (MARCUS ANTONIUS; PUBLIUS VENTIDIUS[1]) **Denarius**	
73	56·7	AR 8	Head of Antony r., bare, with thick beard; behind, lituus; around, M · ANT IIIV · R · P · C · (*Triumvir reipublicae constituendae*).	Male figure, Jupiter, bearded, naked but for chlamys over l. shoulder, standing front, head r., leaning with r. hand on long sceptre and holding olive-branch in l.; around, P · VENTIDI PONT · IMP (*Pontifex, imperator*). [Pl. civ. 9.]

[1] Publius Ventidius Bassus, a native of Picenum and of low origin, was taken prisoner during the Social war by Cn. Pompeius Strabo, and figured in his triumph, B.C. 89. Dion Cassius (xliii. 51) says "in chains," but Aulus Gellius (xv. 4) states "that he lay in his mother's lap." When he grew up to manhood he maintained himself by providing mules for magistrates when journeying to their provinces. This early occupation was not forgotten when he became consul, and the Romans reminded him of it in the following verse, which is recorded by Gellius (*loc. cit.*):—

Concurrite omnes augures, haruspices!
Portentum insolitum cognitum est recens:
Nam mulas qui fricabat, consul factus est.

Having attracted the notice of Julius Caesar he was taken to Gaul and obtained the rank of tribune, a seat in the Roman senate, and was nominated for the praetorship in B.C. 43. After the death of Caesar he sided with Antony and was present at the siege of Mutina. For his conduct on this occasion and subsequently he received the thanks of Antony, through whose influence he was appointed *consul suffectus* with C. Carrinas, though he was filling at that time the office of praetor. In the following year Antony made him one of his legates in Gaul, assigning to him the district of Gallia Narbonensis. When Lucius Antonius was besieged by Octavius in Perusia Ventidius made no great effort to relieve him, either because he could not safely move from his position, or as Appian (*Bell. civ.*, v. 32) says, "because he and his colleagues did not know what Mark Antony thought about the war, or in consequence of mutual rivalry they were unwilling to yield to each other the chief command." Having collected his forces and those of Plancus after the fall of Perusia, Ventidius joined Antony in the East, and in B.C. 39 was sent to oppose the Parthians under Quintus Labienus, whom he defeated, and who shortly afterwards met his death in Cilicia. In the following year Ventidius renewed the war with the Parthians, who were commanded by Pacorus, the son of Orodes I., and a battle taking place at Gindarus, in Cyrrhestica, he was again successful, Pacorus falling in the engagement. For his services in the two campaigns Ventidius did not receive at the time any reward from the Senate, as he had not the chief command, but was only the legate of Antony. The honours were, therefore, decreed to Antony on account of his superior position and in conformity to law, as it was to him that the chief command was entrusted (Dion Cassius, xlviii. 41; xlix. 21). Ventidius next attacked Antiochus, king of Commagene, and besieged him in the city of Samosata; but Antony, who had become jealous of his successes, took over the siege, but making no progress was glad to come to terms with Antiochus. In spite of his failure the Senate decreed Antony a *supplicatio* and a triumph, and Ventidius himself on his return to Rome in the following November was also accorded a triumph, being the only Roman general who up to that time had fought with success against the Parthians (Plutarch, *Antonius*, 34). From this time, B.C. 38, nothing more appears to be recorded of Ventidius; he probably died before the battle of Actium.

We have gone somewhat in detail into the career of Ventidius, as it is necessary to decide at what period he struck the denarii bearing his own name and that of Antony. Fr. Lenormant (*La Mon. dans l'Ant.*, vol. ii., p. 351), Babelon (vol. ii., p. 527), and others, including Cavedoni (*Ann dell' Inst. arch.*, 1850, p. 164), were of opinion that these coins were struck by Ventidius after the victory at Gindarus, and when "doubtless he was acclaimed *Imperator* by his legions." Borghesi (*Œuvres compl.*, t. ii., p. 63) has put their issue after July, B.C. 38, when Antony took over the command in Syria, that is some time during the autumn of that year. Ventidius's victory at Gindarus would seem to have been the most important event in his life, and at the same time the most probable occasion on which these coins would have been struck. If, however, the coins of the second series issued by Lucius Antonius are to be given to the time of the siege of Perusia, then from similarity of fabric and style those of Ventidius must also

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Circ. B.C. 40; A.U.C. 714[1]	
			C . CAESAR : C . CAESAR	
			(CAIUS CAESAR; CAIUS [JULIUS] CAESAR)	
			Aureus[2]	
74	124·5	*N* ·8	Head of Octavius r., bare, with slight beard; around, C · CAESAR · COS · PON · AVG · (*Consul, pontifex, augur*).	Head of Julius Caesar r., laureate; around, C · CAESAR · DICT · PERP · PONT · MAX · (*Dictator perpetuo, pontifex maximus*). [Pl. civ. 10.] (Wigan Coll.)

be assigned to that date. There are other points of similarity between the two issues. In each case the name of Antony is given in monogram, and the title of triumvir (III · V for III · VIR) is abbreviated in the same unusual form. Also the portrait of Antony, though bearded, is very similar and in low relief. The style of these denarii is very unlike that of the coins assigned to the East, B.C. 38; at which date Antony had entered on his second if not his third imperatorship. It is therefore evident that the denarii of Lucius Antonius of flat fabric and those of Ventidius are contemporary, and are of the same locality. He must therefore have received the title of *Imperator* either during or before the siege of Perusia in B.C. 41, 40, and not in B.C. 38 for his victory at Gindarus. As he is the only general of Antony who on that occasion struck coins in his own name, it is possible, though we do not possess any other record, that the chief command of the troops to relieve Perusia, about which there had been such contention, did actually pass to him, and that it was then that he was saluted *Imperator*. He may, however, have received the title just after the siege of Mutina, when by his skilful manœuvring he kept the road clear for the retreat of Antony, who was in consequence spared the indignity of appearing before Lepidus as a fugitive (Gardthausen, *Augustus*, vol. i., p. 229). In either case it would not affect the date to which his coins are here assigned. Ventidius was elected to the college of Pontiffs at the same time that he was appointed *consul suffectus* (Aulus Gellius, *loc. cit.*).

Borghesi (*op. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 64) has identified the figure on the reverse as representing Antony as a hero, holding in his hand the olive-branch of peace, and Babelon (vol. ii., p. 527) as commemorative of a military success. The figure appears rather to be that of Jupiter Victor. He is laureate, his mantle hangs down from his left shoulder, and his right hand leans on a sceptre and not on a spear. The type may relate to some successes of Ventidius during the siege of Perusia or shortly before.

[1] After the surrender of Perusia in March, B.C. 40, Octavius returned to Rome for a short period to celebrate his victory and to receive the congratulations of the Senate. Italy being pacified by the departure of the generals of Antony, some to the East and others to join Sextus Pompey in Sicily, Octavius turned his attention to the reorganization and administration of the Gallic provinces, which had been so long in the hands of his enemies (Dion Cassius, xlviii. 20). He did not, however, remain long in Gaul, for he was back again in Rome before the autumn, as he feared a coalition between Antony and Sextus Pompey, the former being urged on by his wife Fulvia, who had gone to Athens after the fall of Perusia. Her sudden death, however, removed a formidable obstacle, and the triumvirs meeting at Brundusium a third division of the empire was agreed upon, by which Octavius received Spain and Gaul together with Sardinia and Dalmatia, Antony took over the whole of the East, including Macedonia and Achaia, whilst Lepidus, who does not appear to have been consulted by his colleagues, had to content himself with Africa (see COINAGE OF AFRICA, B.C. 40—36; Dion Cassius, xlviii. 28). As a pledge of the renewed friendship Antony married Octavia, the sister of Octavius. This last division of the empire is evidenced by coins struck in Gaul and the East.

The coins attributed to Gaul during B.C. 40 comprise three series:—(i.) those which Octavius struck as a memorial of Julius Caesar; (ii.) those which record the honours paid to him by the Senate in the erection of statues; and (iii.) those which were issued in his name by the propraetor, L. Cornelius Balbus, and the legate, Q. Salvius Salvidienus Rufus. Count de Salis appears to have arranged the issues in the above order on the basis of slight changes in the portrait of Octavius. That on the gold coins of himself and Julius Caesar is very similar to the portrait on the coins of the previous year; that on the silver of this issue, and of the next with his name only, is like the portrait on the coins of Balbus and Salvidienus, which in turn resembles that on the coins assigned to B.C. 39.

[2] These aurei and the following denarii were struck by Octavius in honour of his adoptive father, Julius Caesar. Octavius was always anxious to bring before the eyes of

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
75	123·5	Æ ·75	Similar; legend, C·CAESAR·COS·ITER·IMP·AVG.	Similar. [Pl. civ. 11.] (Cracherode Coll.)

Denarius[1]

76	60·5	AR ·8	Head of Octavius r., bare, with slight beard; around, CAESAR·III·VIR·R·P·C	Curule chair surmounted by a wreath and inscribed, CÆSAR·DIC·PER (Blacas Coll.)
77	58·0	AR ·85	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. civ. 12.]
78	58·0	AR ·75	Similar.	Similar.

C. CAESAR
(CAIUS CAESAR)

Denarius

Type I.

79	62·8	AR ·75	Head of Octavius r., bare, with slight beard; around, C·CAESAR·III·VIR·R·P·C	Equestrian statue of Octavius l., horse galloping; Octavius extends his r. hand;[2] below, PONTIF·IVSSV (Blacas Coll.)

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the Roman people, more especially of the army, the fact that his claims to take part in public affairs and high command were based on his being acknowledged as the adopted son and heir to the great imperator. Babelon (vol. ii., p. 36) has fixed the issue of these aurei to between August, B.C. 43, when Octavius was elected consul for the first time, and the November following, as no mention is made of the triumvirate. If, however, they are rightly attributed by Count de Salis to Gaul they could not have been struck earlier than B.C. 41, so their attribution to B.C. 40 seems quite admissible. The title of consul given to Octavius does not therefore signify that these coins were actually struck during the year of his consulship, B.C. 43, but that, as in the case of Antony and Lepidus (see above, p. 393, no. 32), it is only commemorative of his having held that office.

A variety of the aureus reading PON (no. 74) in the Montagu collection showed the heads of Octavius and Julius Caesar larger, but the coin is of the same style of work (see *Sale Catalogue*, pl. ii., no. 37). De Saulcy (*Syst. monét. de la Rép. rom. à l'ép. de Jules César*, p. 17, no. xxxvii.) mentions after Riccio a denarius of the type of the aureus, but no such piece appears to exist (Cohen, *Mon. rép. rom.*, p. 151, note).

[1] These denarii are also memorials of Julius Caesar. The reverse type shows the gilded sella and the jewelled wreath which the Senate decreed to him on the occasion of his triumph in B.C. 45, and which Octavius in the following year claimed should be exhibited in their proper place at the celebration of the festival in honour of the "Victoria Caesaris" (Drumann, *Gesch. Roms*, vol. iii., p. 596; Dion Cassius, xliv. 6; Appian, *Bell. civ.*, iii. 28). Babelon (vol. ii., p. 45) has attributed these denarii to a somewhat earlier date, B.C. 43—42, as Caesar is not given the title of *Divus* which was decreed to him in B.C. 42; but, as we have mentioned (see above, p. 381), the inscriptions of this nature on coins are not always criteria for fixing the precise date of their issue. It has already been observed that in the portrait of Octavius and also in fabric these coins and those which follow and bear only the name of Octavius, are very similar to the denarii of L. Cornelius Balbus and Q. Salvius Salvidienus Rufus, which must be attributed to B.C. 40.

Varieties of these denarii in the Vienna collection read on the reverse CÆSAR and CAESAR (Bahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1896, p. 152). This coin was restored by Trajan.

[2] This appears to represent one of the equestrian statues which were erected to Octavius on his return to Rome in the previous year after the war with Brutus and Cassius. It is

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
80	61·0	AR ·7	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. civ. 13.] (Devonshire Coll.)
			Type II.[1]	
81	62·8	AR ·75	Head of Octavius r., bare, with slight beard; around, C · CAESAR · IMP (*Imperator*).	Equestrian statue of Octavius l., his r. hand extended; in the exergue, S · C (*Senatus consulto*). (Blacas Coll.)
82	58·0	AR ·65	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. civ. 14.] (Cracherode Coll.)

C . CAESAR : BALBVS

(CAIUS CAESAR; [LUCIUS CORNELIUS] BALBUS[2])

Aureus

	123·5	AV ·75	Head of Octavius r., bare, with slight beard; around, C · CAESAR · III · VIR · R · P [· C] (*Triumvir reipublicae constituendae*).	Club l.; above, BALBVS; below, PRO · PR (*Propraetor*).

[Paris Coll.]

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similar to one represented on aurei struck at Rome at a somewhat later date (see above, p. 9, no. 4325). On account of an inscription published by Orelli (*Inscr.*, no. 586; *C.I.L.*, vol. i., no. 626), which is on a plinth in the Vatican Museum, and which reads, DIVO IVLIO IVSSV POPVLI ROMANI STATVTVM EST LEGE RVFRENA, Babelon (vol. ii., p. 47) has identified the equestrian statue on this coin as that of Julius Caesar, which was erected in his honour on the occasion of his apotheosis in B.C. 42, but as all the public statues were erected by command of the Roman people, the inscription on the coins would apply equally to one in honour of Octavius. Dion Cassius (xliii. 14) relates that after the battle of Pharsalus amongst the honours decreed to Julius Caesar was a statue of himself in bronze standing on a terrestial globe, with an inscription giving him the title of *demi-god*. The inscription in the Vatican Museum may relate to this particular statue.

[1] This type is practically a repetition of that on denarii assigned to the previous year, with the exception that the statue on the reverse is turned to the left instead of to the right (see above, p. 399, no. 63). The same statue is probably intended to be shown in both issues. Count de Salis has separated them on account of a slight difference in the portrait of Octavius, which on these coins is very similar not only to that on the previous denarii assigned to this year, but also to that on the coins of L. Cornelius Balbus, which follow. Babelon (vol. ii., p. 36) has assigned them to a date before the formation of the triumvirate, as Octavius is only given the title of *Imperator*.

[2] Lucius Cornelius Balbus was a native of Gades. He served in the war against Sertorius, distinguishing himself so much that Pompey conferred on him the Roman citizenship. After the war he came to Rome and cultivated the friendship of Pompey, but later paid court to Caesar, who appointed him *praefectus fabrum* during the war in Spain, B.C. 61, and again in

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Denarius	
83	60·4	AR ·75	Similar.	Similar. (Nott)
84	57·0	AR ·7	Similar.	Similar. (Cracherode Coll.)
85	51·0	AR ·8	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. civ. 15.] (de Salis Coll.)
			C . CAESAR : Q . SALVIVS (CAIUS CAESAR; QUINTUS SALVIUS [SALVIDIENUS RUFUS][1])	
			Denarius	
86	63·5	AR ·85	Head of Octavius r., bare, with slight beard; around, C · CAESAR · III · VIR · R · P · C (*Triumvir reipublicae constituendae*).	Winged thunderbolt; around, Q · SALVIVS IMP · COS · DESG (*Imperator, consul designatus*). [Pl. civ. 16.]
87	61·7	AR ·8	Similar.	Similar; legend reading, G DES
88	58·7	AR ·8	Similar.	Similar; legend reading, IMP · COS · DESIG
89	57·7	AR ·8	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. civ. 17.] (Cracherode Coll.)

his campaign in Gaul, B.C. 58. Balbus appears to have remained neutral during the Civil war, but on the death of Caesar he joined Octavius, who made him *praetor urbanus*. In B.C. 40 Octavius promoted him to a propraetorship in Gaul, and towards the end of the same year he was further advanced to the rank of *consul suffectus* (Drumann, *Gesch. Roms*, vol. ii., pp. 511 f.). This was the first instance in which this honour was conferred upon one who was not born a Roman citizen (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, vii. 136). After this date nothing appears to be known of Balbus, nor has the year of his death been recorded. The above coins were evidently struck by him as propraetor early in B.C. 40, before he was *consul suffectus*. The club on the reverse is intended to refer to Gades, the birthplace of Balbus, where was situated the celebrated and wealthy temple of Hercules Gaditanus, which was rifled by M. Terentius Varro during the first Pompeian war in Spain, in B.C. 49 (see above, p. 363). The portrait of Octavius is very similar to that on previous denarii assigned to this year.

The illustration of the aureus given above is of the specimen in the Paris collection. Bahrfeldt thinks that it is not genuine, but a cast in gold of the denarius. Babelon, however, does not share this opinion, and is convinced of its authenticity.

[1] Quintus Salvius Salvidienus Rufus, with whom this moneyer is identified, was of humble origin, and owed his elevation to the favour of Octavius, which he repaid with base ingratitude. He was with Octavius at Apollonia at the time of Caesar's death, and is mentioned along with Agrippa as one of his confidential advisers on the assassination of the dictator (Vell. Patero., ii. 59). In B.C. 42 he commanded the fleet of Octavius against Sextus Pompey, and although not with success he received the title of *Imperator*. In B.C. 41 he was sent by Octavius into Spain with several legions, but as soon as he had crossed the Alps he was summoned back to take part in the Perusine war (Appian, *Bell. civ.*, v. 20). On the fall of Perusia he was appointed governor of Gallia Narbonensis, and Octavius promised him the

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Circ. B.C. 39; A.U.C. 715[1]	
			CAESAR : ANTONIVS	
			(CAIUS CAESAR; MARCUS ANTONIUS)	
			Aureus[2]	
90	128·3	*N* ·75	Head of Octavius r., bare, with beard; around, CAE SAR IMP (*Imperator*).	Head of Antony r., bare, not bearded; around, ANTONIVS IMP (*Imperator*). [Pl. civ. 18.]
91	124·5	*N* ·75	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. civ. 19.] (Wigan Coll.)

consulship. Salvidienus, however, abused this confidence by encouraging the troops in his province to desert to Antony. His treachery being revealed by Antony to Octavius he was summoned to Rome, and on his arrival was condemned to death. Livy (*Epit.*, 127) relates that he put an end to his own life. Mommsen (*Zeit. f. Num.*, 1884, p. 73), who has placed the consulship designate of Salvidienus during B.C. 41—40, has assigned these coins to the earlier date, but as Salvidienus did not go to Gaul till after the siege of Perusia, B.C. 40 is the more probable year of their issue. Their fabric seems also to favour their having been struck in B.C. 40, as the head of Octavius on some (nos. 86, 87) approaches in style that on the previous denarii described of this year, and on nos. 88, 89 it is very similar to those on coins which are assigned to B.C. 39. The earliest find in which these coins were met with was that unearthed at Peccioli, the burial of which took place in B.C. 38 or early in B.C. 37 (see vol. i., p. 561, and Tables of Finds). They are the latest in date of the provincial denarii which occurred in that find. The coins of Lucius Cornelius Balbus were also met with for the first time in that find.

The reverse type of the thunderbolt may refer to the successes of Salvidienus in the Perusine war. Leaden sling-bolts inscribed Q . SAL . IM on one side and with a winged thunderbolt on the other are in the Munich, Reggio, and Catanzaro Museums. These furnish us with a solution of the reverse type of the coins (*Ephem. Epig.*, vi., p. 50; *C.I.L.*, vol. i., no. 689). They were probably made for use at the siege of Perusia as they have been found in the neighbourhood of that place, and previously in the war against Sextus Pompey, since they have been met with at Leucopetra (Pellaro) in South Italy, which was occupied by Salvidienus in B.C. 42. There exists a legend of Salvidienus that whilst tending his flocks in his youth flames foretelling his future successes appeared above his head.

There is a hybrid in the collection of M. R. Mowat consisting of the reverse of the above denarius, and of the obverse of that of Q. Sicinius with the head of Apollo (Babelon, vol. ii., p. 415).

[1] The only coins assigned to Gaul during this year are those which were struck by Octavius in his own name and in that of Antony, and those which bear his name only. On the gold pieces of the first series the heads of Octavius and Antony occur as obverse and reverse types, but on the denarii the portrait of Octavius or Antony is placed on the obverse only. The portrait of Octavius on both series is very similar to that on coins of Q. Salvius Salvidienus Rufus (see above, nos. 88, 89), especially in the arrangement of the hair and in the indication of the beard; but that of Antony is larger and of bolder style than those previously seen on the Gaulish pieces. It approaches more closely the one which is found on his coins struck at this time in the East. It is, however, the style of the head of Octavius which fixes this issue to *circ.* B.C. 39. As Octavius and Antony are only given the title of *Imperator*, Babelon (vol. ii., p. 35) has assigned this issue to a date previous to the formation of the triumvirate. We are, however, unable, for reasons already given, to accept this classification (see above, p. 381). These coins were the latest in date of those issued in Gaul which were met with in the Garlasco and Arbanats finds (see vol. i., pp. 561, 562, and Tables of Finds).

[2] These aurei and also the following denarii with the reverse type a caduceus were probably intended to commemorate the reconciliation of Octavius and Antony at the end of the previous year, which brought about a temporary renewal of their former friendship, and which was confirmed by the marriage of Antony with Octavia. This reconciliation was also commemorated by similar gold and silver coins struck in the East by Antony (see COINAGE OF THE EAST, B.C. B.C.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Denarius	
			Type I.	
92	62·5	*R* ·75	Similar.	Caduceus with wings; around, ANTONIVS IMP (upwards). **[Pl. cv. 1.]** (Nott)
93	59·7	*R* ·8	Similar.	Similar; legend downwards.[1] (Blacas Coll.)
			Type II.	
94	60·5	*R* ·75	Head of Antony r., bare, not bearded; around, ANTONIVS IMP	Caduceus with wings; around, CAESAR IMP (downwards). **[Pl. cv. 2.]** (Cracherode Coll.)
			CAESAR (CAIUS CAESAR)	
			Aureus	
95	122·4	*A* ·8	Head of Octavius r., bare, very slight beard; around, CAESAR · III · VIR · R · P · C (*Triumvir reipublicae constituendae*).	Equestrian statue of Octavius l.;[2] he holds lituus in r. hand; the horse is without bridle, but around its neck is a strap with phalerae attached; in the exergue, rostrum l., dividing S C (*Senatus consulto*). **[Pl. cv. 3.]** (Wigan Coll.)

40—39). The caduceus in this instance may be the symbol of peace, or it may relate to the agreement which had been entered into early in B.C. 39 between Antony, Octavius, and Sextus Pompey, by which the last was allowed a share in the government of the State; Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, and the Peloponnesus being allotted to him, on his undertaking to cease his ravages on the coasts of Italy and the intercepting of the corn-ships from Africa. It was hoped that this compact would also restore the commerce between Italy and the East.

[1] A variety reads ANTON IMP (Babelon, vol. ii. p. 35, no. 61).

[2] This equestrian statue is another of those which were erected by order of the Senate to Octavius. It is an interesting monument as it shows Octavius in his capacity as an augur, and also on account of the phalerae which decorate the horse. The opinion expressed by Prosper Dupré (*Recherches sur quelques types de médailles latines*, Paris, 1836, pp. 38 f.) that the statue represents Eutyches and his ass Nicon, who were met by Octavius just before the battle of Actium, and to whom bronze statues were subsequently erected by Octavius (Suetonius, *Augustus*, 96) cannot be accepted, as the head of Octavius is represented with a beard, a sign of mourning, which he abandoned after the battle of Naulochus in B.C. 36. Also for some time before the battle of Actium Octavius had given up the title of *Triumvir reipublicae constituendae*, which does not appear on any of his coins struck after B.C. 36 (see above, p. 2). Cavedoni (*Rev. Num.*, 1857, p. 358) has therefore suggested that the type may relate either to the ovation granted to Octavius after the battles of Philippi, or to his reconciliation

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Denarius[1]	
96	60·0	Æ ·8	Bust of Mars r., draped, wearing crested helmet ornamented with feather or nigrette; behind, spear; around, CAESAR III VIR · R · P · C	A legionary *aquila*, surmounted by a trophy; on either side, a *signum*; in the field, S C (*Senatus consulto*). (Blacas Coll.)
97	58·5	Æ ·75	Similar; legend, CAESAR for CAESAR	Similar. [Pl. cv. 4.] (Cracherode Coll.)
98	60·0	Æ ·7	Similar; legend, CAESAR for CAESAR	Similar. (Blacas Coll.)
99	58·0	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. cv. 5.] (de Salis Coll.)
			Circ. B.C. 38; A.U.C. 716[2]	
			DIVOS IVLIVS: DIVI F: M. AGRIPPA (DIVOS JULIUS; DIVI FILIUS; MARCUS [VIPSANIUS] AGRIPPA)	
			Denarius	
100	61·6	Æ ·8	Heads of Julius Caesar and Octavius face to face; Julius Caesar is laureate; Octavius is without beard; behind Julius Caesar, DIVOS · IVLIVS; behind Octavius, DIVI · F	M · AGRIPPA · COS DESIG (*Consul designatus*) across the field. (Campana Coll.)
101	60·5	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. cv. 6.]

with Antony in A.U.C. 714 (B.C. 40), or to the subsequent agreement with Antony in B.C. 37, when the latter handed over to Octavius a fleet of over one hundred and twenty vessels to be used in the naval war which he was prosecuting against Sextus Pompey. A further suggestion made by Cavedoni is that the statue may be that which was erected by order of the Senate to Octavius after the fall of Mutina in B.C. 43, and which was placed in the Rostra in the *Forum romanum* (Vell. Paterc., ii. 61—*statua equestris in rostris posita*). Though this occurred before the formation of the triumvirate, this identification of Cavedoni seems to be right on account of the rostrum on the reverse. In assigning this aureus to B.C. 39 it may be noticed that the portrait of Octavius is very similar to that on the preceding aurei with his own head and that of Antony, and also to that on the coins of Q. Salvius Salvidienus Rufus, which are classed to the previous year.

[1] It is still more difficult to give a precise date to these denarii. The trophy may refer to the victories of Philippi, or if the shields of the trophy are Gaulish to some successes of Salvidienus or Agrippa in Gaul. It was in B.C. 39 that Agrippa was sent by Octavius to Gaul, and in the following year crossed the Rhine and penetrated into Germany, and afterwards brought the Aquitani to obedience (see below). Babelon (vol. ii., p. 38) is of opinion that these denarii were struck shortly after the formation of the triumvirate.

[2] The gold and silver coins assigned to this year are of considerable importance from two

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			IMP . DIVI IVLI F : M . AGRIPPA	
			(IMPERATOR DIVI JULI FILIUS; MARCUS [VIPSANIUS] AGRIPPA)	
			Aureus[1]	
102	126·8	*N* ·8	Deified head of Julius Caesar r., laureate, with slight beard; before forehead, star; around, IMP · DIVI · IVLI · F · TER · III · VIR R · P · C · (*Imperator, Divi Juli filius, tertio, triumvir reipublicae constituendae*).	M · AGRIPPA COS DESIG (similar to no. 100). [Pl. cv. 8.] (Trattle Coll.)

points of view; first, because their date of issue is certain, and secondly, because they are in fabric and style a criterion for fixing the locality of striking of the preceding and following issues. It was in B.C. 38 that M. Vipsanius Agrippa was consul designate. In the previous year he had been sent by Octavius to Gaul to quell the revolt of the native chiefs. His victories, especially those in Aquitania, earned him the gratitude of Octavius, who offered him a triumph, which he refused, but accepted the consulship, to which he was advanced in B.C. 37, having L. Caninius Gallus as his colleague. This not only fixes the date of these coins but also their locality of issue. In style and fabric, and in their types and legends, they form a connecting link between the coinages of this particular epoch which are assigned to Gaul. The portraits of Octavius and Julius Caesar are precisely similar to those on previous issues, the former more especially in connection with the coinage of Q. Salvius Salvidienus Rufus; the latter, though given a somewhat younger face, with the portrait on aurei assigned to B.C. 40. The reverses with legends only, unaccompanied by any device, may be compared with the obverses of denarii of Octavius assigned to the following year (see nos. 113, 114).

The ancient form of DIVOS for DIVVS is not unusual at this time in inscriptions, and is found on other coins of Octavius struck at Achulla and Leptis Minor (Müller, *Num. de l'anc. Afr.*, vol. ii., pp. 43, 49). Its occurrence in this particular instance on coins with the names of Julius Caesar and Octavius helps us to assign a date to the issue of the following bronze money (see below, pp. 412, 413). They are the only instances on these provincial coins of Octavius. A very important circumstance in connection with the gold and silver money of this year is the changes in the name of Octavius. Hitherto on his Gaulish coins he has been styled "C. Caesar," or "Caesar." The names now substituted are "Divi f.," "Imp. Divi Juli f." and "Imp. Caesar Divi Juli f.," which show a gradual development. The last title, in the form of "Imp. Caesar Divi f." was that adopted on subsequent coinages down to the time of his being created "Augustus," B.C. 27. These are also the first instances of the title "Imperator" being used as a praenomen.

Morelli (*Fam. rom. num., Vipsania*, no. 1) quotes an aureus with the heads of Julius Caesar and Augustus, but no specimen is known.

[1] The obverse type of this aureus is somewhat anomalous, as it furnishes a portrait of Julius Caesar, but the legend relates to Octavius. Some difference of opinion has existed as to the correct reading of the obverse legend, whether it should be IMP. DIVI IVLI F. TER . IIIVIR . R . P . C ., or TER (*tertium*) . IIIVIR . R . P . C . Borghesi (*Œuvres compl.*, t. i., pp. 105 f.) and Babelon (vol. ii., p. 56) have interpreted it as TER . IIIVIR (*iterum triumvir*), and as referring to the renewal of the triumvirate in B.C. 38, but Mommsen (*Staatsrecht*, 3rd ed., 1887, vol. ii., p. 708, note 3) as TER . IIIVIR (*tertio triumvir*), i.e., *imperator tertio*, thus connecting TER with the imperatorship and not with the triumvirate. On a specimen in the Vienna cabinet figured by Bahrfeldt (*Num. Zeit.*, 1896, pl. vii., no. 147) the legend reads distinctly TER, but on another one in the same collection, which appears to be a duplicate of that in the National Collection, the letters of the legend are ill-formed, and this has been the cause of the reading TER, there being a slight defect in the die, the word being given as TER. Mommsen's reading has been confirmed by Von Sallet (*Comment. phil. in honor. Th. Mommseni*, 1877, *Die Münzen Caesars*, &c., p. 94; *Zeit. f. Num.*, 1877, p. 140; 1878, p. 245), who cites in confirmation a specimen in the Paris cabinet. As the triumvirate was never renewed for a third time TER must therefore be connected with IMP. Mommsen (*Res gestae*, p. 11) says that Octavius received his third imperatorship before B.C. 37. It may have been accorded to him for the victories of Agrippa in B.C. 38, and of this the present coin would be a record. It should be mentioned that Babelon (*loc. cit.*) gives two reasons for not accepting Mommsen's interpretation; first,

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			IMP . CAESAR DIVI IVLI F ; M . AGRIPPA	
			(IMPERATOR CAESAR DIVI JULI FILIUS; MARCUS [VIPSANIUS] AGRIPPA)	
			Denarius[1]	
103	60·7	AR ·75	Head of Octavius r., bare and with beard; around, IMP · CAESAR DIVI · IVLI · F	M · AGRIPPA · COS DESIG (similar to no. 100). [Pl. cv. 7.] (Nott)
104	60·7	AR ·75	Similar.	Similar.
			CAESAR DIVI F ; DIVOS IVLIVS	
			(CAESAR DIVI FILIUS; DIVOS JULIUS)	
			Sestertius[2]	
			Type I.	
105	551·0 (sears)	Æ 1·4	Head of Octavius r., bare, with slight beard; before, CAESAR; behind, DIVI · F	Deified head of Julius Caesar r., laureate; before, DI VOS; behind, IVLIVS [Pl. cv. 9.] (Blacas Coll.)
			(Trial-piece, struck on a large flan.)	

that the number denoting the imperatorial salutation is never separated in this manner from the title *Imperator*; and secondly, that on coins of Octavius the number of the imperatorial salutation is never given when the title *Imperator* is placed as a praenomen before the name of Caesar. He also draws attention to a very important point connected with the chronology of the coins of Octavius, which is, that hitherto the title IMP has followed the name of Caesar, but that from this time it is used as a praenomen and precedes it.

In a private communication General-Major Bahrfeldt states that he has examined seven specimens of this aureus, all struck from the same dies. Of these only the examples above mentioned in the Paris and Vienna cabinets have the legend TER distinct. All the others show that the dies were more or less injured by use.

For the date of the deification of Julius Caesar and the appearance of the comet which heralded his apotheosis see above p. 78. It is there also noticed that deification is accompanied by rejuvenation. On the above aureus the features of Julius Caesar have a much younger appearance than on the previously struck pieces showing his portrait but not giving him the title *Divus*.

[1] The portrait of Octavius is very similar to that on silver coins assigned to the previous year, but it shows more beard. The obverse types of this denarius and of the previous aurens were evidently adopted for the following bronze pieces.

[2] These are the earliest bronze coins of the Roman standard struck in Gaul during the triumvirate. Their date of issue is ascertainable with some degree of certainty from the portrait of Octavius, which shows a slight beard, and from the inscription DIVOS for DIVVS which occurs elsewhere only on silver coins assigned to this year. Their locality of issue is also ascertainable from their fabric, which corresponds with that of the silver and gold coins attributed to Gaul. They were probably issued at Lugdunum or Vienna (Vienne), as they are usually found in the south of France. Their denomination can be determined by their weight and by the analysis of the metal in which they were struck. It is composed of 81·2 per cent. of copper, 3·9 of tin, and 14·5 of lead (see *Num. Chron.* 1904, p. 244). This composition is known as *orichalcum*, and is practically the same as that used for the bronze money issued in the East a little later by

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
106	360·4	Æ 1·25	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. cv. 10.] (Cracherode Coll.)
107	282·0	Æ 1·35	Similar.	Similar. (Pres. by Mrs. Annesley)
			Type II.	
108	373·5	Æ 1·2	Head of Octavius r., bare, with slight beard; before, star; behind, DIVI · F	DIVOS IVLIVS within Laurel-wreath. (Blacas Coll.)
109	352·0	Æ 1·25	Similar.	Similar. (Townley Coll.)
*110	301·0	Æ 1·2	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. cv. 11.] (Cracherode Coll.)
111	253·5	Æ 1·15	Similar.	Similar.
112	209·0	Æ 1·1	Similar; legend effaced?	Similar; legend blundered. CASER IVLIVS

the *praefecti classis* in the name of Mark Antony (see COINAGE OF THE EAST, s.a. B.C. 36). These last coins have the advantage of bearing their values marked in Greek numerals Α, Β, Γ, Δ, representing 1—4 asses. The piece of 4 asses, the sestertius, averages in weight 400 grs.; that of three asses, the tripondius or tressis, 330 grs.; that of 2 asses, the dupondius, 250 grs.; and the *as*, 130 grs. Though there is some divergence of weight in the above pieces, which would naturally occur in introducing a new coinage in a provincial district, it may be presumed as fairly certain that they were intended to represent the sestertius. This denomination was included at a later period in the bronze money struck in Rome (see above, p. 45), where it is suggested that in currency orichalcum was rated at double the value of copper. This would give us a copper semuncial standard also for these Gaulish pieces.

No. 105 is quite an exceptional piece. Though nearly double the weight of that of the other coins of this issue and of a larger flan, the dies used for striking it were the same as those employed for the smaller pieces. We are, therefore, disposed to consider it a "trial-piece" or pattern. Pieces of this description occur occasionally in the Roman imperial series.

The star on the obverse before the head of Octavius may be the *Sidus Julium*, and therefore connected with the inscription DIVI F, or it may be the star of Venus, the foundress of the Julia gens. The laurel-wreath on the reverse is that which was accorded by the Senate to Julius Caesar, and which he was empowered to wear on all public occasions (see vol. i., p. 543). Bahrfeldt (*Num. Zeit.*, 1896, pp. 152, 153) figures two coins in the Capitoline Museum from the Borghesi and Bignami collections which show an interchange of the obverse and reverse types of nos. 106, 108. From their fabric they appear to be local hybrids. Babelon (vol. ii., p. 48, no. 102) describes a variety of no. 108 with the legend on the obverse CAESAR DIVI F. The "middle brass" with obverse, laureate head of Julius Caesar and the legend D. IVLIVS, and with reverse, prow of vessel (Babelon, vol. ii., pp. 47, 48, no. 100), seems also to be a barbarous production. It is probably not ancient. Cavedoni (*Num. bibl.*, p. 126) says, "non avendo io mai veduto quello (*sestertio*) col D. IVLIVS di conio Romano colla sua testa laureata e colla prora nel rovescio messo in fronte dal Vaillant alle sue *Numism. praestantiora* (t. i., p. 1)."

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Circ. B.C. 37; A.U.C. 717	
			IMP . CAESAR DIVI F	
			(IMPERATOR CAESAR DIVI FILIUS)	
			Denarius[1]	
			Type I.	
113	59·0 (*pierced*)	Æ ·8	IMP · CAESAR · DIVI · F · III · VIR · R · P · C (*Triumvir reipublicae constituendae*), around field without type.	Emblems of the pontificate and augurship; simpulum, "aspergillum" (sprinkler), one-handled jug (*capis*) and lituus. (Devonshire Coll.)
114	58·6	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. cv. 12.]

[1] In assigning these denarii to B.C. 37 Count de Salis appears to have been guided by the sequence of the types and by the legends. On all the name of Octavius is the same, "Imp. Caesar Divi f.," and in Type III. the obverse legend records the renewal of the triumvirate in B.C. 37 (Mommsen, *Res gestae*, p. 31). Type I. is connected with the previous denarii of M. Agrippa and with these classed to B.C. 36 (see nos. 116-118), in having on one side the legend without any device, and on the other the emblems of the pontificate and augurship. On Types II. and III., which are practically only varieties of each other, the obverse and reverse types being transposed, we have the same reverse legend as on the coins given to B.C. 36 which bear the head of Octavius. This legend records the second and third consular designations of Octavius and not his second consulship and third designation, which did not occur till B.C. 32, as he was *consul iterum* B.C. 33 and *consul tertio* B.C. 31 (Babelon, vol. ii., p. 60, no. 140, note). These coins cannot be given to so late a date even as B.C. 33, as Octavius is shown with a beard, which he did not wear after the battle of Naulochus, B.C. 36. Also after that battle Octavius announced his intention of abandoning the title of triumvir, and in consequence it disappears from all coins bearing his name or portrait issued subsequently at the Roman mint. In assigning these coins to a date before B.C. 36 there is also the confirmatory evidence of Appian (*Bell. civ.*, v. 73), who relates that on the day following the banquet at which Sextus Pompey entertained Antony and Octavius to celebrate the treaty of Misenum, B.C. 39, "the consuls were designated for the next four years, viz. for the first year Antony and Libo, Antony being privileged to substitute whomsoever he liked in his own place; next Octavius and Pompey; next Ahenobarbus and Sosius; and finally Antony and Octavius again." Thus both Antony and Octavius received from that time their second and third consular designations. Dion Cassius (xlviii. 35) also says that in consequence of the preparations for the Parthian war which were being made by Antony in B.C. 39, the consuls were designated for *eight* years. The attribution of these coins to a date earlier than B.C. 33 is therefore confirmed by both these authors. Antony himself in B.C. 39 struck cistophori in the East, which record his second and third consular designations—COS. DESIG. ITER. ET TERT (Babelon, vol. i., p. 179, nos. 60, 61).

The emblems of the pontificate and of the augurship relate to the election of Octavius to these offices, and the tripod and wreath on Types II. and III. to the renewal of the triumvirate which had been created for five years and expired on the last day of December B.C. 38. It was, however, not renewed till the summer of B.C. 37, when Antony and Octavius met between Tarentum and Metapontum (Dion Cassius, xlviii. 54).

An interesting discussion arose at the time of the publication of Cohen's *Mon. de la Rép. rom.* in 1857, as to the genuineness of the denarius similar to no. 113, figured by him on pl. 21, no. 33, it being then in his possession (see Bahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1896, p. 156). Cavedoni (*Bull. arch. nap.*, vol. v., p. 122, and *Rev. Num.*, 1857, p. 136) pronounced the coin to be false and to be a fabrication by Goltzius (Morelli, *Aug. Num. Goltz.*, pl. 49, no. 3); but M. de Witte (*Rev. Num.*, *loc. cit.*) defended its genuineness, as it had in the meantime passed into the French cabinet. Subsequently Cavedoni (*Messagere di Modena*, 31 Agósto, 1857) withdrew his condemnation, much to the satisfaction of M. de Witte (*Rev. Num.*, 1860, p. 187). The specimen in the National Collection is perfectly genuine, but its fabric shows that it belongs to a provincial issue.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type II.	
115	61·7	AR ·8	IMP · CAESAR DIVI · F within Laurel-wreath.	Tripod; around which, COS · ITER · ET · TER · DESI[1] (*Consul iterum et tertio designatus*). [Pl. cv. 13.]
			Type III.	
	45·0	AR ·85	Tripod; the caldron is inscribed R · [P] · C (*Reipublicae constituendae*); around, IMP · CAESAR · DIVI · F · III · VIR · ITER (*Triumvir iterum*). See no. 116.	COS · ITER · ET TERT · DESIG within Laurel-wreath.

[Berlin Coll.]

Circ. B.C. 36; A.U.C. 718

IMP . CAESAR DIVI F

(IMPERATOR CAESAR DIVI FILIUS)

Denarius[2]

116	60·5	AR ·8	Head of Octavius r., bare, with beard; around, IMP · CAESAR DIVI · F · III · VIR · ITER · R · P · C (*Triumvir iterum reipublicae constituendae*).	Emblems of the pontificate and augurship; simpulum, "aspergillum" (sprinkler), one-handled jug (*capis*) and lituus; above and on r., COS · ITER · ET · TER · DESIG. See no. 115. [Pl. cv. 14.]
117	60·4	AR ·8	Similar; head with slight beard.	Similar.
118	43·7	AR ·75	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. cv. 15.] (Cracherode Coll.)

[1] Babelon (vol. ii. p. 58, no. 136) gives the legend as III . VIR . ITER . COS . ITER . &c., but there is not sufficient space for III . VIR . ITER.

[2] The attribution of these coins to this particular year is somewhat conjectural, as they might with equal reason be assigned to the previous one. The portrait of Octavius is slightly older than that on the coins of M. Agrippa struck two years earlier (see above, no. 103), and on no. 116 his beard is certainly longer. The fact of his wearing a beard, however, shows that these denarii were struck before the battle of Naulochus, 3 September, B.C. 36. The reverse type is only a copy of that of the coins of the previous year, and the legend on the obverse refers to the renewal of the triumvirate.

PERIOD V.

Circ. B.C. 29—27; A.U.C. 725—727[1]

Coinages of Octavius as Imperator Perpetuo

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			IMP . CAESAR DIVI F	
			(IMPERATOR CAESAR DIVI FILIUS)	
			Denarius[2]	
119	61·6	R ·75	Head of Octavius r., bare.	A circular shield with boss in the centre and ornamented with three concentric circles of studs; above, at sides and below, IMP CAE SAR DIVI · F [Pl. cvi. 1.] (Cracherode Coll.)

[1] Count de Salis has not assigned any coins of the Roman Republican series to Gaul between B.C. 36—29, though Octavius was occupied during B.C. 35—33 in successful campaigns against the Salassi in the Alps, the Liburni and Iapydes in Dalmatia, and the Pannonians. From B.C. 33 to B.C. 29 he was engaged in the final struggle with Antony and in carrying out the organization of the Eastern provinces. It is possible that in his classification Count de Salis may have been guided by the evidence of the Chantenay and Beauvoisin hoards, which contained coins of the Roman and Eastern mints issued during that period (see above, pp. 5, 6), but none which could be assigned to a Gaulish mint. It would appear that the only provincial coins struck during B.C. 35—31 were those issued by Antony in the East; if we except those of L. Pinarius Scarpus, which are attributed to the Cyrenaïca, B.C. 31—30.

[2] These denarii, like those of the Roman mint of the same period, must have been issued after Octavius had received from the Senate the title of *Imperator perpetuo* in B.C. 29 (see above, p. 13). They resemble the contemporary coins of the Roman mint, but are of somewhat different fabric, the portrait of Octavius showing the head smaller and with the features of a somewhat attenuated appearance. The reverse type of the shield is similar to that on denarii struck in the Capitol (see above, p. 17, no. 4368). In the present case it may be intended to refer specially to the recent campaigns of Octavius in Dalmatia and Pannonia.

We would mention here a denarius of barbarous fabric which may have been struck at this time or a little earlier, *circ.* B.C. 30, in Gaul. It has on the obverse the laureate head of Octavius to left, and around, CAESAR DIVI F; and on the reverse, Cupid, or a winged Genius, riding on a dolphin to right; before, a star; under dolphin, S . P . Q . R . This coin has been described by Eckhel (*Doct. Num. vet.*, t. vi., p. 81), Riccio (*Mon. fam. rom.*, p. 115, no. 106), Cohen (*Mon. rép. rom.*, p. 165, note 2; *Méd. imp.*, vol. i., p. 100, no. 269), and by Comm. Fr. Gnecchi (*Riv. Ital.*, 1896, p. 14). Eckhel remarks that the laureate head is exceptional at this time (*circ.* B.C. 35—28), and he is uncertain whether to identify the figure on the dolphin as Cupid, or the Genius of Neptune. Riccio describes these denarii as having on the obverse the head of Octavius to right or left, and (*op. cit.*, pl. lix., no. 29) he figures a specimen with the laureate head of Octavius to right, and with the obverse legend reading upwards instead of downwards, and that on the reverse in the exergue. Cohen (*Méd. imp.*, *loc. cit.*) has read the obverse legend as AVGVSTVS DIVI F, which Comm. Fr. Gnecchi has corrected to CAESAR DIVI F, from a specimen in his own collection in somewhat better condition. The coin is in fact a barbarous production, but it may have been issued in Gaul about B.C. 30. The reverse type is copied from the denarius of L. Lucretius Trio, struck at the Roman mint *circ.* B.C. 76 (see vol. i., p. 396, no. 3247). In the present instance it may have been intended

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
120	60·0	AR ·85	Similar.	Similar.
121	59·5	AR ·75	Similar.	Similar.
122	58·6	AR ·75	Similar.	Similar.
123	61·0	AR ·75	Similar; head of Octavius l.	Similar. [Pl. cvi. 2.] (Devonshire Coll.)

Without the name of Octavius

Denarius[1]

	51·0	AR ·7	Head of Octavius l., bare.	Lion galloping r.; above, LEG · XVI (*Legio XVI.*)

[*Zeit. f. Num.*, 1875, p. 117.]

to refer to the battle of Actium. There are other barbarous denarii of this nature, which Count de Salis has not included in his classification, as they were not issued officially. Amongst them is one with the reverse type a crescent moon and stars, which is also a copy of another denarius of L. Lucretius Trio (see below, p. 450, note).

[1] This denarius was formerly assigned to Mark Antony (Beger, *Thesaurus Brandenburgicus*, vol. ii., p. 538; Morelli, *Fam. rom. num., Antonia*, p. 30, pl. xi., no. 4; Eckhel, *Doct. num. vet.*, t. vi., p. 51). This identification was probably due to the fact that the reverse type, a lion, is met with on earlier quinarii struck at Lugdunum by Antony (see above, pp. 394, 396). Sestini (*Lettere*, viii., p. 146) thought he saw on the obverse behind the head the letters NT (i.e., IMP · ANT). The specimen, of which an illustration is here given, is in the Berlin collection, and was described by Dr. J. Friedländer in the *Zeit. f. Num.*, 1875, pp. 117 f., who rightly assigned it, on account of the portrait, to Augustus (Octavius). From the resemblance of the reverse type to that of coins of Juba II. of Mauretania (Müller, *Num. de l'anc. Afrique*, vol. iii., p. 103, no. 21), Dr. Friedländer came to the conclusion that the coin was struck in Africa, and he has therefore given it to the period between the death of Bocchus III., B.C. 33, and the restoration of the kingdom by Augustus to Juba II., B.C. 25. He also suggested that the lion was either the sign of the XVIth Legion, or that it was symbolical of Africa. As, however, Count de Salis has not attributed any provincial coins to Africa after the defeat of Sextus Pompey at Naulochus, B.C. 36, and as this denarius in the fabric of the obverse type as well as in the portrait of Octavius is so precisely similar in these respects to other denarii given to this year with the reverse type, a shield, there seem good grounds for supposing that it belongs to a Gaulish issue. The lion may therefore be either the symbol of Lugdunum or else the badge of the XVIth Legion. This legion was stationed in Germania Superior under Augustus, and had its head-quarters at Mogontiacum (Mainz). It may, however, have taken part in the Gaulish or Pannonian wars of an earlier date. Count de Salis had not noticed this coin, and its attribution to Gaul was arrived at independently of the same opinion expressed by Dr. Willers (*Num. Zeit.*, 1902, p. 83). The absence of the name of Octavius renders its attribution to B.C. 29—27 somewhat conjectural. Dr. Willers describes it as a quinarius, but its weight shows that it is a denarius.

There is another example of this coin in the Vatican collection. It weighs 52 grains.

PERIOD VI.[1]

Circ. B.C. 27—3; A.U.C. 727—751

Coinages of Octavius as Augustus

SERIES I.

No.	*Weight*	*Metal and Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*

Circ. B.C. 27—25; A.U.C. 727—729

AVGVSTVS

Denarius

Type I.

	54·0	Æ ·8	Augustus wearing crested helmet, his mantle floating behind, on horseback, charging r.; with r. hand he hurls spear; in the exergue, IMP (*Imperator*).	Capricorn r., holding globe; on its back, cornucopiæ; below, AVGVSTVS

[Paris Coll.]

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[1] On the sixteenth of January, B.C. 27, the Senate, by unanimous consent, conferred on Octavius the illustrious title of Augustus, and thenceforth he is so styled on his coins, in public documents, and in inscriptions. The coinages included in this period, the last to be described in connection with the province of Gaul, may be grouped into four series, which follow each other in chronological order.

Series I., B.C. 27—25.—These coins were contemporary with the visit of Augustus to Gaul, when he undertook the task of reorganizing that province.

Series II., B.C. 24—16.—The coins assigned to these years do not seem to mark any particular epoch in the history of Gaul. Augustus at the time was either in Italy or visiting the Eastern portion of the Roman dominions, Asia Minor and Greece (see COINAGE OF THE EAST).

Series III., B.C. 16—15.—These issues were again contemporary with the sojourn of Augustus in Gaul, where he went to resist the inroads of the German tribes and to complete the arrangements connected with a further organization of the province.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type II.	
124	59·0	Æ ·8	Head of Augustus r., bare, in high relief.	Capricorn r., holding globe and rudder; on its back, cornucopiae;[1] below AV ϚVSTVS [Pl. cvi. 3.]
125	57·5	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar. (Blacas Coll.)
126	58·3	Æ ·75	Similar; head of Augustus l.	Similar. [Pl. cvi. 4.] (Cruicherode Coll.)
127	56·6	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar.

Series IV., B.C. 14—8. — These coins date from the time when Augustus received his tenth imperatorship, to which he was acclaimed after the defeat of the Rhaeti by Tiberius in August of the previous year. As most of the pieces of this series are inscribed with the successive imperatorships, or with the tribunitian years of Augustus, their chronological classification presents no serious difficulties.

Each series has some special characteristics, either in the titles of the emperor, or in the types, or in the style of workmanship. Also a distinct portrait seems to characterize each one. From B.C. 27—25 the emperor is styled "Augustus" only; from B.C. 24—15 "Augustus," or "Caesar Augustus"; and from B.C. 14—8 "Augustus Divi f." only. These titles follow somewhat closely those found on contemporary issues of the Roman mint. The reverse types from B.C. 27—15 are in the main copies of those of the central mint, but from that date they are original in character, though rarely relating to contemporary events. They show a great deal of repetition.

In connection with the coins of the first series the portrait of Augustus is in high relief as compared with that on previous issues attributed to Gaul. It approaches more in style that on the contemporary coins of Rome. There are, however, slight differences in the arrangement of the hair, in the shape of the head, and more especially in the form of the neck, which is in lower relief and is somewhat indented at the base, as on the Gaulish pieces of B.C. 29—27. As already mentioned the only title given to the emperor is "Augustus," and the reverse types are copies of those used at the Roman mint.

The equestrian figure on the obverse of the denarius of Type I. probably represents one of the numerous statues erected to Augustus during the time of his imperatorship as would indicate the legend IMP. It is of somewhat unusual form, Augustus being shown wearing a helmet. It may therefore be a reproduction of a local statue, not improbably raised to him at Lugdunum. The coin is, however, so barbarous that it is doubtful whether it was actually struck at Lugdunum. The capricorn, the genethliac symbol of Augustus, has already been noticed in connection with contemporary issues at Rome (see above, p. 19).

[1] This reverse type of the capricorn is so similar to that on the coins of Rome assigned to the same date that it would almost seem as if Roman engravers executed the dies for this issue. It is not at all improbable that, as the mint at Lugdunum had been in abeyance for some years, engravers were summoned from Rome, who would take as their models the coins issued in the Capitol. The denarii assigned to the next period are certainly of provincial work, and the dies were executed by quite a different set of engravers. They were probably local artists.

SERIES II.

Circ. B.C. 24—16; A.U.C. 730—738[1]

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			CAESAR AVGVSTVS	
			Circ. B.C. 24—19; A.U.C. 730—735	
			Type I.[2]	
			Denarius	
128	57·0	*R* ·85	Head of Augustus r., bare, in low relief; around, CAESAR AVGVSTVS	A circular shield inscribed S·P·Q·R CL·V (*Senatus populusque romanus: clypeus virtutis*). (de Salis Coll.)
129	56·7	*R* ·85	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. cvi. 5.] (Gracherode Coll.)
			Type I. var. *a*	
130	58·6	*R* ·85	Similar; head of Augustus l.; countermark on neck, O, and before, I	Similar. [Pl. cvi. 6.]

[1] The coins of the different issues assigned to these years are remarkable for similarity of style, portraiture, and legends. The reverse types are all adaptations of those found on contemporary pieces struck at Rome. The order assigned to these issues is based mostly on the portrait of Augustus, which differs materially from that on contemporary coins struck at Rome, the latter showing rather a large head in high relief and of realistic appearance. The head of Augustus on these provincial pieces reveals quite a different appearance. It is in low relief and of flat fabric; the features, though somewhat regular, are angular, which impart a stiff and conventional aspect, and the nose is much arched. Considerable care was bestowed on the graceful and delicate rendering of the hair. These remarks apply more specially to coins of Type I and its varieties. The portrait on the other Types of this series preserves the same form, but the head is adorned with an oak-wreath, which necessitated it being in slightly higher relief. This slight change anticipates the portrait on coins of Series III. Besides this uniformity in the portrait there is a similar uniformity in the name of Augustus, which is always "Caesar Augustus." When placed on the obverse it occupies the same position, "Caesar" being on the left of the flan and "Augustus" on the right, whether the head is to right or left. On coins of Types V.—VII. the name of Augustus is transferred to the reverse, in which case its position varies to suit the design. These variations from the coins of the Roman mint, and also the fabric in general, show very clearly that the issues were of provincial striking.

[2] This reverse type is a representation of "the golden shield of valour" (*clypeus virtutis*), which was decreed to Augustus in B.C. 27, and which he deposited in the Curia Julia (see above, p. 20). It occurs on contemporary coins of Rome (see above, p. 24), but accompanied by the civic crown, or as below (see Type V.), placed between two laurel-trees.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type I. var. *b*	
131	57·6	*R* ·8	Similar; head of Augustus r.	Similar; shield inscribed CL · V; above, S · P; below, Q · R [Pl. cvi. 7.] (Blucas Coll.)
132	53·8	*R* ·75	Similar; before head, countermark, ⊦	Similar.
			Type I. var. *c*	
133	55·6	*R* ·8	Similar; head of Augustus l.	Similar.
134	57·0	*R* ·85	Similar.	Similar; but R Q for Q · R [Pl. cvi. 8.]
			Circ. B.C. 18—17; A.U.C. 736—737	
			Type II.[1]	
			Denarius	
135	59·4	*R* ·8	Head of Augustus r., wearing oak-wreath; around, CAESAR AVGVSTVS	Comet of eight rays and tail; across the field and between the rays, DIVVS IVLIVS [Pl. cvi. 9.] (de Salis Coll.)
136	56·8	*R* ·8	Similar.	Similar. (Cracherode Coll.)
137	55·5	*R* ·85	Similar.	Similar.

[1] The obverse and reverse types are only repetitions of those found on denarii struck at Rome circ. B.C. 18 (see above, p. 29). The oak-wreath worn by Augustus is that which was presented to him by the Senate in B.C. 27, and the comet is that which appeared in the heavens shortly after the death of Caesar. Julius Obsequens (*De Prodigiis*, c. 131) relates that in B.C. 17 (A.U.C. 737) *Fax coelestis a meridiano ad septentriones extenta luci diurnae similem in nocte fecit.* Dion Cassius (liv. 19) mentions also the appearance of a celestial torch (λαμπάς), but he puts it to the following year, B.C. 16, and states that it was visible all one night (διὰ πάσης τῆς νυκτὸς ἠνέχθη). If it appeared for one night only it could not be a comet, but most probably an aurora. Gardthausen (*Augustus*, p. 1010) is, however, inclined to accept the statement of Julius Obsequens and considers the *fax coelestis* to have been a reappearance of the *Sidus Julium*, and that these coins, as also those attributed to the Roman mint, were struck to commemorate this second appearance. As it occurred in the year when the Saecular games were celebrated he calls it the "Saecularkomet."

There is a barbarous imitation, probably Gaulish, of this type with the head of Augustus laureate to right, but smaller and in higher relief. On the reverse the flames of the tail of the comet are downwards instead of upwards. A specimen of this denarius is in the National Collection.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type II. var. *a*	
138	59·0	Æ ·8	Similar; head of Augustus l.	Similar. [Pl. cvi. 10.] (de Salis Coll.)
139	57·4	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar. (Cracherode Coll.)
			Type II. var. *b*	
140	57·0	Æ ·85	Similar.	Similar; above comet, DI VVS; below, IVLIVS [Pl. cvi. 11.]
			Circ. B.C. 16; A.U.C. 738	
			Type III.[1]	
			Denarius	
141	56·5	Æ ·85	Head of Augustus l., wearing oak-wreath; around, CAESAR AVGVSTVS	Victory flying r., holding wreath with both hands; below, shield, which rests against column [and is inscribed CL · V (*Clypeus virtutis*)]; above column, S · P · Q · R (*Senatus populusque romanus*). [Pl. cvi. 12.]
			Type IV.[2]	
			Denarius	
142	61·4 (*pierced*)	Æ ·8	Similar.	Victory flying r., bearing shield, inscribed CL · V, in l. hand, and laurel-branch in r.; behind her, S · P · Q · R [Pl. cvi. 13.] (Devonshire Coll.)

[1] This type, which commemorates the presentation to Augustus of both the civic crown and the "shield of valour," differs somewhat from similar representations on coins of the Roman mint. The head of Augustus wears an oak-wreath, and the legend S . P . Q . R . on the reverse is placed above the column (see above, pp. 21, 22, and pl. lx. 18).

[2] This type also shows similar differences from the original design, the legend S . P . Q . R being in this case behind the figure of Victory (see above, pp. 22, 23, and pl. lxi. 1).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type V.[1]	
			Denarius	
143	54·4	AR ·75	Head of Augustus l., wearing oak-wreath.	CAESAR AVGVSTVS S P Q R arranged above and below shield inscribed CL · V (*Clipeus virtutis*), and placed between two laurel-trees. **[Pl. cvi. 14.]**
			Type VI.[2]	
			Denarius	
144	58·0	AR ·8	Similar.	Two laurel-trees; above, CAESAR; below, AVGVS TVS (Cracherode Coll.)
145	57·4	AR ·9	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. cvi. 15.]**
146	54·0	AR ·8	Similar.	Similar.
			Type VII.[3]	
			Aureus	
	121·2	AV ·8	Head of Augustus r., wearing oak-wreath.	CAESAR AVGVSTVS between two Laurel-trees.

[Paris Coll.]

[1] This type also occurred on aurei and denarii of the Roman mint, but with the head of Augustus to right (see above, p. 35). The aureus of this type described by Cohen (*Méd. imp.*, vol. i., p. 70, no. 52) probably belongs to this issue, and not to that of the Roman mint, as the head of Augustus is to left.

[2] The laurel-trees are those which were planted by order of the Senate on either side of the portico of the house of Augustus (see above, pp. 30, 35, 103). A variety in the Paris collection has the head of Augustus to right (Cohen, *Méd. imp.*, vol. i., p. 70, no. 47).

[3] This type appears to be known only of Gaul. It forms the connecting link between the coinages assigned to B.C. 24—16 and those which follow. Cohen (*Méd. imp.*, vol. i., p. 70, no. 46) mentions a variety with the head of Augustus to left. It was formerly in the Paris cabinet. The specimen of which an illustration is given is in the Paris collection. There do not appear to be any silver coins of this type.

SERIES III.

Circ. B.C. 16—15; A.U.C. 738—739[1]

No.	*Weight*	*Metal and Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
			CAESAR AVGVSTVS OR AVGVSTVS	
			Type I.[2]	
			Aureus	
147	120·7	*N* ·85	CAESAR AVGVSTVS between two Laurel-trees.	Oak-wreath, within which OB CIVIS SERVATOS [Pl. cvi. 16.] (Wigan Coll.)
			Type II.[3]	
			Aureus	
148	120·3	*N* ·85	Head of Augustus r., bare; below, AVGVSTVS	Similar. [Pl. cvi. 17.] (Campana Coll.)

[1] The issues assigned to these years are contemporary with the presence of Augustus in Gaul. North and east of the Alps in the early part of B.C. 16 there was open insurrection. The barbarous tribes of the Denthelatae and Scordisci made inroads into Macedonia, and the Sauromatae invaded Thrace; but a more serious danger was caused by some warlike tribes—the Sicambri, Usipetes, and Tencteri, who crossed the Rhine, invaded Gallia Belgica and defeated the governor, Lollius. The situation seemed critical to Augustus, especially as Gaul was an imperial province, and he therefore hurriedly crossed the Alps to take command of the legions (Dion Cassius, liv. 20). The Germans, however, had no wish to face a regular imperial army, so they retired beyond the Rhine, made terms and gave hostages. Augustus remained in the province in order to complete its reorganization, and he appears to have made Lugdunum his head-quarters as it was there that he inquired into the extortions of which the procurator Licinius was accused. His visit lasted till the end of B.C. 14 or to the beginning of B.C. 13, when he returned to Rome with Tiberius, who had recently won two brilliant victories over the Rhaeti near the Lacus Benacus (Lago di Garda) and in Gallia Helvetica.

The arrival of Augustus at Lugdunum appears to have been heralded by an increased output of coins, especially of gold. Their types, however, do not record any contemporary events, but like those previously described they relate to such as had occurred a few years before, and which had already been illustrated on the Roman coinage. The designs are, therefore, simple adaptations, and they relate to the laurel-trees which were planted on either side of the house of Augustus, the civic wreath, and the *clypeus virtutis*, all specially decreed to him by the Senate and the Roman people, and to the restoration of the standards by the Parthians and their dedication in the temple of Mars Ultor. There is much uniformity in the obverse types of these issues. On the aurei, when the portrait occurs, Augustus is styled simply AVGVSTVS, but on the denarii, CAESAR AVGVSTVS. Also on the aurei the name is placed below the head, which is the case with some struck at Rome with the reverse type of Victory and shield (see above, pp. 22, 23). The portrait is an intermediate one between that which is seen on coins of B.C. 24—16, and that which occurs on pieces issued after B.C. 15. It is in somewhat higher relief than on the earlier pieces, yet not so high as on those which follow. Throughout in all the issues there is so much uniformity of fabric and style that their attribution to one particular locality becomes practically a certainty.

[2] This aureus is the connecting link between Series II. and III., the obverse type being the same as that of the reverse of the preceding piece, and the reverse type as that of no. 148. Denarii of this type do not appear to be known.

[3] This precise type does not seem to occur in silver. The reverse connects it with Type I.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type II. var. *a*[1]	
			Denarius	
149	59·0	*R* ·8	Head of Augustus r., bare; around, CAESAR AVGVS TVS	Oak-wreath tied with fillet; above, OB CIVIS; below, SERVATOS [Pl. cvii. 1.] (Cracherode Coll.)
			Type II.: var. *b*	
150	55·6	*R* ·75	Similar; head of Augustus l.	Similar. [Pl. cvii. 2.] (Bank of England Coll.)
			Type III.[2]	
			Aureus	
151	120·8	*N* ·85	Head of Augustus r., bare; below, AVGVSTVS	Victory flying r., holding wreath with both hands; below, shield, which rests against a column and is inscribed CL · V (*Clypeus virtutis*); above, on l. and r., S · P · Q · R. (*Senatus populusque romanus*). [Pl. cvii. 3.] (Strozzi Coll.)
			Denarius[3]	
152	44·5	*R* ·75	Head of Augustus r., bare; around, CAESAR AVGVS TVS	Similar. [Pl. cvii. 4.] (de Salis Coll.)

[1] This variation in type has not been met with in gold. It is adopted from the denarius of the Roman mint issued a few years earlier (see above, p. 24, no. 4391).

[2] An aureus of this type, but with a different portrait of Augustus, was struck at Rome (see above, p. 22).

[3] This denarius was also issued from the Roman mint (see above, p. 22, no. 4382), but with a different portrait.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type IV.	
			Denarius[1]	
153	59·4	*R* ·8	Similar.	Victory alighting r., bearing shield, inscribed CL · V, in l. hand, and laurel-branch in r.; behind her, S · P · Q · R [Pl. cvii. 5.] (Cracherode Coll.)
			Type V.	
			Denarius[2]	
154	59·5	*R* ·8	Similar.	Mars helmeted, his chlamys fastened at the neck and falling down over his shoulders, standing towards l., head to r.; he holds an *aquila* in r. hand and a *signum cohortis* directed over his shoulder in l.; at the sides, SIGNIS RECEPTIS [Pl. cvii. 6.]
			Type VI.[3]	
			Aureus	
155	122·0	*N* ·9	Head of Augustus r., bare; below, AVGVSTVS	Circular domed temple showing four columns; within it a figure of Mars standing towards l., holding an *aquila* in r. hand and a *signum cohortis* in l.; at the sides, MARTIS VL TORIS [Pl. cvii. 7.] (Blacas Coll.)

[1] The type of this denarius varies somewhat from any issued at Rome. Victory is seen rather alighting than flying, her figure being more upright, and the legend is placed behind her on the left and not below the shield (see above, p. 23, no. 4386).

[2] The reverse of this denarius, which commemorates the restoration in B.C. 20 of the standards captured by the Parthians, is very similar to that of one struck at the Roman mint. It differs slightly in showing the chlamys of Mars fastened at the neck instead of being tied around the waist (see above, p. 26, no. 4405, pl. lxi., no. 14). There is, as on all other pieces assigned to Gaul, a difference in the portrait.

[3] There is no corresponding aureus of this type which can be classed to the Roman mint. There is, however, a denarius with the same reverse (see above, p. 27, Type III.). We have also not seen a denarius which can be assigned to the provincial issue to which the above aureus belongs.

The temple is that of Mars Ultor, where some of the standards restored by the Parthians were deposited (see above, pp. 25, 27).

SERIES IV.[1]

Circ. B.C. 14—3; A.U.C. 740—751

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			AVGVSTVS DIVI F (AUGUSTUS DIVI [JULI] FILIUS) *Circ.* B.C. 14—12; A.U.C. 740—742 *Imperator* X Type I. **Aureus**	
156	121·0	*N* ·75	Head of Augustus r., bare, in high relief; around, AVGVSTVS DIVI F	Two Roman soldiers, wearing military cloaks and armed with short swords standing r.; each presents a laurel-branch to Augustus, who is seated on a *sella castrensis* placed on a platform (*suggestum*), and extends his r. hand to receive the laurel-branches; in the exergue, IMP · X (*Imperator decimum*). **[Pl. cvii. 8.]** (Blacas Coll.)

[1] The coins of this series are of considerable importance as a guide to the chronological classification of the later money of Augustus assigned to Gaul. Previous issues from B.C. 27, when Octavius received the name of Augustus, do not furnish any precise data which enable us to establish their actual sequence, and their types are only records of events, which are not contemporary, though they happened but a few years before. The order assigned to those issues is somewhat conjectural, but the portrait of Augustus has served as an important guide. Those of Series IV. have the advantage of bearing upon them inscriptions which record the Xth, XIth, XIIth and XIVth imperatorships of Augustus, and also his XIIIth, XVIth and XVIIth tribunitian years. These inscriptions furnish data which enable us to fix the actual year of issue of the coins, or to place them within certain limited periods. Some contemporary events are also recorded, viz., the victories of Tiberius and Drusus over the Rhaeti, B.C. 15, for which Augustus was acclaimed *Imperator* X; the surrender of the Sicambri and other Celtic tribes, B.C. 8, when Augustus was proclaimed *Imperator* XIIII; and the election of Caius Caesar, the son of Agrippa and Julia, as consul designate, and his elevation to the rank of *Princeps Juventutis*, B.C. 6. The chief non-contemporary events recorded are the battles of Naulochus, B.C. 36, and of Actium, B.C. 31. The types relating to these last two events begin in B.C. 14, and are repeated in several successive issues marked by a different imperatorship. This shows that at Lugdunum, where we gather that these coins were struck, the reverse types were repeated, as was the case with the money issued at Rome. During the whole period from B.C. 14 onwards to B.C. 3 the only title given to Augustus on his gold and silver coins is AVGVSTVS DIVI F. The variations which occur are to be met with on a few bronze pieces which are assigned to Gaul, and which were struck *circ.* B.C. 10 (see below, p. 439). On contemporary coins struck at the Roman mint there is no definite rule, Augustus being styled AVGVSTVS, AVGVSTVS DIVI F, CAESAR AVGVSTVS, IMP. CAESAR AVGVSTVS, &c. There is also great uniformity in the portrait of Augustus on the Gaulish coins. During B.C. 14—11 (IMP · X—XI) it is always bare and in high relief. The same

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Denarius	
157	58·4	AR ·75	Similar; countermarked on neck, S	Similar. (Bank of England Coll.)
158	56·8	AR ·75	Similar; countermarked on neck, X	Similar. [Pl. cvii. 9.] (Devonshire Coll.)
			Type I. var.	
			Aureus	
159	122·0	AV ·8	Similar; head of Augustus l.	Similar. [Pl. cvii. 10.] (Strozzi Coll.)
			Denarius	
160	58·2	AR ·75	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. cvii. 11.]

portrait occurs on the issues attributed to B.C. 11—9 (IMP. XII), but during that period it gives way to the laureate head, which only is retained on the later coinage.

The copper coins which are assigned to B.C. 10 and later are somewhat exceptional pieces. The principal issue, that representing the altar of Lyons, was first struck to commemorate a great occasion; the other issues do not mark any special epoch. These coinages, as we shall see, appear to have been based on the semuncial standard.

In assigning the coins of Series IV. to Gaul it is important to bear in mind one or two points apart from the question of fabric and style. The first and principal point is that Gaul was an imperial province, i.e., its administration and organization were under the immediate control of Augustus, and so was separate from any senatorial jurisdiction; that from B.C. 16—8 this province was visited on several occasions by the Emperor, each of which was marked by some special event; that during those years it was the scene of the chief military operations in the Roman empire, and that it was on account of the victories gained in this and more northern districts that Augustus was frequently acclaimed *Imperator*; and lastly, from B.C. 16—3, there was a change in the administration if not in the organization of the Roman mint, and the moneyers were permitted to resume the former custom of placing their names on the coins. When this custom was revived it may be presumed that all coins issued from the mint in the capital bore these marks of authority. It is not necessary to discuss at length these various points, but we only draw attention to them, as no doubt Count de Salis took them into account when separating these issues from those of the central mint.

Augustus was acclaimed *Imperator* X for the victories of Tiberius and Drusus over the Rhaeti in Italy and Gaul, B.C. 15. The first victory was gained by Drusus in the valleys of the Tridentine Alps, near the Lacus Benacus (Lago di Garda); the second by Tiberius, near Lake Constance (Mommsen, *Res gestae*, p. 13). It may therefore be possible that the two figures presenting laurel-branches to Augustus are intended to represent Tiberius and Drusus. Dr. E. Gabrici (*La Numis. di Aug.; Studi e Mat. di Arch. e Num.*, ed. Milani, vol. iii., pp. 182 f.), who has specially discussed the assignment of these coins to Gaul, has identified this type as illustrating generally the passage in Suetonius (*Augustus*, 60), referring to the honours paid to Augustus by other kings:—[*Reges*] *saepe regnis relictis, non Romae modo, sed provinciis peragranti quotidiana officia togati, ac sine regio insigni, more clientium praestiterunt.* As these coins commemorate the 10th acclamation of Augustus as *Imperator*, this type seems capable of a more definite explanation. In his study of the coins of this series Dr. Gabrici has attributed those with the bare head of Augustus to Lugdunum, and those with similar reverse types, but with the laureate head, to the Roman mint. Reasons for assigning all these coins to the mint at Lugdunum and not to that at Rome have been given above. Dr. Gabrici in his classification of these coins of Augustus appears to have partly adopted that of Dr. Head in his "Coins of the Ancients," who in turn followed the classification proposed by Count de Salis.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type II.[1]	
			Denarius	
161	48·0	*Æ* ·75	Head of Augustus r., bare, in high relief; around, AVGVSTVS DIVI . F	Similar to no. 156; but only one soldier is represented, who presents a laurel-branch to Augustus, seated on a *sella castrensis* placed on a platform; in the exergue, IMP X **[Pl. cvii. 12.]** (Claude Stewart Coll.)
			Type III.	
			Aureus[2]	
162	123·0	*N* ·8	Similar; AVGVSTVS for AVGVSTVS	Bull butting r.; in the exergue, IMP . X **[Pl. cvii. 13.]** (Wigan Coll.)
			Denarius	
163	59·0	*Æ* ·75	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. cvii. 14.]** (Devonshire Coll.)
164	58·6	*Æ* ·75	Similar; countermarked with crescent on neck.	Similar. (Woodhouse Coll.)
165	48·8	*Æ* ·8	Similar; no countermark.	Similar.

[1] This type evidently refers to the same events as the preceding. As only one soldier is shown, it may be intended as a general representation of the victories of Tiberius and Drusus without any special allusion to them individually.

A variety consisting of the aureus and the denarius shows the head of Augustus to left. Both denominations are in the Paris collection (Cohen, *Méd. imp.*, vol. i., p. 83, nos. 130, 131).

[2] Dr. Gabrici (*op. cit.*, vol. iii., p. 191) thought that Augustus adopted the type of the butting bull on account of its having been the principal one used on the bronze coins of Massilia, which had a wide circulation in southern and western Gaul, and to which the inhabitants of those districts had been long accustomed. It was, he adds, the policy of Augustus in his reorganization of the province of Gaul to interfere as little as possible with the customs of the subjected people, and to act at all times with due consideration for their feelings. Pascal (*Il Culto di Apollo in Roma nel secolo di Aug.*; *Studi di Ant. e Mitolog.*, 1896, p. 64) suggests that the bull is an allusion to the special cult of Apollo, and that it denotes the victim offered to that divinity, *pro valetudine Augusti*; and Morelli (*Imp. rom. num.*, t. i., p. 206) to the games "when Thessalian horsemen drove mad bulls round the circus" (Suetonius, *Claudius*, 21). The explanation given by Dr. Gabrici may be plausible, but it seems much more probable that the type refers to the recent defeat of the Rhaeti, and to the submission of the Germans and the other tribes, and is symbolical of the dominating power of Rome, especially in Gaul. This interpretation would be much more in keeping with the purport of the following types, which commemorate the victories of Naulochus and Actium.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type III. var. *a*	
			Aureus	
166	120·2	*N* ·75	Similar; head of Augustus l., and AVGVSTVS for AV GVSTVS	Similar. [Pl. cvii. 15.] (Strozzi Coll.)
			Denarius	
167	58·5	*R* ·75	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. cvii. 16.]
168	59·2	*R* ·75	Similar; AVGVSTVS for AVGVSTVS	Similar. (Woodhouse Coll.)
			Type III. var. *b*[1]	
			Aureus	
169	121·0	*N* ·75	Similar; head of Augustus r., and AVGVSTVS for AVGVSTVS	Similar; bull butting l. [Pl. cvii. 17.] (Cracherode Coll.)
			Denarius	
170	57·5	*R* ·75	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. cvii. 18.]

[1] The British Museum possesses all the published varieties of this type.

A denarius of barbarous work dated the 10th imperatorship of Augustus is described and figured by Cohen (*Méd. imp. rom.*, vol. i., p. 84, no. 142). It has for obverse type the head of Augustus r., laureate, and around, [CAESAR] AVG. DIVI F; and on the reverse, IMP. X above a crescent moon, around which are seven stars; below the moon, AVG. DIVI. This coin, which may have been struck in Gaul, is similar to the denarius described above, p. 416, note 2. The head of Augustus is of the same form and style. It belongs to a series of barbarous pieces, which extend over a considerable period, when the Republican and early imperial coins were issued. The reverse type, like that of the coin previously mentioned, is copied from a denarius of L. Lucretius Trio (see vol. i., p. 396, no. 3245).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type IV.[1]	
			Aureus	
	121·2	Æ ·8	Head of Augustus r., bare, in high relief; around, AVGVSTVS DIVI·F	Diana Venatrix, wearing short chiton which hangs over r. arm, standing towards l.; head to r.; she leans with r. hand on spear and holds strung bow in l.; at her side, dog l.; in the field, IMP ·X; in the exergue, SICIL· (*Sicilia*).

[Cohen, *Méd. imp.*, vol. i., p. 84, no. 145.]

			Denarius	
171	59·0	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. cvii. 19.]** (de Salis Coll.)

[1] The reverse type is unquestionably a record of the defeat of Sextus Pompey at Naulochus in B.C. 36 by Augustus and Agrippa. Naulochus was situated on the north coast of Sicily, near to Mylae. It was at Mylae that Sextus Pompey had massed his land forces, but just before the last battle he changed his position to Pelorus, abandoning the defiles in the neighbourhood, which were immediately occupied by Augustus. In their account of this campaign Appian (*Bell. civ.*, v. 116) and Dion Cassius (xlix. 8) mention a very small town named Artemisium, which was occupied by Augustus at the same time as Mylae, and which must therefore have been situated near. It is not mentioned by any of the geographers. It is obviously the same place alluded to by Silius Italicus (xiv. 260) as the *sedes Phacelina Dianae*, and called by Lucilius in a fragment of his satires (*Sat.*, iii. 13), *Facelitis templa Dianae*. There was also a river called Phacelinus, which Vibius Sequester (*de Fluviis*) describes as *juxta Peloridem, confinis templo Dianae*. From Appian's account, however, it is evident that the temple was not situated near Pelorus, but at a short distance from Mylae, though the precise spot is not now identifiable. Appian (*loc. cit.*) adds, "they say it is the spot where the sacred cattle of the sun were kept, and where Ulysses fell asleep." The Romans therefore associated Diana with the battle of Naulochus, as they did Apollo with that of Actium (see below). Dr. Gabrici (*op. cit.*, vol. iii., p. 193) has made a similar suggestion regarding these types of Diana and Apollo, as in the case of the butting bull, and supposes that they were adopted by Augustus on account of the special cult of these divinities at Massilia, which had been illustrated on the early coins of that city. They would therefore be pleasing to the Gauls as acknowledging the cult of these divinities, and to the veterans of his army who had settled in Gaul as memorials of the two great victories which probably most of them had taken a part in gaining. The repetitions of these types in a more or less modified form in subsequent issues show that they were at least acceptable to the Roman section of the population.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type IV. var.	
			Denarius	
172	54·7	Æ ·7	Similar; head of Augustus l.	Similar. **[Pl. cvii. 20.]** (Cracherode Coll.)
			Type V.[1]	
			Aureus	
173	121·5	Æ ·8	Head of Augustus r., bare, in high relief; around, AVGVSTVS DIVI·F (same die as no. 169).	Apollo in citharoedic dress, standing towards l., head in profile; he holds plectrum in r. hand and lyre in l.; in the field, IMP ·X; in the exergue, ACT (*Actium*). **[Pl. cviii. 1.]** (Wigan Coll.)
174	120·6	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar. (Cracherode Coll.)
			Denarius[2]	
175	59·0	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. cviii. 2.]**
176	56·8	Æ ·85	Similar.	Similar; the plectrum is pointed downwards, not towards Apollo. **[Pl. cviii. 3.]** (Bank of England Coll.)

[1] This type commemorates the battle of Actium, 23 September, B.C. 31, the greatest and most important of all the victories of Augustus, as by the subsequent death of Mark Antony he became the supreme and practical head of the Roman state. These coins were issued under precisely the same circumstances as those with the type of Diana Venatrix. The type of Apollo was also continued in a similar manner and with like modifications. There appear to be varieties with the head of Augustus to left, as in the case of the Diana types.

[2] These denarii were countermarked by Vespasian (Bahrfeldt, *Zeit. f. Num.*, 1876, p. 369). Cohen (*Méd. imp.*, vol. i., p. 84) has supplied the following important note on the occurrence of the imperatorships on the coins with the reverses of Diana and Apollo: "Dans la première édition j'ai décrit d'après Morell et Vaillant le revers IMP . IX . SICIL . Diane marchant, en or et en argent, et j'ai dit dans la note que ces auteurs ont donné encore la même médaille, avec la legende IMP . VIIII, et qu'Eckhel la rapportait d'après leur autorité. Le fait est premièrement, que Morell les donne d'après Goltzius, et que Vaillant avec sa légèreté habituelle décrit le revers de Diane marchant, tout à la fois avec IMP . VIII, IX, X et XII; et secondement, que je n'ai jamais rencontré que IMP . X, XI et XII, soit avec le type de Diane, soit avec celui d'Apollon. Quant à celui du taureau, je ne l'ai jamais vu avec IMP . XI. Riccio, cependant, dans le catalogue de sa collection, a cité cette médaille sans la décrire; mais elle ne s'est pas trouvée à la vente qui en fut faite à Paris en 1868." The occurrence of IMP . XI on any of these coins seems, however, very doubtful (see next page).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Circ. B.C. 12—11; A.U.C. 742—743 [1]	
			Imperator XI [2]	
			Denarius [3]	
177	60·7	*R* ·75	Head of Augustus r., bare; in high relief; around, AVGVSTVS DIVI · F	Capricorn r., holding globe; below, IMP · XI (*Imperator undecimum*). [Pl. cviii. 4.]
			Circ. B.C. 11—10; A.U.C. 743—744 [4]	
			Tribunitia Potestas XIII	
			Half Aureus	
178	59·6	*N* ·6	Head of Augustus r., bare; in high relief; around, AVGVSTVS DIVI · F	Victory seated r., on globe; she holds her dress with both hands; below and on r., TR · POT · XIII (*Tribunitia potestate decimum tertium*). [Pl. cviii. 5.] (Cracherode Coll.)

[1] The denarius assigned to B.C. 12—11 commemorates the XIth imperatorship of Augustus. This acclamation is only found on coins (Mommsen, *Res gestae*, p. 13). It was accorded to Augustus in consequence of the victories of Tiberius over the Pannonians in B.C. 12, when with the help of the Scordisci he laid waste their country, deprived them of their arms, and sold or deported all their youth. The Senate decreed Tiberius a triumph, but Augustus refused his permission and only accorded Tiberius the *ornamenta triumphalia*. He also forbade Tiberius to assume the title of *Imperator*, to which he had been acclaimed by his legions, but he did not hesitate to add another to his own imperatorships (Dion Cassius, liv. 31). It was of short duration, as in the following year Augustus was acclaimed IMP · XII.

[2] The only type which can with certainty be attributed to the XIth imperatorship is that with the capricorn. Cohen (*Méd. imp.*, vol. i., p. 85, nos. 148—150) describes aurei of the Apollo and Diana types with the laureate head of Augustus, and also a denarius of the former; but Dr. Gabrici (*Studî di Arch. e Num.*, &c., 1905, vol. iii., p. 184) says that the laureate head does not occur with IMP XI, and that Cohen's descriptions are incorrect, a portion of the legend being "off the field." The specimen of the denarius of the Apollo type in the Santangelo collection cited by Dr. Gabrici (*loc. cit.*) may also, for the same reason, be of the XIIth imperatorship. On this coin the head of Augustus is not laureate.

[3] The reverse type differs from previous representations of the capricorn, which does not bear a cornucopiae on its back (see above, pp. 418, 419).

[4] The *tribunitia potestas* was accorded in perpetuity to Augustus in November, B.C. 23, and was renewed each year to the end of his reign. TR · POT · XIII therefore extended from November, B.C. 11, to the same month in the following year, so that this half-aureus must have been struck during that interval. The reverse type of Victory seated on a globe may be complimentary to Augustus in a general way for his victories, which had extended over all parts of the Empire, in the East, Africa, Gaul and Spain, but as this coin was issued in B.C. 11—10 it may have special reference to the successes of Tiberius in Pannonia, where the inhabitants still continued in a state of revolt, and to the victories of Drusus in Germania (Dion Cassius, liv. 31, 33). This type is repeated on half-aurei of subsequent issues, but it is limited to that denomination.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Circ. B.C. 11—9; A.U.C. 743—745[1]	
			Imperator XII	
			Type I.	
			Aureus	
179	122·4	*N* ·8	Head of Augustus r., bare; in high relief; around, AVGVSTVS DIVI · F	Bull butting r.; in the exergue, IMP · XII (*Imperator duodecimum*). [Pl. cviii. 6.]
			Denarius	
180	55·0	*R* ·7	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. cviii. 7.]
181	53·7 (*chipped*)	*R* ·7	Similar.	Similar.
			Type I. var. *a*	
			Aureus	
182	122·0	*N* ·8	Similar.	Similar; bull butting l. [Pl. cviii. 8.] (Claude Stewart Coll.)

[1] The coins which bear the legend IMP · XII were issued between the summer of B.C. 11 and that of B.C. 9. The XIIth imperatorship was accorded to Augustus for the victories of Drusus in Germany in B.C. 11 and the preceding year. On his return to Rome in B.C. 11 Drusus received as his reward a vote of the Senate granting him an ovation with the insignia of a triumph, and decreeing that at the end of his praetorship he should have proconsular authority. He was also acclaimed *Imperator* by his legions, but Augustus, as in the previous instance of Tiberius, would not confirm the title, yet did not hesitate to augment the number of his own acclamations (Dion Cassius, liv. 33). As Augustus was proclaimed IMP · XIII on the occasion of the triumph of Tiberius for his victories over the Dalmatians and Pannonians 14 September, B.C. 9, we have a limit of date to which the coins commemorating his XIIth imperatorship can be assigned.

The coins struck in Gaul during the XIIth imperatorship of Augustus have similar subjects for the reverse types to those struck during his Xth, viz. the butting bull, Diana Venatrix, and Apollo Citharoedus. Of these issues there are two series, one with the head of Augustus bare, precisely similar in style to that on coins previously assigned to Gaul, the other with the head laureate, which approaches somewhat in character the portrait on contemporary coins of the Roman mint. The representations of Diana and Apollo are also varied. The former is shown rushing forward, her bow in her left hand, and drawing an arrow from her quiver with her right; the latter stands in profile holding a patera and a lyre. The laureate head occurs with both reverse types; but the bare head with the earlier type only. It is owing to this change in the obverse type that Dr. Gabrici (*op. cit.*, p. 195) has separated the two series, assigning that with the bare head to Lugdunum, and that with the laureate head to Rome. From general similarity of style and fabric, and also from the circumstance that the moneyers were at this particular time placing their names on coins struck at the Roman mint, Count de Salis has assigned both series to Gaul. No change is met with in the reverse type of the butting bull, that animal being similarly represented on coins with the head of Augustus bare or laureate. It is, however, turned to the left as well as to the right. This variation of the type occurred, as we have seen, on the issues of B.C. 14—12. The half-aureus preserves its reverse type of Victory seated on a globe. The head of Augustus is not laureate.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Denarius	
183	57·7	*R* ·75	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. cviii. 9.]
			Type I. var. *b*[1]	
			Aureus	
184	122·0	*N* ·75	Similar; head of Augustus r., laureato.	Similar; bull butting r. [Pl. cviii. 10.] (Montagu Coll.)
			Denarius	
185	59·4	*R* ·75	Similar	Similar. (Woodhouse Coll.)
186	58·7	*R* ·75	Similar.	Similar. (Devonshire Coll.)
187	58·4	*R* ·75	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. cviii. 11.]
			Type I. var. *c*[2]	
			Aureus	
188	120·5	*N* ·8	Similar.	Similar; bull butting l. [Pl. cviii. 12.] (Claude Stewart Coll.)
			Type II.	
			Half-Aureus[3]	
	60·7	*N* ·6	Head of Augustus r., bare; in high relief; around, AVGVSTVS DIVI · F	Victory seated r. on globe; she holds her dress with both hands; before her, IMP · XII

[Cohen, *Méd. imp.*, vol. i., p. 85, no. 151.]

[1] Varieties of the aureus and denarius of Type I. var. *b* have the head of Augustus to left (Cohen, *Méd. imp.*, vol. i., p. 86, nos. 156, 157).

[2] There is also a denarius of this type, and varieties of both the aureus and the denarius show the head of Augustus to left (Cohen, *op. cit.*, vol. i., p. 86, nos. 159—161).

[3] The weight given of this coin is that of the specimen in the Paris cabinet.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type III.	
			Denarius [1]	
189	57·0	AR ·75	Head of Augustus r., bare; in high relief; around, AVGVSTVS DIVI · F	Diana Venatrix wearing short chiton, which hangs over r. arm, standing towards l., head to r.; she leans with r. hand on spear and holds strung bow in l.; at her side, dog l. (similar to no. 171); in the field, IMP XII; in the exergue, SICILI (*Sicilia*). [Pl. cviii. 13.]
			Type III. var. *a*	
			Aureus [2]	
190	122·0	AV ·8	Similar; head of Augustus, laureate.	Similar; in the exergue, SICIL for SICILI [Pl. cviii. 14.] (Blacas Coll.)
			Type III. var. *b*	
			Aureus	
191	122·0	AV ·8	Similar.	Diana Venatrix, wearing long chiton, running r.; she holds strung bow in l. hand and with r. draws an arrow from her quiver, which is slung to her shoulders; in the field, IMP · XII; in the exergue, SICIL [Pl. cviii. 15.] (Blacas Coll.)
			Denarius [3]	
192	59·2	AR ·7	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. cviii. 16.] (Cracherode Coll.)
193	59·0	AR ·7	Similar.	Similar.

[1] The aureus of this type is in the collection at Florence (Gabrici, *op. cit.*, p. 185).

[2] There exists a denarius of this type (Cohen, *Méd. imp.*, vol. i., p. 87, no. 170), and a variety of the aureus with head of Augustus to left (Gabrici, *op. cit.*, p. 196, fig. 38).

[3] Cohen (*op. cit.*, vol. i., p. 87, no. 173) describes a denarius in the Paris cabinet having

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type IV.	
			Aureus	
	120·2	*N* ·8	Head of Augustus r., bare, in high relief; around, AVGVSTVS DIVI · F	Apollo in citharoedic dress standing towards l., head in profile; he holds plectrum in r. hand and lyre in l. (similar to no. 173); in the field, IMP XII; in the exergue, ACT (*Actium*).

[Paris Coll.]

			Denarius	
194	60·1	*R* ·75	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. cviii. 17.]**
195	56·0	*R* ·7	Similar.	Similar. (Bank of England Coll.)
			Type IV. var. *a*[1]	
			Aureus	
	121·0	*N* ·8	Similar; head of Augustus r., laureate.	Similar.

[Paris Coll.]

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on the obverse the radiate head of Augustus to right, and the legend . . . . . AVG . DIVI . F . P . P . (*Pater Patriae*), and on the reverse Diana running to right and bearing a bow; in the field, IMP . XII (probably with SICIL in the exergue). This is another of those barbarous imitations of which other examples have been noticed (see above, pp. 416, 430). The coin purports to have been issued in the XIIth imperatorship, B.C. 41—9, yet gives to Augustus the title of *Pater Patriae*, which he did not receive till B.C. 2.

[1] The denarius of this variety does not appear to be known.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type IV. var. *b*	
			Aureus	
	122·5	*N* ·8	Similar; head of Augustus l., laureate.	Similar.
				[Paris Coll.]
			Denarius	
196	54·6	*R* ·75	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. cviii. 18.]
			Type IV. var. *c*	
			Aureus	
197	121·4	*N* ·8	Similar; head of Augustus r., laureate, and AVGVS TVS for AVGVSTVS	Apollo in citharoedic dress standing r., holding patera in r. hand and lyre in l.; in the field, IMP · XII; below, ACT [Pl. cviii. 19.] (Wigan Coll.)
198	121·0	*N* ·8	Similar.	Similar. (Wigan Coll.)
199	120·0	*N* ·75	Similar.	Similar. (Claude Stewart Coll.)
			Denarius	
200	60·3	*R* ·75	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. cviii. 20.] (Cracherode Coll.)
			Type IV. var. *d*	
			Aureus	
201	121·8	*N* ·75	Similar; head of Augustus l., laureate.	Similar. [Pl. cix. 1.] (Bank of England Coll.)
			Denarius	
202	43·2	*R* ·75	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. cix. 2.] (Bank of England Coll.)

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Circ. B.C. 10; A.U.C. 744[1] *and later*	
			Dupondius	
203	403·5	Æ 1·45	Head of Augustus r., laureate; around, CAESAR PONT · MAX (*Pontifex Maximus*).	The "Ara Augusti" at Lugdunum;[2] the façade is ornamented with a wreath between two laurel-trees, with figures beyond; the altar is surmounted by ornaments or statuettes; at each end, a column with Victory holding wreath; below, ROM · ET · AVG (*Romae et Augusto*). [Pl. cix. 3.] (Pres. by Dr. Arthur Evans)

[1] The date of issue of these copper coins is determinable by their types and legends, and their place of mintage by their fabric. The laureate head of Augustus does not occur on coins assigned to Gaul before B.C. 11.

[2] The reverse type furnishes a representation of the "Ara Romae et Augusti," commonly called the "Altar of Lyons," which was erected near that city on the promontory at the confluence of the Arar and the Rhone, and which was dedicated to Rome and Augustus. The time when this altar was founded is fixed by the Epitome of Livy (*Epit.*, 137) in the year when Drusus had subdued the Germans on either side of the Rhine, and had suppressed a rising caused by the census in Gaul. This was in B.C. 12. It was also in that year that Drusus called together the chief of the Gallic princes at Lugdunum, the main subject for consideration being the cult of Rome and Augustus, and the erection of the altar. Suetonius (*Claudius*, 2) has put the consecration of the altar during the consulship of C. Julius Antonius and Q. Fabius Maximus Africanus, B.C. 10, and on August 1, which was the natal day of Claudius, the son of Drusus, who was born at Lugdunum. It is therefore possible that the erection of the altar occupied two years to complete, and that it was not consecrated till August, B.C. 10, when Augustus was in Lugdunum, and so was able to take part in the ceremony.

The altar was of marble, and its representation on the coins shows that the façade was ornamented with bas-reliefs, consisting of a wreath between two laurel-trees or branches, each flanked by a human figure. The wreath and laurel-trees were no doubt intended to illustrate those which were placed above and at the sides of the portico of the palace of Augustus at Rome (see above, p. 103, no. 4676, pl. lxxii. 4). On the altar are placed ornaments or statuettes. At each end is a column surmounted by a figure of Victory. These columns were of grey Egyptian granite, and the figures of Victory were of bronze gilt. Strabo (*Lib.* iv., cap. 3, 2) states that the altar bore an inscription giving the names of the sixty Gallic *civitates* which participated in its erection, each one being represented by an emblem or statue. As the passage in Strabo appears to be corrupt it has been suggested that these statues were placed round the altar or near it. The representation on the coins seems, however, to bear out his statement.

The most important circumstance in connection with the erection of this altar was the establishment of the *concilium* of the Tres Galliae, sometimes called the *conventus arensis*. It consisted originally of representatives of sixty, and later of sixty-four *civitates*, who met annually on August 1 on the promontory, where the altar was placed, for political and religious purposes, the latter specially in connection with the cult of the Roman people and the Emperor (Tacitus, *Ann.*, iii. 44; Servius, *Aen.*, i. 285). It was the first *concilium* of its kind in the West, and in many respects was similar to the Κοινὸν Ἀσίας in the East. One of its first duties was the election of a chief priest, whose full title was *sacerdos Romae et Augusti ad Aram ad confluentes Araris et Rhodani*. The office was the highest one to which a native Gaul could aspire, and was much sought after by members of the chief families. The functions of the chief priest consisted in offering up sacrifices to the Roman people and the Emperor, the general regulation of the festival, and the superintendance of the public games which were held in the neighbouring amphitheatre (Gardthausen, *Augustus*, p. 672; Pauly-Wissowa,

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			As	
204	170·5	Æ 1·15	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. cix. 4.]
205	170·5	Æ 1·0	Similar.	Similar.
206	170·0	Æ 1·05	Similar; countermark on neck, R	Similar.
207	168·5	Æ ·95	Similar; no countermark.	Similar; countermarks above altar BJ and TIb
208	166·0	Æ 1·0	Similar.	Similar; no countermarks.
209	159·0	Æ 1·15	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. cix. 5.]
210	148·5	Æ 1·05	Similar.	Similar.
211	145·0	Æ 1·05	Similar.	Similar.
			Quadrans[1]	
			Type I.	
212	48·5	Æ ·75	Head of Augustus r., bare; around, IMP · CAESAR	Bull butting l.; above, AV GVSTVS; in the exergue, DIVI F [Pl. cix. 6.]

vol. iv., p. 806). This annual festival was still held in the time of Dion Cassius (liv. 32). Livy (*loc. cit.*) has preserved for us the name of the first chief priest, who was C. Julius Vercundarius Dubius, an Aeduan.

Dr. Willers (*Num. Zeit.*, 1902, pp. 101—112) has questioned the identification of the object shown on the coins as an altar, and prefers to see in it a representation of the *ovarium*, which usually stood in the circus, and on which an egg was placed on the completion of each lap of a race around the circus. The Victories, he suggests, were those which were erected on the *spina*, which separated the track. This interpretation has been challenged by MM. Poncet and Morel (*Rev. num.*, 1904, pp. 46 f.), and also by Strack (*Bonner Jahrbücher*, 112, p. 442). The fact that the type was repeated on later coins of Augustus, and also on those of Tiberius, shows that more importance must be attached to it than suggested by Dr. Willers. Also as these coins are mostly found in the neighbourhood of Lyons, a connection between the type and that city appears to be established. This issue must have extended over several years, as specimens are quite common even at the present time. The metal from which these coins were struck appears to be practically pure copper (see *Num. Chron.*, 1904, pp. 223, 244). The smaller denomination would therefore represent the *as* of the semuncial standard, and the larger one the dupondius. It was the copper *as* which at this time was being issued at the Roman mint, and which was the only coin of the baser metals showing the head of Augustus.

The specimen of the dupondius described above was in the collection of Sir John Evans. It was recently presented to the British Museum by his son, Dr. Arthur Evans, in order to complete the series of these coins.

[1] It is somewhat difficult to assign a definite date to the issue of these small pieces, which from their weight appear to be quadrantes, a denomination at this time met with at the mint at Rome (see above, pp. 75 f.).

The reverse type of the butting bull first occurs on coins assigned to Gaul, B.C. 14—12 (see above, p. 429). The quadrans of this type may well have been struck before B.C. 10, but probably not later than B.C. 8, when the bare head of Augustus appears to have fallen out of use on the Gaulish pieces. Their attribution to Gaul seems to be confirmed by the circumstance that they are chiefly found in the neighbourhood of Lyons (Fr. Lenormant, *La Mon. dans l'Ant.*, vol. ii., p. 189: Cohen, *Méd. imp.*, vol. i., p. 68, no. 36).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type II.[1]	
213	43·0	Æ ·6	Head of Augustus r., laureate; around, IMP CAE SAR	Eagle with spread wings, standing front; head l.; above, AVGVSTVS [Pl. cix. 7.]
214	36·0	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. cix. 8.]
			Circ. B.C. 8—5; A.U.C. 746—749[2]	
			Imperator XIIII	
			Aureus	
215	119·9	N ·85	Head of Augustus r., laureate; around, AVGVS TVS DIVI·F	A Gaul or German, wearing cloak of skin, standing r., and presenting an infant child to Augustus seated on a *sella castrensis* placed on a suggestum; Augustus extends his r. hand towards the child; in the exergue, IMP·XIIII (*Imperator decimum quartum*). [Pl. cix. 9.] (Cracherode Coll.)

[1] Though these coins do not resemble in type any of the gold and silver money struck in Gaul, their fabric seems to connect them with the same district as the preceding pieces. Cohen (*op. cit.*, vol. i., p. 66, no. 29) considered them to have been issued outside Rome. They must therefore belong to the provincial series, and in consequence to Gaul, as this was the only province which at this time was issuing such money. The reverse type was adopted from the aurens struck at the Roman mint a few years before (see above, p. 18, and pl. lx., no. 10).

[2] In B.C. 8 Augustus commenced the third decennial term of his imperium, and for the fourth time he went to Gaul to carry on a campaign against the Germanic Celts. He, however, took up his residence at Lugdunum, and sent Tiberius, who had accompanied him from Rome, across the Rhine. All the tribes on the frontier at once tendered their submission, with the exception of the Sicambri, who after a while were induced to join in the deputation to Augustus, sending their leading chiefs to negotiate. These Augustus seized and confined them in various towns as hostages (Dion Cassius, lv. 6). For the successes of this bloodless and treacherous campaign he assumed his XIVth imperatorship, but declined for himself a triumph. He, however, permitted Tiberius to enjoy that honour in his stead, and allowed him to assume the title of Imperator for the second time (Mommsen, *Res gestae*, p. 15). Tiberius was also invested with the consulship for the following year. At the same time Augustus gratified his soldiers with an extraordinary largess, not for the victories of Tiberius, but on the pretext that Caius Caesar, his grandson and adopted heir, then thirteen years of age, had served his first campaign among them (Dion Cassius, *loc. cit.*). It was to commemorate these events, more especially the surrender of the German tribes, and to provide for the largess to the soldiers, that these gold and silver coins recording Augustus's XIVth imperatorship were struck. Count de Salis has extended their issue from B.C. 8—5. It is, however, probable that they were struck at the earlier date only.

There do not appear to be any coins attributable to Gaul which commemorate the XIIIth imperatorship of Augustus. This he was acclaimed or assumed on the occasion of the triumph of Tiberius for his victories over the Dalmatians and Pannonians, September 14, B.C. 9 (Dion Cassius, lv. 2).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Denarius	
216	58·0	*R* ·75	Similar.	Similar. (Cracherode Coll.)
217	56·4	*R* ·75	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. cix. 10.] (de Salis Coll.)
218	56·0	*R* ·8	Similar.	Similar.
			Circ. B.C. 8—7; A.U.C. 746—747	
			Tribunitia Potestas XVI	
			Half-Aureus[1]	
219	59·5	*N* ·5	Head of Augustus r., laureate; around, AVGVS TVS DIVI·F	Victory seated r. on globe; she holds her dress with both hands (similar to no. 178); below and on r., TR·POT XVI (*Tribunitia potestate decimum sextum*). [Pl. cix. 11.] (de Salis Coll.)
			Circ. B.C. 7—6; A.U.C. 747—748	
			Tribunitia Potestas XVII	
			Half-Aureus	
220	60·0	*N* ·5	Similar.	Similar; legend, TR·POT XVII (*Tribunitia potestate decimum septum*). [Pl. cix. 12.] (Blacas Coll.)

[1] The dates of issue of this and the following half-aureus are fixed by the tribunitian years. The *tribunitia potestas* was renewed for the sixteenth time in November, B.C. 8, and for the seventeenth in the same month of the following year. These half-aurei may both commemorate the recent victories of Tiberius and his second triumph, which he did not celebrate till B.C. 7, when he was consul.

Mionnet (*Méd. rom.*, vol. i., p. 106) describes a half-aureus of the Victory type with the legend TR. POT. XV (B.C. 9—8), but no specimen appears to be now known.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Circ. B.C. 5—3; A.U.C. 749—751	
			AVGVSTVS DIVI F: C . CAES . AVGVS . F	
			(AUGUSTUS DIVI FILIUS; CAIUS CAESAR AUGUSTI FILIUS[1])	
			Aureus	
221	121·4	*N* ·75	Head of Augustus r., laureate; around, AVGVS TVS DIVI · F	Caius Caesar on horseback, galloping r.; he holds sword in r. hand and shield in l.; in the background on l. are three military standards, an *aquila* between two *signa cohortis*; above, C · CAES; in the exergue, AVGVS · F
222	121·3	*N* ·75	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. cix. 13.] (Cracherode Coll.)

[1] Caius Caesar, in whose honour gold and silver coins had been struck at the Roman mint *circ.* B.C. 17 (see above, p. 42), was the son of M. Vipsanius Agrippa and Julia the daughter of Augustus, by whom in B.C. 17 he was adopted as his son and heir, together with his brother Lucius. Augustus carefully superintended the education of both these youths, and in B.C. 8 Caius, in order to become acquainted with military exercises, accompanied Tiberius in his campaign against the Sicambri (see above, p. 441). Three years later, B.C. 5, he assumed the *toga virilis*, was proclaimed *princeps juventutis* and nominated to the consulship, but by arrangement he was not to enter upon that office till five years later. Of these events we possess not only the record of ancient writers but also of Augustus himself. In the *Monumentum Ancyranum* (chap. xiv.) Augustus says: *Gaium et Lucium Caesares honoris mei causa senatus populusque Romanus annum quintum et decimum agentis consules designavit, ut eum magistratum inirent post quinquennium. Et ex eo die, quo deducti sunt in forum, ut interessent consiliis publicis decrevit senatus. Equites autem Romani universi principem iuventutis utrumque eorum parmis et hastis argenteis donatum appellaverunt.* Tacitus (*Ann.*, i. 3) also refers to the circumstance: *Nam genitos Agrippa Gaium et Lucium in familiam Caesarum induxerat necdum posita pueritia praetexta principes juventutis appellari, destinari consules specie recusantis flagrantissima cupiverat.* From the evidence of Dion Cassius (lv. 9) it would appear that the populace went so far in B.C. 6 (A.U.C. 748) as to elect Caius to the consulship, but the proposal met with the stern opposition of Augustus, who was indignant at the idea that any one should hold that office before he had attained the age of twenty. Being anxious, however, that his adopted sons should receive their legitimate honours he voluntarily stood for his twelfth consulship (B.C. 5), and three years later for his thirteenth (B.C. 2), so that he might whilst invested with that high office introduce, according to custom, Caius and Lucius into the forum (Suetonius, *Augustus*, 26). The *deductio in forum* of Caius occurred on January 1, B.C. 5, but that of Lucius did not take place till three years later (Mommsen, *Res gestae*, pp. 52 f.). Caius became consul in A.D. 1, but Lucius died before he arrived at the legitimate age.

Count de Salis has assigned the above aurei and denarii to B.C. 5—3, being of opinion that they commemorate the proclamation of Caius Caesar as *princeps juventutis*. It seems, however, quite possible that they may have been struck in B.C. 8, when Augustus specially celebrated Caius's first campaign by distributing large sums of money amongst the soldiers who had taken part in it (Dion Cassius, lv. 6). The portrait on these aurei and denarii is precisely similar to that on those assigned to B.C. 8—5, and they could so far as fabric and style are concerned be attributed to the same period. On the other hand the reverse type is appropriate to the title of *princeps juventutis*.

Cohen (*Méd. imp.*, vol. i., p. 69, no. 41) mentions a variety of the aureus with the laureate head of Augustus to left.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Denarius	
223	59·7	AR ·75	Similar.	Similar. (Cracherode Coll.)
224	58·4	AR ·75	Similar.	Similar.
225	57·5	AR ·75	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. cix. 14.]

COINAGE OF THE EAST

The provincial coinages of Roman standard and types which Count de Salis has assigned to the East under the general heading, "Coinage of the East," include those which were struck in Greece and in the province of Asia. In dealing with the Western coinages it was quite possible to separate those which belong to Spain from those which are given to Gaul, especially as they are mostly of different epochs. A similar division of the Eastern coinages is, however, not practicable; first, because of the difficulty and frequent impossibility of ascertaining from which district, Greece or Asia Minor, the coins emanated; and secondly, because any such division would sometimes entail the separation of issues which together form a complete series. To prove our case we need only mention a few instances. The coins of Sulla and those issued in his name by Lucius and Aulus Manlius assigned to B.C. 82—81 vary considerably in fabric, so much so that some of them, especially those of L. Manlius, may have been struck in Greece, whilst the others may be classed to Asia Minor.[1] Of the coins of the consuls, L. Cornelius Lentulus Crus and C. Claudius Marcellus,[2] some are of Apollonia, in Illyricum, others of Ephesus, and those of the praetor, C. Coponius,[3] which are of the same period and connected with the same circumstance, the retreat of the Pompeian party to Greece and Asia, may also be given to Ephesus. But the most notable instance of a somewhat early period is that connected with the coinages of Brutus and Cassius, which are of B.C. 43—42.[4] There is strong historical as well as numismatic evidence that all the coins of Cassius were struck in Asia, and probably at Sardes. With these must be classed those of Brutus, which bear the names of the legates, P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther and M. Servilius, who also struck money for Cassius. On the other hand, most of the coinage of Brutus and his legates must be assigned to Greece. To separate these issues into different districts, which would be quite possible, would certainly destroy their connection and continuity. Instances could also be given in the extensive coinages of Antony, which begin in B.C. 42 and continue down to the battle of Actium, and which form the bulk of the money attributed to the East; but those cited above clearly show that the coinages, whether struck in Greece or Asia Minor, must be considered as one series.

Proceeding on the same lines as in the case of the coinages of Spain and Gaul, that of the East may be divided into the following chronological groups or periods:—

i. The coinages of Sulla, his proquaestor, Lucius Manlius, and his quaestor, Aulus Manlius, &c., struck at the end of the first and possibly during the second Mithradatic war, *circ.* B.C. 82—80.

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[1] See below, pp. 459 f.
[2] See below, pp. 466, 467.
[3] See below, p. 468.
[4] See below, pp. 471 f.

ii. The gold coinage of Pompey the Great, which commemorates his triumph after the war against the Pirates and the third Mithradatic war, *circ.* B.C. 61.

iii. The coinages of the Pompeian party, struck before the battle of Pharsalus, and those of Julius Caesar after that event and on his proclamation as *Dictator iterum*, *circ.* B.C. 49—47.

iv. The coinages of Caius Antonius as proconsul of Macedonia, and those of Brutus and Cassius and their legates in Greece and Asia after the death of Caesar and before the battles of Philippi, B.C. 44—42.

v. Those of Mark Antony as triumvir, which date from the battles of Philippi to that of Actium, B.C. 42—31. This period includes the exceptional issues of Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, Q. Labienus, C. Sosius, P. Canidius Crassus and C. Proculeius.

vi. The issues of Octavius as *Imperator perpetuo*, *circ.* B.C. 29—27.

vii. Those of Octavius as *Augustus*, *circ.* B.C. 27 and B.C. 19—18.

It will be seen from this epitome that the Eastern coinages ran parallel with those of Gaul, and that they were continuous from about the formation of the triumvirate in B.C. 43 till Octavius received the title of Augustus. Soon after that event they come to a rather abrupt termination, and unlike those of Gaul they do not extend far into the reign of Augustus. With this exception the coinages of the East and Gaul are contemporaneous.

Classification. The rise of the coinage in the East was simultaneous with those of the West, and the first is to be assigned to the close of the first Mithradatic war and to Sulla's comparatively short campaign in Asia. For the future destiny of the Roman domination in the East these campaigns were of great moment, as they brought about the restoration of a single and settled government in Greece and Macedonia, and the establishment of Roman rule in Asia on a firm and fixed basis. These events are connected with perhaps one of the most important innovations in the Roman republican coinage. This is the introduction of a gold currency. This new money differed materially from that instituted shortly after the adoption of a silver currency in Rome, inasmuch as it was based on a silver standard and not on one of bronze.

The precise date of the gold and silver coins without a moneyer's name and having for types the head of Venus and the double cornucopiae is somewhat uncertain, but the weight of the gold pieces clearly shows them to be contemporary with those of Sulla. Count de Salis was of opinion that they are of a slightly later date, and they may therefore be of the time of the second Mithradatic war, though it is uncertain whether the quaestor who struck them served under Lucullus or Murena, Sulla having entrusted his legions to the latter on his return to Italy.

The next events commemorated by the Eastern coinage are the war with the Pirates and the third Mithradatic war. The conduct of these was entrusted by the Senate to Pompey the Great, and in B.C. 61, like Sulla, he was rewarded with a triumph, an occasion which served for the issue of aurei to be distributed amongst his successful legions. Some difference of opinion has existed as to the actual date of these rare aurei, whether they were struck in B.C. 61, or

on the occasion of one of the two previous triumphs accorded to Pompey. These opinions are discussed with the description of the coin, but the grounds for assigning it to Pompey's last triumph seem on the whole to be preferable.[1]

The resumption of the coinage in the East in B.C. 49 was due to precisely the same circumstances as occasioned those given to Spain and Gaul, viz., the outbreak of the war between the Pompeian and Caesarian parties. In Gaul Caesar struck money just before his entry into Rome. This was followed a few months later by another issue in Spain, and by that in Greece in the next year, B.C. 48, after the battle of Pharsalus. This last issue had, however, been anticipated by those of the consuls, L. Cornelius Lentulus Crus and C. Claudius Marcellus, and of the praetor, C. Coponius, who were the legates and partisans of Pompey, and who had proceeded to the East before Caesar in order to collect troops and ships for the coming contest. These coinages are historically interesting, as they mark the journey of the Pompeian leaders, first to Greece (Illyricum) and thence to Asia Minor (Ephesus). They are the only coins which can be given to the East during the dictatorship of Caesar, and it is not till after his death that their issue is resumed. In this respect there is again great similarity between the coinages of the East and Gaul, for it is from B.C. 44, or just before the foundation of the triumvirate, that the issues in the East become continuous almost year by year till the battle of Actium.

The series practically re-opens with the remarkable coinages of Brutus and Cassius, the types of which commemorate their chief successes in the East during B.C. 43—42. The issues of these generals may be separated into two distinct groups. One is assigned to Greece and bears the names of Brutus and his legates, L. Sestius, C. Flavius Hemicillus, Pedanius Costa, P. Servilius Casca Longus, and L. Plaetorius Cestianus. The other group is given to Asia, and was issued in the names of both Cassius and Brutus. This latter combination is due to the circumstance that the legates, P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther and M. Servilius, held commands under both generals but at different times. The legate M. Aquinus struck only for Cassius. There are two other interesting coinages connected with these groups; that of Caius Antonius, the brother of the triumvir, to whom the latter had assigned the province of Macedonia in B.C. 44, and that of L. Statius Murcus, who was *praefectus classis* to Cassius, and who in that capacity issued money for the use of his fleet.

The defeat and death of Brutus and Cassius brought about a great revolution in the administration of the Eastern provinces. Hitherto these provinces had been placed under different governors, who exercised no concerted action, each one making use of his appointment for his own individual advancement and profit. The arrangement entered into between Antony and Octavius after the battles of Philippi quite changed the status of the Eastern provinces, which now passed under the general supervision of the former, while, as we have seen, the latter exercised a similar control in the West. From the foundation of the triumvirate till this time Antony's share of the provinces consisted of Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul, and it was in the latter that he established his

[1] See below, pp. 464-466.

first mint. When the new division of the State was agreed upon Antony transferred his coinage to the East, and from that date till his death in B.C. 31 we have a succession of issues almost year by year, which bear not only his name but also his portrait.

The classification of the coinage and the sequence of the issues of Mark Antony can mostly be determined by the reverse types. It is in this circumstance that the chief difference exists between the coinages of the East and those of Gaul, whilst, on the other hand, it is a point of connection with those of Spain, though the latter are mostly of a somewhat different period. It is, however, in the obverse type that similarity is established between the coinages of the East and Gaul. In one case we have the portrait of Antony, in the other that of Octavius. This portrait of Antony is one of the criteria for distinguishing the earlier coins which he struck in the East from those of the West. It is of quite a distinct appearance and character from that on his Gaulish pieces.[1]

Besides the issues of Antony there are some special ones which help to fill up the record of events between B.C. 42—39. These are of Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, who on the day of the first battle of Philippi successfully attacked the fleet of Octavius at Brundusium, and of Quintus Labienus, who turned traitor to his country and commanded the troops of the enemy in the war with the Parthians. These issues correspond in a measure with those of Lucius Antonius and Publius Ventidius, which were struck in Gaul during the siege of Perusia.[2]

A brief summary of events as illustrated by the coins will be sufficient to show the sequence of the issues from the battles of Philippi to that of Actium and their historical import.

B.C. 42. The battles of Philippi and the subsequent campaign in Asia.

B.C. 42—41. The victories of Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus as *praefectus classis* to Brutus and Cassius.

B.C. 41. The united action of Antony and Octavius in the administration of the Roman provinces and the consulship of Lucius Antonius.

B.C. 40. The reconciliation of Antony and Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus and its effect on the commerce of the Empire, and the appointment of L. Munatius Plancus as proconsul of Asia.

B.C. 40—39. The reconciliation of Antony and Octavius, the marriage of Antony and Octavia, and the victories of Labienus in Syria.

B.C. 39. The marriage of Antony and Octavia (commemorated), the victories of Ventidius over the Parthians, and the second (?) imperatorship of Antony.

B.C. 38—37. The second campaign of Ventidius against the Parthians, the marriage of Antony and Octavia (commemorated), and the third imperatorship of Antony.

B.C. 37. The conquest of the Jews by Sosius.

B.C. 36—35. The close of the war with Sextus Pompey and the battle of Naulochus. The coins of these years include the large series of bronze pieces struck by the *praefecti classis* of Antony, who took part in the war against Pompey.

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[1] See below, p. 451.

[2] See above, pp. 400-403.

B.C. 35. The assignment of Lesser Armenia to Polemo I. of Pontus.

B.C. 34. The second consulship of Antony commemorated.

B.C. 33. The consul-designateship of C. Sosius.

B.C. 33—32. The conquest of Armenia and the triumph of Antony at Alexandria commemorated, and the rupture between Antony and Octavius.

B.C. 32—31. The war between Antony and Octavius.

B.C. 31. The battle of Actium.

After the battle of Actium the coinage of the East was assimilated to those of the mint at Rome and of Gaul, the portrait of Octavius replacing that of Antony. These coins date from B.C. 29, when Octavius received the title of *Imperator perpetuo*. There is no change in the character of the reverse types, which relate to the proclamation of a general peace, the conquest of Asia, and also that of Egypt. As these coins are inscribed with the seventh imperatorship of Octavius and with his sixth and seventh consulships, their date of issue is quite certain.

The granting of the title of *Augustus* to Octavius appears to have been commemorated by several issues of coins in gold, silver and bronze, which from their fabric are assigned to Ephesus and Pergamum. With each group are associated some cistophori. The attribution of these coins to B.C. 27 to some degree rests on the portrait of Augustus, which is so very similar to that on others of the previous year that the two series cannot be separated by any length of time.[1]

Between B.C. 27 and 19 we have an interval during which no money appears to have been struck for the East, but in the last year it was revived to commemorate the journey of the Emperor to Asia and the two great events which occurred at the end of his visit, viz., the surrender of the standards by the Parthians and the submission of Armenia. Many of the coins are inscribed with the ninth imperatorship of Augustus, which was accorded to him in B.C. 20. It is with the record of these events that the series comes to an end.

TYPES.—When referring to the chief characteristics of the types of the coins assigned to Spain and Gaul, it was remarked[2] that whilst the former in a great measure record contemporary events, the latter are more personal to Antony and Octavius, and their historical value is in consequence of minor importance. In the coinage of the East these characteristics are more evenly balanced, the personal element being mainly limited to the obverse type, whilst greater prominence is given in those of the reverse to the recording of contemporary events. References to the personal history of the moneyers, whether proconsuls, legates, proquaestors, or others, to whom the coinage was entrusted, are quite exceptional. As in the case of the Gaulish pieces portraiture is not introduced till after the formation of the triumvirate, and the first instance that we meet with is not on the money of one of the triumvirs but on that of Brutus.

The types of the coins of Sulla, the first attributed to the East, are of precisely the same nature as those of the contemporary issues of C. Annius Luscus in Spain and of C. Valerius Flaccus in Gaul. They are a record of Sulla's victories at Chaeroneia and Orchomenos, B.C. 86 and 85, his subsequent

[1] See below, pp. 539 f.

[2] See above, p. 385.

triumph in Rome, and the restoration of commerce between the East and West.

It is somewhat singular that the aurei of Pompey, which next follow but which were issued some twenty years later, not only record his triumph, but also the completion of the struggle with Mithradates of Pontus, which had commenced with Sulla and which had occasioned his also being awarded a triumph. Both generals, too, select similar types for the reverses of their coins, each one representing himself in his triumphal chariot. Though this strictly personal representation must not be considered in quite the same light as actual portraiture, which neither Sulla nor Pompey attempted to introduce, yet it was the first step in that direction.[1]

The absence of any personal reference to Pompey in the types of the coins of his legates is very striking when we compare them in this respect with those of the coins which were issued in the same year, B.C. 49, by his party in Spain. Pompey was actually in Greece when these coins were struck, yet no reference whatever is made to him personally. The consuls, L. Cornelius Lentulus Crus and C. Claudius Marcellus, and also the praetor, C. Coponius, use types which are to some extent borrowed from those of the cities where the coins were struck. The head of Apollo connects one issue with Apollonia in Illyricum, and the cultus-statue of the Ephesian Artemis and the club with the lion's skin associate the others with Ephesus. The types chosen by Julius Caesar for his coins of the same date, head of Venus, *rev.* Aeneas and Anchises, were no doubt intended to refer to the Eastern origin of his family. His aurei on which he records his second dictatorship are still more personal, and commemorate his offices of pontifex maximus and augur.

When the coinage of the East was resumed after the death of Julius Caesar, the historical nature of the types increasingly prevailed. The series, as we have mentioned, opened with the issues of Brutus and Cassius, which in their types furnish a record of the more remarkable events of the years B.C. 43—42, preceding the battles of Philippi.

The landing of Brutus in Greece and the besieging of the proconsul, C. Antonius, at Apollonia are illustrated by coins with types connected with the autonomous money of that city; his conquest of Thrace, by aurei with the reverse type an eagle and the legend ΚΟΣΩΝ; his victories in Greece and Asia, by the representation of a trophy; and his zeal for the freedom of the State from sovereign rule, by the remarkable types of Victory holding a broken diadem and the cap of Liberty between two daggers, an allusion to the recent assassination of Julius Caesar. It is on these coins that we have the first representation in the Eastern series of the portrait of a living personage. No doubt Brutus, in thus displaying his own portrait on his coins, followed the example set by Antony in Gaul, since those of Brutus were probably not struck till early in B.C. 42, whilst the portrait-money of Antony dates from the previous year.

The money of Cassius struck in Asia followed precisely on the same lines as that of Brutus in Greece, except that he does not give his portrait. It illustrates amongst other subjects his extreme republican spirit by the general

[1] Fr. Lenormant, *La Mon. dans l'Ant.*, vol. ii., p. 325.

adoption of the head of Libertas for the obverse type; whilst those of the reverse, an aplustre and a crab holding an aplustre, relate to his great victory over the Rhodian fleet near the island of Cos. On his coins of Asia, Brutus commemorates by the trophy his victories in Lycia, where he captured the towns of Xanthus and Patara. It is in this group of Asiatic coins that we meet with one of the few instances of a personal reference to the moneyer of the piece. It occurs on the coins of P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther, who acted as legate both to Brutus and Cassius, and who records his election to the college of Augurs, to accomplish which he caused himself to be adopted into another gens.[1]

When Mark Antony assumed the government of the Eastern provinces after the battles of Philippi, and transferred his coinages from Gaul to the East, he made no change in the obverse type, which shows his portrait, but that of the reverse becomes more historical. Judging from the earliest coins which he struck in the East, there appears to have been at first some uncertainty as to his true effigy. The coins are those which have for their reverse type the radiate head of Sol.[2] These depict two very different portraits—one a large round-shaped head with a beard, the other a small narrow head, flat at the back, and without a beard. The origin of these two portraits is easily traceable on contemporary coins. The first is evidently derived from the veiled head of Antony as seen on the denarii of P. Sepullius Macer struck at the Roman mint in B.C. 44;[3] the second one from Antony's Gaulish coins with the reverse type head of Julius Cæsar,[4] of which, however, it is somewhat of a caricature. From B.C. 41 inclusive the portrait of Antony assumed a definite form, which is continued with slight variations (due in some measure to changes of die-engravers) throughout the rest of the series. It is quite distinct in its chief characteristics from that met with on his Gaulish money. The head is large and round at the back, the forehead broad but low, the nose straight, with a tendency to be aquiline, and the chin narrow and prominent; it is without a beard, but the hair is thick and usually arranged in rows of tufts or thick locks. This portrait bears out generally the description of Antony given by Plutarch (*Antonius*, 4), who says, "he had a noble dignity of countenance, a graceful length of beard, a large forehead, an aquiline nose, and on the whole the same manly aspect that we see in the pictures and statues of Hercules." There does not seem to exist any authentic portrait of Antony in the round with which this numismatic one may be compared;[5] but as it was generally adopted for his coins struck in Greece and Asia Minor, we may venture to claim for it a true likeness.[6] Its persistent uniformity is in marked contrast with the portrait of Octavius met with on his Gaulish pieces, where slight changes occur down to the time of his receiving the name of Augustus, after which date it shows little similarity to that of the earlier period, though a likeness is traceable. This portrait of Antony, coupled with a certain crudeness of fabric, and the use of letters in the legends of unusual size and often slightly misshapen, are characteristics

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[1] See below, p. 481.
[2] Vol. i., p. 550, no. 4178, pl. liv., no. 12.
[3] Bernoulli, *Röm. Ikon.*, pp. 206 f.
[4] See above, p. 397, no. 53, pl. ciii., no. 10.
[5] See below, pp. 486, 487, pl. cxii., 11, 12.
[6] See Coins of Byzantium, Antioch, and the Cistophori.

which enable us to separate his Eastern money from that of Octavius of similar types struck in Gaul. They serve also as a guide for the general classification of the series.

Besides his own effigy, Antony depicted on his coins those of Octavius, who rendered him a similar tribute on his Gaulish money, of his brother Lucius Antonius, of his wife Octavia, of his son Marcus, and also of Cleopatra of Egypt. During the period of his triumvirate there are also the portraits of Brutus, already referred to, and of Labienus, which these placed on their money. These are the effigies of living personages. Of memorial or traditional ones we have those of two members of the Domitia gens, Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, the consul of B.C. 192, who fought in the war against Antiochus of Syria, and L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, to whom the Dioscuri announced the victory of Lake Regillus. How far these last were true to life we cannot say, but it seems probable that they were based on authentic models.

The reverse types which chronicle the chief events in the history of the Eastern provinces from B.C. 42—31 are too numerous to give in detail. We must therefore limit ourselves to a mention of a few only of the more important. They mostly relate to Antony and to his administration of the government of the East. Antony's successes at Philippi and in Asia (B.C. 41) are recorded by the head of Sol; his desire for unanimity with Octavius and his brother Lucius (B.C. 41), by coins showing their portraits; his reconciliation with Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus (B.C. 40), who had commanded the fleet of Brutus and Cassius, by a ship's prow, surmounted by a star, the *Sidus Julium* (?); the reconciliation of Antony and Octavius, by gold and silver money with their portraits (B.C. 40); the marriage of Antony and Octavia, by aurei also with their portraits; the restoration of commerce between the East and West, by a type showing two right hands holding a caduceus (B.C. 40—39); the victories of Ventidius over the Parthians, by a lion holding a sword in its paw and the head of Sol (B.C. 39—38); the conquest of Judaea, by a trophy and captives (B.C. 37); and the battle of Naulochus, by a combined military and naval trophy, and by a remarkable series of bronze coins bearing types of a naval character on the reverse, and representing the portraits of Antony, Octavia, and Octavius. The affairs in Armenia find an illustration in the representation of an Armenian tiara, and the final struggle at Actium in denarii giving the portrait of Cleopatra and a figure of Victory, and also in the large series of gold and silver coins with a galley and military standards, which were issued for the navy and army collected just before the battle.

In the case of the special issues outside the coinages of Antony that of Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, with reverse types temple of Neptune or a prow surmounted by a trophy, commemorates his defeat of the fleet of Octavius off Brundusium; and the gold and silver money of Labienus with his portrait and a horse is a reference to the Parthian cavalry which he commanded against the troops of his own nation.

After the battle of Actium, when the Eastern coinage was assimilated to that of the rest of the Roman Empire, the portrait of Octavius replaced that of Antony, and the reverses continued to record current events. We have therefore a figure of Pax as illustrating the general peace which was proclaimed in B.C. 29, when Octavius closed the temple of Janus for the first time; Victory

standing on a cista, relating to the conquest of Asia, and a crocodile, to that of Egypt. Some of the types of the early coins of Augustus, which appear to record his receiving that title, present difficulties as to their precise meaning; amongst these are the temple of the Olympian Jupiter and a heifer, but others, such as the laurel-wreath ornamented with prows and Victory can only relate to the battle of Actium, whilst the capricorn and the sphinx are personal to the Emperor. The coins struck during the short interval B.C. 19—18 are devoted mainly to the surrender of the standards by the Parthians and the conquest of Armenia; the former being commemorated by a capricorn, as Augustus considered this a personal success, a triumphal arch and the temple of Jupiter; the latter by an Armenian tiara and arms, an Armenian soldier and Victory slaying a bull.

The importance of a chronological classification of the coinages of the Roman Republic is in no series better illustrated than in that which is assigned to the East. The coin-types not only have the merit of being historical, but they are also a record of contemporary events. This element was to some degree supplied by the issues given to Spain, but that series extended over a comparatively limited number of years, and practically closed before the death of Julius Caesar. The coinage of Gaul, which was mainly contemporary with that of the East, is wanting in historical interest in its types. In the main they do not record contemporary events of great moment, too much prominence being given to the personal history of Antony and Octavius; and when towards the end of the series the types became more historical, they are mostly limited to depicting events which happened some little time before, and which year after year are constantly repeated in the same or similar designs. It is therefore from the historical point of view that the Eastern coinage must be studied, and that can only be followed up with any degree of success by a classification which establishes the sequence of its issues.

Denominations.—The coinages assigned to the East, like those of the West, are of gold, silver, bronze, and copper. The aureus is the only denomination in gold, and in silver we have, in addition to the denarius and quinarius, a certain number of later cistophori or "cistophoric medallions," which may be introduced on historical grounds into the series. The bronze coins consist of the sestertius, tressis, dupondius, as, semis, and sextans. The copper was probably limited to the as only.[1] As already mentioned,[2] the aureus struck in the East varied considerably in weight at different epochs. Those of Sulla weigh 169 grains ($\frac{1}{39}$ of the pound); of Pompey, 138 grains ($\frac{1}{48}$ of the pound); of the period of the triumvirate, 127 grains ($\frac{1}{40}$ of the pound); and of Augustus, 123 grains ($\frac{1}{42}$ of the pound). These weights are approximate, as individual specimens vary slightly. The early pieces do not correspond in weight to any of the gold coins struck at that time in the East, whether at Athens, Ephesus, or in the kingdom of Pontus. They are therefore quite exceptional; and as the ratio between gold and silver would be 1 : 9, it is evident that it was too high, and they must therefore have soon fallen out of circulation. The weights of the gold coins of the triumvirate and later correspond with those

[1] See below, p. 501. [2] See above, p. 344.

of similar pieces of the Roman mint and of Gaul. The denarius is the unit of the silver coinage, and it preserved its normal weight of $\frac{1}{84}$ of the pound. The issue of the quinarius was quite exceptional, and only occurs at rare intervals. The cistophorus was a purely Asiatic coin in its origin, and was equivalent to two Rhodian drachms in currency, and later was accepted for three Roman denarii.[1] In its early stage the cistophorus bore no direct connection with the coinage of Rome, and it is not until Antony, *circ.* B.C. 39, revived it and assimilated its types to those of the denarius, recording current events, that it can be classed with the Roman money. Its issue was only occasional, and limited to special occasions.

If we except the re-introduction of a gold currency, the greatest innovation in the coinage of the East was the new system of bronze money instituted by Antony or his legates in B.C. 36, at the time of, or just after, the battle of Naulochus. A few years before, an attempt appears to have been made to bring in a copper currency, but it was confined to one issue only, and to a single denomination.[2] The coinage introduced by Antony was apparently based on a new standard,[3] i.e. quarter-ounce or quarter-uncial; but as the coins are of bronze, which in currency appears to have been rated at double that of pure copper, the standard was a copper semuncial[4] one. The weights of the individual coins struck by Antony are very irregular; and had it not been that each denomination has a distinct obverse and reverse type, and is also supplied with its mark of value, considerable difficulty would have been experienced in distinguishing the current values of the various pieces.[5] In the later issues, during B.C. 27 and B.C. 19—18, much greater care was taken in adjusting the coins to their right weight. On these, however, we get no marks of value. The chief interest in this bronze coinage as instituted by Antony is that it appears to have formed the basis on which the subsequent bronze money in the Capitol was established, both as to standard and denominations.[6]

Finds of Coins.—If the evidence of finds as a guide to the sequence of the issues was somewhat slight in the case of the Gaulish issues, it is even more so in respect of those which are assigned to the East. The infrequency in finds of coins of this series issued after the formation of the triumvirate is most remarkable,[7] and it would certainly indicate that very little money was brought back by the soldiery from the East. This circumstance is the more striking since the coinages of the East previous to the triumvirate were present in considerable numbers in most of the hoards buried between B.C. 82—44.

The date B.C. 82—81 given to the coinages of Sulla is confirmed by finds. Mommsen[8] has assigned their issue to B.C. 88—81; but their absence from the Fiesole, Cingoli, and Monte Codruzzo hoards buried between B.C. 87—82, and their presence in those of Hev-Szamos, Roncofreddo, Frascarolo, &c., of a

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[1] Babelon, *Traité*, vol. i., p. 513.

[2] See Coin of Atratinus, below, p. 501. The district in which this coin was struck is uncertain.

[3] It was on this standard that the small bronze coins of C. Sosius first struck at Zacynthus *circ.* B.C. 39 were based (see below, p. 504).

[4] See above, p. 45. [5] See below, p. 511. [6] See above, p. 45.

[7] See Table of Finds. [8] *Hist. mon. rom.*, t. ii., p. 440.

slightly later time, shows that the date B.C. 82—81 assigned to them is very approximate. The same may be said of the denarii with head of Venus and reverse a double cornucopiae,[1] and without a moneyer's name, as they were first met with in the Carrara hoard, the burial of which occurred *circ.* B.C. 78.

Though there can be no question in what year the coins bearing the names of the consuls L. Cornelius Lentulus Cros and C. Claudius Marcellus were struck, yet their absence from the San Gregorio di Sassola, Compito, and Cadriano hoards proves their issue to have occurred after B.C. 50. We have precisely the same evidence for the denarii of Julius Caesar, with the reverse type of Aeneas and Anchises.

It is at this point that the evidence of finds as to the sequence of the issues of the East practically ceases. This is due to the rare occurrence of these coins in most of the Western finds buried after the formation of the triumvirate, as shown by the analyses given in the Tables of Finds. When they are met with, their issue is rarely contemporary with the burial of the hoard. The latest coin of the East which was found in the Pieve-Quinta hoard, buried *circ.* B.C. 38,[2] was the denarius of C. Cassius and P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther, with head of Libertas and reverse capis and lituus, which could not have been struck after B.C. 42. The denarius of Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, with a prow surmounted by a trophy,[3] struck in B.C. 42—41, was the latest Eastern coin in the Grasspold hoard, the burial of which occurred about the same time as that of Pieve-Quinta. The latest coins which occurred in any of the finds of which analyses are given are the legionary pieces of Mark Antony, which were met with in considerable number in the Beauvoisin hoard, buried *circ.* B.C. 28.[4]

From this somewhat brief statement it will be gathered that finds afford but slight evidence for the chronology of the issues during the period of the triumvirate, and that in order to establish their succession we must depend mainly upon the interpretation of the types, in connection with which there is still a wide field for future research.

Mint-places.—The coinages of the East present difficulties in the determination of their places of mintage which are not found in those of Spain and Gaul, since in the first instance it is necessary to arrive at a definite opinion as to the province to which they are to be assigned, whether in Greece or Asia Minor. By the light of history it is possible in most cases to determine this question, but failing this we have to turn for inspiration to the coins themselves, and to take as our guide their types, their fabric, and not infrequently their legends.

We are met with this difficulty at the outset, as there exists but slight evidence, historical or numismatic, which would enable us to locate the coinages of Sulla and his legates. If the date given to the pieces which bear the name of Sulla only be accepted, their issue in all probability took place in Asia Minor, and their place of mintage may have been Ephesus, where we find other gold coins based on a local standard which have been assigned to him.[5] The coins of Sulla of Roman standard and type are of very coarse fabric, differing in this

[1] See below, pp. 463, 464. [2] See vol. i., p. 560. [3] See below, p. 488.
[4] See above, p. 6. [5] See below, p. 460.

respect from those of his legate, L. Manlius, which it is suggested may have been struck in Greece, and not improbably at Athens. The issues of A. Manlius and of the coins without a moneyer's name but with the initial Q. (*Quaestor*) only, must for the present remain uncertain as to their place of mintage. These last pieces have been given to Valentia, in Bruttium, on account of their reverse type, a double cornucopiae, but we are not inclined to accept this attribution.[1]

Plutarch (*Pompeius*, 45) relates that on the occasion of his triumph in B.C. 61 Pompey distributed 16,000 talents amongst his troops, which were stationed at Ephesus after the Mithradatic war, and as most of this sum must ultimately have been in currency it may be presumed, if the gold coins bearing his name are to be given to the East, that these also were struck at Ephesus.

So far the attributions have been somewhat uncertain, but it seems quite possible to determine the locality of the next series of coins given to the East, those of the consuls, L. Cornelius Lentulus Crus and C. Claudius Marcellus. The course of their journey from Italy to Sicily and thence on to Greece and Asia is marked by a succession of issues. Those of Sicily will be described under the coinage of that island (see COINAGE OF SICILY, *s.a.* B.C. 49, p. 558), but those struck in Greece are identifiable by the obverse type, head of Apollo, which is that of the autonomous coins of Apollonia where the consuls made their landing;[2] and those of Asia by the figure of the Ephesian Artemis, the chief symbol of the city of Ephesus. For the mintages of these coins we have therefore both historical and numismatic evidence. Precisely the same may be said of the coinage of C. Coponius, who had command of the fleet of Pompey in the Eastern Mediterranean. His money with the reverse type, a club and a lion's skin, bears the stamp of having been issued at Ephesus, as this was the type of the early half-cistophori of that city.

The locality of issue of the coins of Julius Caesar of the same period is uncertain. We have, however, no hesitation in assigning them to Greece, but the types do not afford any clue as to their place of mintage.

The next important series to be considered is that of Brutus and Cassius which was issued before the battles of Philippi. This series, as we have already had occasion to remark,[3] is formed of two groups, one struck by Brutus in Greece, the other a joint one of Cassius and Brutus of Asiatic origin. There is little doubt that the main coinage of Brutus must be located to Macedonia. Similarity of fabric affords strong evidence that many of the issues should be assigned to the same locality. We might select for them one or more of the three principal cities of Macedonia — Amphipolis, Pella, or Thessalonica. Amphipolis would in some respects answer the purpose. It was a flourishing city in the time of the early occupation of Greece by the Romans. It had a remarkable numismatic record, and, besides that, it was situated in a district rich in gold and silver mines. There is a large series of Imperial coins, extending from Augustus to Valerian, which belong to that city, but none apparently

[1] See below, p. 464, and Fr. Lenormant, *La Mon. dans l'Ant.*, t. ii., p. 297.

[2] Cicero (*Ep. ad Fam.*, xiii. 29) speaks of the silver money which was struck at Apollonia in B.C. 49, when Pompey and his partisans had their head-quarters in that city.

[3] See above, p. 447.

of the period of the triumvirate. Of Pella and Thessalonica, however, there are coins of both Antony and Octavius, showing that these mints were in operation about the time of Brutus's sojourn in Greece. It is therefore very probable that Brutus struck his coins in one of these cities, if not in both. If fabric may be taken into consideration, we are disposed to favour Thessalonica, of which city there are some remarkable bronze coins with portraits of Julius Caesar and Octavius. These compare favourably with the somewhat artistic pieces of Brutus. On the evidence of type, a lyre between a plectrum and a laurel-branch, the first issue of Brutus in Greece may be associated with the town of Apollonia, and on historical grounds the coins of C. Antonius may also be given to that place. The aurei of Brutus with the legend **ΚΟΣΩΝ** are of Thracian origin, but their place of mintage has not been determined.

As the joint issues of Brutus and Cassius struck in Asia could not have appeared till after the latter's victory over the Rhodian fleet in the waters of the island of Cos, B.C. 43, and also after the successful expedition of Brutus to Lycia in the following year, they may be assigned to Sardes, where the commanders joined forces before their departure for Greece to meet Antony and Octavius on the field of Philippi. For this attribution we have again both historical and numismatic evidence.

This brings us down to the long series of coins struck by Antony in virtue of his triumvirate. In discussing his portraits on his coins it has been shown [1] that from B.C. 41 inclusive there is one type which, with some exceptions, is preserved with but slight variations throughout the whole series of his money, due allowance being made for changes of workmen engaged on the coinage. As the first issue of the coins with this stereotyped portrait is contemporaneous with the visit of Antony to Ephesus in B.C. 41, it is quite possible that he selected that city as his chief mint-place. Ephesus therefore in the East would correspond to Lugdunum in the West in their relation to the coinages of the triumvirs. To this general rule there are exceptions. The denarii of Antony which are given to B.C. 42, and which were struck soon after the battles of Philippi, are different in style, fabric and portraiture. These may have been issued in Greece, but the coins themselves supply no data which enable us to locate their mintage. The cistophori assigned to B.C. 39 and bearing the portraits of Antony and Octavia must for reasons of fabric and type be separated, some being of Ephesus, others of Pergamum.[2] Another important exception is the aureus of Antony of the same date, with the full-length figure of the triumvir on the obverse, and a lion on the reverse, commemorating the first campaign of Ventidius against the Parthians. This coin on historical evidence may be assigned to Athens.[3] If this attribution is correct then the denarii which follow, with the reverse head of Sol, and the aurei with the portraits of Antony and Octavia, must also have been struck at Athens, as all these issues are connected by the obverse legend, M · ANTONIVS M · F · M · N ·, which supplies the initials of the triumvir's father and grandfather. This legend occurs only in one other instance, on the aurei of Antony and his son Marcus, issued in B.C. 34,[4] which

[1] See above, p. 451.
[2] See below, p. 503.
[3] See below, p. 500.
[4] See below, p. 521.

may on the same grounds, and also from style, be attributed to Athens. It is also with this city that we would associate the denarii with the portraits of Antony and Cleopatra. These last pieces are not of the same fabric as the contemporary legionary coins struck at Ephesus, and as in date they correspond with the visit of Antony and Cleopatra to Greece, they seem to be connected with the honours decreed to the latter by the Athenians.[1]

Of all the coins struck by Antony or his delegates none are more difficult to locate than those of bronze, issued by his *praefecti classis* after the battle of Naulochus or, as has been generally thought, during the period of the war with Sextus Pompey. As this question will be discussed fully with the descriptions of the coins themselves, it is not necessary to recapitulate the various views and theories which have been enunciated from time to time.[2] That they were struck in the East there is a general consensus of opinion, but that some should be given to one locality and others of the same issue to another seems extremely improbable. A suggestion is therefore hazarded that their place of mintage may have been Zacynthus. This attribution may be considered conjectural, but it is based principally on the evidence of the small bronze pieces of C. Sosius, who for a period of at least eight years issued money at intervals in that island.[3]

In such a large and varied series of coins as those of the East during the triumvirate, which extended over so wide an area, it is natural that not a few must remain uncertain as to their mintage; but the proportion is small, and limited mostly to exceptional cases such as those of L. Statius Murcus, Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, and the bronze pieces which bear the name of Crassus. One of these exceptional coinages is that of Q. Labienus, the fabrication of which may with some degree of probability be given to Antioch, which fell into his hands during his campaign in Syria.

Though it has been laid down as a general rule that most of the coins of Antony were struck at Ephesus, it may be found on further study that there are amongst them more which are of Greek origin than we have ventured to suggest.

When Octavius instituted his own money in the East, soon after the battle of Actium (B.C. 29), it would appear from the fabric of the denarii, and also from evidence supplied by the local cistophori, that he revived the mint at Ephesus. This was the only one in operation till B.C. 27. After Octavius was created Augustus in that year there are two series of coins, consisting in one case of silver and bronze, and in the other of gold also. These differ so much in fabric, style, and portraiture that they cannot both be assigned to the same locality of issue. One series is connected by the style of portrait and by general fabric with the coinages of B.C. 29—27, and may therefore be also given to Ephesus; the other series we have ventured to assign to Pergamum. To each one may be ascribed some cistophori which in their types, legends, &c., seem to confirm these attributions. When the coinage was again revived in B.C. 19—18, that of gold and silver appears to have been confined to Ephesus only.

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[1] See below, pp. 525, 526.

[2] Bahrfeldt, *Die Münz. der Flottenpräfekten des Marc. Ant.*, *Num. Zeit.* 1905, pp. 36 f.

[3] See below, pp. 504, 513, 514.

PERIOD I.[1]

Circ. B.C. 82—80; A.U.C. 672—674

No.	*Weight*	*Metal and Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
			Circ. B.C. 82—81; A.U.C. 672—673	
			L . SVLLA	
			(LUCIUS [CORNELIUS] SULLA)	
			Aureus	
1	165·6	*N* ·8	Head of Venus r., diademed, wearing earring and necklace; hair rolled back, collected into a knot behind, and falling down her neck; before, Cupid standing towards l. and holding in r. hand a palm-branch; below, L · SVLLA	Jug with one handle (*capis*) and lituus between two trophies; above, IMPER (*Imperator*); below, ITER VM **[Pl. cx. 1.]**
2	164·8	*N* ·8	Similar.	Similar; legend, ITERV for ITERVM **[Pl. cx. 2.]** (Wigan Coll.)

[1] The earliest "military coins" which are assigned to the East are those which were struck after Sulla's successful campaign against Mithradates VI. of Pontus in Greece and in Asia Minor. The war lasted from B.C. 87—84. This coinage comprises four separate issues. The first bears the name of Sulla only, two others give his name and those of his proquaestor Lucius Manlius, and his quaestor Aulus Manlius, and the fourth is without a moneyer's name but has the initial Q, showing that it was struck under quaestorial authority. These issues are of gold and silver, aurei and denarii. Their attribution to the East is based on historical as well as numismatic evidence. In fabric and style these coins differ considerably from any contemporaneous pieces of the Roman mint, and at this time also no gold money was struck in the capital. The local issues in Italy had also come to an end before the date to which these coins must be assigned (see above, p. 144). The exceptional issue of the gold money of Sulla can only be accounted for in the circumstance that it took place in Greece and Asia Minor, where there existed still a considerable currency in gold (Mommsen, *Hist. mon. rom.*, t. ii., p. 441).

After mentioning the friendship which existed between Sulla and his quaestor Lucullus, Plutarch (*Lucullus*, 2) relates that "amongst other things Sulla gave Lucullus the direction of the mint. It was he who coined money chiefly for Sulla in the Peloponnesus during the Mithradatic war, and from it it was called *Lucullia*, and it continued in use for the army during the war, as it was readily accepted." When the war with Mithradates came to an end Sulla laid a contribution of 20,000 talents on the cities of Asia Minor, and ordered Lucullus to collect the tax and to coin money (Plutarch, *Lucullus*, 4). It would appear therefore that on two occasions Lucullus was ordered to strike money; first in the Peloponnesus, and again on the departure of Sulla for Italy in B.C. 83. On this point Mommsen (*loc. cit.*) remarks, "Nos monnaies s'accordent parfaitement avec ces données historiques, seulement elles ne portent pas le nom de Lucullus. En effet, comme nous l'avons déjà vu, elles ont été frappées à diverses époques, les unes avant, les autres après le départ de Sylla." To the earlier epoch Mommsen appears to have classed the gold and silver coins with the triumphal chariot on the reverse, and to the later one, those with the legend IMPER . ITERVM, and also those of A. Manlius on which Sulla is styled *Felix* and *Dictator* (see below, p. 463, no. 16). The coins of

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Denarius	
3	63·5	AR ·7	Similar.	Similar; legend, ITERVM [Pl. cx. 3.] (Blacas Coll.)
4	56·5	AR ·8	Similar.	Similar; legend, ITERV for ITERVM [Pl. cx. 4.] (Cracherode Coll.)

L. Manlius, however, from their reverse type appear to be of a later date, as they record the triumph of Sulla, which took place in B.C. 81. The money which Lucullus was ordered by Sulla to strike in the Peloponnesus consisted most probably of certain Athenian tetradrachms and drachms, which are of the usual types (*obv.* head of Athene; *rev.* owl standing on amphora; *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gr. Coins, Attica*, p. 77, pl. xiii., nos. 7, 8; *Introd.*, p. lv.), but are of peculiar workmanship and differ in this respect from the ordinary pieces of the Athenian series. They are without either the usual legend ΑΘΕ or the names of the magistrates, but some have a trophy on either side of the owl. The *Lucullus* may therefore be of two series, viz., Greek coins with Greek types, and Roman coins with Roman types. It is possible, as we shall see, that the Greek series may also have been continued after or about the time of Sulla's departure in B.C. 83, not, however, at Athens but in Asia Minor (Ephesus). The evidence of finds is in favour of assigning the coins above described to the later date, as no specimens were met with in the Fiesole, Cingoli and Monte Codruzzo hoards, which were buried *circ.* B.C. 87—86 and 82 respectively, but some occurred in those unearthed at Hey-Szamos, Roncofreddo and Frascarolo, which are assigned to a somewhat later date (see vol. i., pp. 242, 243, 319, 363.) Their absence from the Monte Codruzzo hoard may possibly be due to the circumstance that being struck in the East a certain period would elapse before they circulated in Italy.

The types of the aurei and denarii are in honour of Sulla. He believed himself to have been in particular under the protection of Venus, who had granted him victory in battle as well as in love, and hence in writing to the Greeks he called himself "Epaphroditus" (Plutarch, *Sulla*, 34). Appian (*Bell. civ.*, i. 97) relates that he sent a golden crown and axe to Venus with the inscription:—

> τόνδε σοι αὐτοπράτωρ Σύλλας ἀνέθηκ', Ἀφροδίτη,
> ὃς εἶδον κατ' ἤπειρον ἀνὰ στρατιὴν διέπουσαν
> τεύχεσι τοῖς Ἄρεως μαρναμένην ἑτοίμως.

The figure of Cupid bearing a palm-branch is an appropriate adjunct to the main type of the obverse. On the reverse the one-handled jug (*capis*) and the lituus refer to Sulla's election to the college of Augurs, and the trophies to the battles of Chaeronaea, B.C. 86, and of Orchomenos, B.C. 85. One of these trophies Sulla erected in the place where the troops of Archelaus began to give way and to fly to the river Molos. It was dedicated to Mars, Victory and Venus. The other trophy was placed on Mount Thurium and was inscribed *to the valour of Homoloichus and Anaxidamas* (Plutarch, *Sulla*, 19). These trophies are also represented on the Athenian tetradrachms above mentioned, which are supposed to have been struck by Lucullus. It was probably after the battle of Orchomenos that Sulla was hailed *Imperator iterum*, but it is uncertain when he received his first imperatorship, whether after the campaign in Cilicia, B.C. 92, when he acted as propraetor, or during the Social war (Mommsen, *Hist. mon. rom.*, t. ii., p. 440). Fr. Lenormant (*La Mon. dans l'Ant.*, vol. ii., p. 296) thought that the trophies referred to the two *imperatorial* acclamations received by Sulla. The above coins may have been struck in B.C. 83 and their issue continued into B.C. 82, the date to which Count de Salis assigned them.

It is somewhat difficult to give these coins to a particular locality. After the departure of Sulla, Lucullus remained in Asia Minor as *quaestor*, and administered that province for several years (Cicero, *Acad. pr.*, II. i. 1), and it is therefore possible that their place of mintage may have been Ephesus. Their rude fabric shows some similarity to the gold staters having on the obverse the bust of Artemis with her bow, and on the reverse the cultus statue of that divinity with the legend ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ or ΕΦ, which are supposed to have been issued by Sulla when he came to that city in B.C. 84 (Head, *Ephesus*, p. 69; Mommsen, *Hist. mon. rom.*, t. ii., p. 444). These Roman gold coins do not, however, correspond in weight to those of Ephesus, nor to those struck about the same time at Athens and Pontus, which average 130 grs., or $\frac{1}{25}$ of the Roman pound; the former are 165 grs., or $\frac{1}{20}$ of the Roman pound.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			L. MANLI: L. SVLLA	
			(LUCIUS MANLIUS[1]; LUCIUS [CORNELIUS] SULLA)	
			Aureus	
5	169·3	*N* ·75	Head of Roma r., in high relief, wearing winged helmet, ornamented with gryphon's head; the visor in three pieces and peaked; earring in form of cross and necklace of pendants and pearls; hair long and arranged in three symmetrical locks; before, L·MANLI; behind, ΓRO·Q (*Proquaestor*).	Sulla, togate, in triumphal quadriga r., horses walking; he holds laurel-branch in r. hand, and reins in l.; above, Victory flying l. and bearing wreath; in the exergue, L·SVLLA·IM (*Imperator*). (Blacas Coll.)
6	167·2	*N* ·85	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. cx. 5.] (Cracherode Coll.)
7	167·3	*N* ·75	Similar.	Similar; L·SVLLA·IM [Pl. cx. 6.]

[1] Lucius Manlius was proquaestor to Sulla during the Mithradatic war. He may have been the L. Manlius L. f. Torquatus who was consul B.C. 65 with L. Aurelius Cotta, and who afterwards obtained the province of Macedonia, where he performed some exploits, in consequence of which the Senate, upon the motion of Cicero (*in Pison.* 19), conferred upon him the title of *Imperator*. In his account of the battle at the Colline Gate, B.C. 82, Plutarch (*Sulla*, 29) mentions a Torquatus who was one of the legates of Sulla. The proquaestor has been identified with this member of the Manlia gens, and it has therefore been concluded that the coins bearing his name were struck by him in Italy after the triumph of Sulla in B.C. 81 (Babelon, vol. i., p. 410; ii., p. 177). This identification is, however, very conjectural, and it seems very probable from the evidence of the coins that the Torquatus who was in Italy in B.C. 82 was another member of the Manlia gens. This was the opinion of Count de Salis, who has assigned these gold and silver coins to the East chiefly on account of their fabric. The head of Roma is in high relief, and the style of work generally is quite different from that of denarii struck in the Capitol at this period. The work is more characteristic of a Greek engraver's art, than of a Roman, and it might be suggested that these coins were struck in Greece, probably at Athens, where L. Manlius may have acted as proquaestor to a portion of the Roman army after the departure of Sulla for Italy. If the reverse type commemorates the actual triumph of Sulla, this coinage could not have been issued before B.C. 81, but it is possible that the type may have anticipated an event which was certain to take place. The evidence of finds strongly favours the date B.C. 81, as no specimens of the denarii occurred in any which were buried previous to B.C. 81, including that of Monte Codruzzo, B.C. 82 (see vol. i., p. 319); but they were present in considerable number in all the finds the concealment of which is assigned to the years B.C. 78—73. These included those of Hev-Szamos, B.C. 78, Roncofreddo and Frascarolo, B.C. 75, Licodia and Palestrina, B.C. 74, and Ossero, B.C. 73. The reverse type of the triumphal quadriga is scarcely one which would be adopted for coins struck during the siege of Athens in B.C. 87, to which date Mommsen would assign them (*Hist. mon. rom.*, t. ii., p. 441). In support of this attribution Mommsen remarks, "Quoi qu'en dise Eckhel (*Doct. num. vet.*, t. v., p. 190) le triomphateur qui est dans le char n'est certainement pas Sylla. A cette époque on n'aurait pas encore osé représenter ainsi sur les monnaies un fait contemporain, et d'ailleurs ces pièces ont été frappées plusieurs années avant le triomphe de Sylla qui n'eut lieu qu'en 673 = B.C. 81." Mommsen (*op. cit.*, p. 442) describes the reverse type as "Jupiter in a quadriga holding a branch of laurel or the caduceus and crowned by Victory." The figure in the chariot appears to hold a laurel-branch,

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Denarius	
8	62·8	Æ ·65	Similar.	Similar; legend, L·SVLLA·IM
9	61·5	Æ ·65	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. cx. 7.] (Townley Coll.)
10	60·4	Æ ·7	Similar.	Similar. (Cracherode Coll.)
11	59·2	Æ ·65	Similar.	Similar; legend, L·SVLLA·IMΓ [Pl. cx. 8.]
12	62·0	Æ ·8	Similar; the head of Roma is in lower relief and more spread, and the legend follows the circumference of the edge.	Similar; legend, L·SVLLA·IM and the quadriga and figure of Victory larger. [Pl. cx. 9.]
13	62·4	Æ ·75	Similar; head of Roma in high relief, as on no. 8; before L·MANLI ⊣;[1] behind, ΓRO·Q	Similar. [Pl. cx. 10.] (de Salis Coll.)
14	59·5	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar.
15	58·4	Æ ·7	Similar.	Similar. (Cracherode Coll.)

but it does not portray Jupiter. Fr. Lenormant (*La Mon. dans l'Ant.*, vol. ii., p. 325) has identified the figure as of Sulla.

[1] The interpretation of the letter ⊣ which follows the gentile name "Manlius" is uncertain. It has been identified as the initial of Torquatus (Babelon, vol. i., p. 410). Mommsen (*op. cit.*, p. 442) has suggested that like XL and XLI on the coins of Mark Antony (see above, pp. 394, 396), it may be a number indicating that Sulla had arrived at the age of 50. As he was born in B.C. 138 these coins would therefore have been struck in B.C. 87. Cavedoni (*Nuovi Studii*, p. 17), who has associated them with the triumph of Sulla, and supposed them to have been issued for largess amongst the legions, has interpreted it as the initial of *Triumphalis* (*numaus*). As the letter occurs only on some of the denarii it is probably the initial of Torquatus (Cavedoni, *Saggio*, p. 53), the engraver of the die in making this addition to the name of the proquaestor having placed the letter sideways instead of upright. A blunder such as this could well have been made by a Greek artist who was not acquainted with the language of the Romans.

There are hybrids of the denarius of L. Manlius, viz. with the obverse of that of L. Torquatus (see above p. 270, no. 518), and with the reverse of that of Pinarius Natta (see vol. i., p. 112, no. 844; and *Zeit. f. Num.* 1877, pp. 33, 37).

The denarius which is figured and described by Babelon (vol. i., p. 408) after Morelli (*Fam. rom. num.*, pl. v., no. 2) as showing on the obverse the bust of Roma helmeted and crowned by Victory, and on the reverse, Sulla disembarking from a ship and received by the Genius of the Roman people, and the legend L. SVLLA IMΓ., is only a misreading of one of the coins issued by the Confederates during the Social war and commemorating the mission to Mithradates of Pontus (see above, p. 337, nos. 48, 49, pl. xcix., 10, 11). The original pieces have in the exergue either a letter of the Roman alphabet or else a number. One of these mint-marks was evidently misread as the name of Sulla. This error was detected by Mommsen (Borghesi, *Œuvres compl.*, t. i., p. 373), who remarks in a footnote, "Il me paraît certain que l'inscription SVLLA IMΓ est entièrement controuvée. Elle vient d'Orsino, qui en est le seul garant; car Morell et Visconti, tout en corrigeant son dessin dans ses autres parties, n'ont fait que répéter l'inscription, s'imaginant probablement qu'elle n'était pas venue dans les exemplaires qu'ils avaient sous les yeux." Neither Babelon nor Fr. Lenormant (*La Mon. dans l'Ant.*, vol. ii., p. 296, note 3) appears to have accepted this view, but Bahrfeldt (*Num. Zeit.*, 1896, p. 97) holds the same opinion as Mommsen.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Circ. B.C. 81; A.U.C. 673	
			A. MANLI A. F: L. SVLL (AULUS MANLIUS AULI FILIUS[1]; LUCIUS [CORNELIUS] SULLA)	
			Aureus	
16	167·7	*N* ·8	Bust of Roma r., draped, wearing crested helmet, ornamented at the sides with feathers; around, A · MAN LI [· A · F · Q] (*Quaestor*).	Equestrian togate statue of Sulla l., his r. hand raised; in the exergue and field, L · SVLL · FE[LI · DIC] (*Felix, dictator*). [Pl. cx. 11.] (Pembroke Coll.)
			Circ. B.C. 81—80; A.U.C. 673—674	
			Q · (QUAESTOR)	
			Aureus[2]	
	166·7	*N* ·8	Head of Venus r., diademed, wearing earring of single drop and necklace; hair rolled back and falling down her neck.	Double cornucopiae filled with fruit and flowers, and bound with fillet; below, Q (*Quaestor*).

[Babelon, vol. i., p. 408, no. 32.]

[1] Nothing appears to be known of Aulus Manlius beyond what we learn from his coins, viz., that he was a quaestor. He may have been a son of A. Manlius, who was a legate of C. Marius in the war against Jugurtha, B.C. 107. The date of the issue of his aurei, the only denomination which bears his name, is ascertainable from the legend and type on the reverse. It was in November, B.C. 82, that Sulla was declared *Dictator*, and at his triumph in January, B.C. 81, he assumed the cognomen *Felix* (Plutarch, *Sulla*, 34). On the latter occasion the Senate decreed to him a gilded equestrian statue, which was erected in front of the Rostra. It was inscribed, *Κορνηλίου Σύλλα ἡγεμόνος εὐτυχοῦς*, a title which corresponds to that given on these coins (Appian, *Bell. civ.*, i. 97; Suetonius, *Caesar*, 75). The style and fabric show that these gold coins are not of the Roman mint, and they are therefore assigned to the East. Manlius may have been a quaestor under Lucullus, and his coins may have been struck from some of the proceeds of the contribution or tax which Sulla ordered Lucullus to exact from the cities of Asia (Plutarch, *Lucullus*, 4). Fr. Lenormant (*La Mon. dans l'Ant.*, t. ii., p. 300) has suggested that A. Manlius acted as quaestor to Murena, in which case they would have been issued during the second Mithradatic war. These aurei correspond in weight to those of Sulla and his proquaestor L. Manlius, as they were minted at $\frac{1}{40}$ of the Roman pound.

A variety has the legend on the reverse L. SVLLA FELIX DIC. (Babelon, vol. i., p. 413; ii., p. 179).

[2] Cavedoni (*Ripostigli*, p. 147) appears to have been the first to assign these gold and silver coins to Sulla or to his time. They are without moneyer's name, but the letter Q

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Denarius	
17	66·6	*R* ·75	Similar; head of Venus smaller, and hair falling in less profusion down her neck.	Similar. (Payne Knight Coll.)
18	61·0	*R* ·75	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. cx. 12.]
19	61·0	*R* ·75	Similar.	Similar. (Blacas Coll.)

PERIOD II.

Circ. B.C. 61; A.U.C. 693

			MAGNVS ([CNAEUS POMPEIUS] MAGNUS) **Aureus**[1]	
20	137·8	*N* ·85	Head of Africa r., wearing elephant's skin; before, lituus; behind, one-handled jug to l. (*capis*) and legend, MAGNVS; the whole within laurel-wreath.	Pompey, holding laurel-wreath in triumphal quadriga r., horses walking; a youth (Cnaeus Pompey) rides the nearest horse; above, Victory flying r. with wreath; in the exergue, PRO·COS (*Pro-consul*). [Pl. cx. 13.] (Blacas Coll.)

shows that they were struck by the quaestor of a general. Cavedoni points out that not only is this aureus of the same weight as the gold coins of Sulla, but "la maniera della fabrica di questo denario in certo riguardo confronta con quella dell' altro denario di Silla insignito del gemino trofeo, tranne che quest' ultimo accusa un lavoro trascurato ed eseguito in fretta." As the reverse type, a double cornucopiae, occurs on bronze coins struck at Valentia in Bruttium, Fr. Lenormant (*La Mon. dans l'Ant.*, vol. ii., p. 297) has suggested that they were struck in that city during the Civil war (B.C. 82), where Sulla had established a mint under the control of his quaestor. If Count de Salis, however, is right in assigning them to the East, the double cornucopiae may be intended to refer to the cessation of hostilities after the second Mithradatic war, which it was hoped would restore commerce between the West and the East. It is uncertain whether these coins are to be assigned to Greece or Asia Minor, but it may be noticed that the treatment and form of the head of Venus on the obverse is very similar to that on coins of Julius Caesar, which were struck some years later (see below, p. 469, pl. cx., no. 20). No denarii of this issue occurred in the Monte Codruzzo hoard, B.C. 82, but they were present in that unearthed at Carrara, the burial of which must have taken place *circ.* B.C. 78 (see vol. i., p. 361, and Tables of Finds). This supplies us with the approximate date of their issue.

The bronze coins sextans and uncia with the reverse type a double cornucopiae, and the quadrans with that symbol above the prow, the issue of which Babelon (vol. i., pp. 409, 410) would associate with the above coins, have been assigned by Count de Salis to the Roman mint (see vol. i., p. 358). Bahrfeldt (*Num. Zeit.*, 1896, p. 98) would also separate the two series, especially as the initial Q is absent from the bronze pieces.

[1] This aureus, of which only one other example (in the Bologna Museum) appears to be known, is similar in type and character to those of Sulla and his proquaestor Lucius Manlius,

which have been described above. It has proved somewhat of an enigma, more especially in respect of its date of issue. Before, however, discussing this point some explanation of the types and legends may be given, as it is only on their interpretation that its date can be determined. The obverse type records the war in Africa in B.C. 81, when Pompey held the chief command, but with no official rank as consul or praetor, but only as propraetor (Mommsen, *Hist. mon. rom.*, t. ii., p. 456). It was on his return from this war, when the populace met Pompey outside Rome, that Sulla saluted him with the title of *Magnus*, and ordered all about him to give him this appellation. Some writers state that this title was given to Pompey by his army in Africa, but that it did not generally obtain till it was authorised by Sulla. Pompey, however, did not use it himself till he was appointed to the command of the war against Sertorius (Plutarch, *Pompeius*, 13). The lituus and the capis relate to Pompey's election to the college of Augurs. The reverse type records one of his triumphs together with his rank of proconsul. Pompey triumphed on three occasions: on his return from Africa in B.C. 81, after the war in Spain against Sertorius in B.C. 71, and for the third time in B.C. 61 on his extermination of the Pirates and his victories over Mithradates in Asia. He thus obtained triumphs for his victories over the three continents, Africa, Europe, and Asia. In his expedition to Asia he was accompanied by his elder son Cnaeus, who on the coin is shown riding the nearest horse, and thus taking part in the triumph of his father. The title of *proconsul* was first accorded to Pompey in B.C. 77, on his departure for Spain to oppose Sertorius. When it was proposed in the Senate that this military rank should be accorded to him, an objection was raised by one of the body, but L. Philippus replied, "Non ego illum mea sententia pro consule sed pro consulibus mitto" (Plutarch, *Pompeius*, 17). Pompey was again invested with this title on his undertaking the expedition against the Pirates in B.C. 67, and his powers were extended in the following year when he superseded Lucullus in the command of the army against Mithradates. His proconsular rule embraced not only the islands and coasts of the Mediterranean, but also the whole of Asia as far as Armenia. These data when taken in connection with the reverse type, which records a triumph, throw some light on the occasion on which this coin was issued. This must have occurred either in B.C. 81 after the African war, in B.C. 71 after the war against Sertorius, or in B.C. 61 after the successful expeditions against the Pirates and Mithradates. The selection of one of these occasions has provoked considerable diversity of opinion, which may be briefly stated. Mommsen (*Hist. mon. rom.*, t. ii., pp. 455—457) has assigned this aureus to the period of the first triumph, B.C. 81, on Pompey's return from Africa, though he did not receive the title of proconsul till four years later. To account for this apparent discrepancy Mommsen remarks, "Le titre de proconsul peut paraître singulier, mais Pompée après avoir refusé le titre d'*imperator* et avoir été salué de *Magnus* par ses soldats, se montra assez avide d'honneurs extraordinaires pour qu'on puisse le croire capable d'avoir préféré mettre sur ses monnaies le titre de MAGNVS PRO COS. plutôt que le titre plus ordinaire d'*imperator*, sans mentionner son nom propre. . . . On peut objecter, il est vrai, que Pompée, à son retour d'Afrique triompha avec le titre de *propréteur* et non avec celui de *proconsul*, mais il y a entre ces deux titres une distinction de rang et non une différence d'autorité." It may be presumptuous to differ from so great an authority as Mommsen, but it would have been an act of supreme arrogance for Pompey to have assumed so high a title as proconsul without the full authority of the Senate, and this is the more evident when we note the opposition raised to his receiving this rank a few years later. For these and other reasons given below we cannot accept the date B.C. 81 for the issue of this coin. Cavedoni (*Saggio, Appendice* B, p. 149) has selected the second triumph in B.C. 71 for the occasion on which this aureus was struck. This might be a more possible date than B.C. 81, but as Pompey shared that triumph with Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius it is very unlikely that he only would have issued coins on this occasion. There still remains Eckhel's opinion on this point (*Doct. num. vet.*, t. v., p. 281). He has assigned the issue to the third triumph, B.C. 61, after the wars of the Pirates and Mithradates. This was also the view held by Fr. Lenormant (*La Mon. dans l'Ant.*, vol. ii., p. 303), who aptly remarks, "Sans doute il y a quelque chose de singulier à voir à cette dernière époque placée sur la monnaie de Pompée la tête de l'Afrique, théâtre de ses premiers exploits, au lieu d'un type relatif à l'Asie; mais il n'avait triomphé de l'Afrique qu'à titre de *propréteur* et ce n'est que dans la guerre des Pirates et dans celle de Mithridate qu'il pouvait se qualifier de *proconsul*. De plus on voit un fils du triomphateur, encore enfant, monté, suivant l'usage, sur un des chevaux du char, et cette circonstance reporte encore impérieusement à l'époque des guerres asiatiques du général, alors parvenu au faîte de la popularité. Il me semble donc qu'il faut en revenir à l'opinion d'Eckhel, ou du moins admettre que nous avons là une monnaie militaire frappée par l'ordre de Pompée pendant ses campagnes en Orient, monnaie dans le type de laquelle il escomptait par avance son triomphe futur, en rappelant les précédents." The precise date of the birth of Cnaeus, the elder son of Pompey, is not known. It occurred at some time between B.C. 80—75, but as the campaign of his father against the Pirates in B.C. 67 was the first in which he took a part, he could not have figured on a coin issued in B.C. 81; nor is it at all probable that he would appear on one struck in B.C. 71. A similar representation of a youth riding on one of the horses of a triumphal chariot is met with on the denarii of C. Fundanius struck at Rome *circ.* B.C. 89, and commemorating the triumph of Marius, who was on that occasion accompanied by his son (see vol. i., p. 231). Though Lenormant appears not to have noticed that Pompey received the title of *proconsul* in B.C. 77,

PERIOD III.[1]

Circ. B.C. 49—47; A.U.C. 705—707

No.	*Weight*	*Metal and Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
			Circ. B.C. 49; A.U.C. 705.	
			L. LENT: C. MARC	
			(LUCIUS [CORNELIUS] LENTULUS; CAIUS [CLAUDIUS] MARCELLUS)	
			Denarius	
			Type I.	
21	59·0	*R* ·75	Head of Apollo r., hair long; around, L·LENT·C· MARC COS (*Consules*).	Jupiter naked, standing front, head r., holding thunderbolt in r. hand, and eagle on l. above garlanded altar; on his l., star and letter Q (*Quaestor*). (Nott)
22	57·8	*R* ·75	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. cx. 14.] (Townley Coll.)

and also has not observed that the head of Africa was no doubt adopted for the obverse type with special reference to the title *Magnus*, his arguments for assigning this gold coin to the time of Pompey's third triumph are so convincing that we have no hesitation in accepting his view. As this aureus resembles in type those of Sulla assigned to the East, which were issued a few years earlier, and as it is of somewhat coarse workmanship, there seems good reason for classing it to the East also, and in concluding that it was struck for distribution amongst the soldiers who had served in the Mithradatic war and had remained in the eastern provinces of the empire. On the occasion of his triumph Pompey not only brought 20,000 talents into the public treasury, but also distributed 16,000 amongst his troops which were stationed at Ephesus (Plutarch, *Pompeius*, 45). It is quite possible that this money was struck from some of the bullion thus supplied, and that it was minted at Ephesus.

The standard of weight of this aureus is somewhat lighter than that used for the Sullan pieces, the latter being at $\frac{1}{39}$ of the Roman pound, the former at $\frac{1}{40}$.

The obverse of the specimen in the Bologna Museum is from a different die, the *capis* being turned to the right (Bahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1897, p. 46; Riccio, *Catalogo*, pl. ii., no. 15). These are the only coins which Pompey struck in his own name. Those of the proquaestors Cn. Calpurnius Piso and Terentius Varro, which bear his name, were issued in Spain in B.C. 49, at which time Pompey was in Greece making preparations for the coming struggle with Julius Caesar (see above, pp. 361, 362).

[1] The coinages assigned to this period are those which were struck in the East by the partisans of Pompey previous to the battle of Pharsalus, and by Julius Caesar just after the engagement. The former consist of those issued by the consuls Lucius Cornelius Lentulus and Caius Claudius Marcellus in Illyricum and Asia Minor, and that of Caius Coponius, who was in command of the fleet of Pompey in the Eastern Mediterranean.

Lentulus and Marcellus, in whose names these coins were struck by their quaestor, were the consuls for B.C. 49. Both supported the party of Pompey and were violently opposed to

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type II.[1]	
23	64·6	AR ·75	Head of Jupiter r., with long beard.	Cultus-statue of the Ephesian Artemis facing; her hands are extended and from each hangs a fillet; around, L · LENTVLVS MAR · COS (*Consules*). [Pl. cx. 15.] (Boyne Coll.)

Caesar, on whose approach to Rome in that year they fled to Sicily, and thence to Dyrrhachium in Illyricum. Lentulus then proceeded to Asia, where he collected two legions for Pompey, and returning to Greece was present at the battle of Pharsalus. He followed Pompey to Egypt, but almost immediately on his landing was taken prisoner and put to death by order of the young Ptolemy (Plutarch, *Ptolemeus*, 30). Marcellus was in B.C. 48 placed in command of the Rhodian portion of the fleet of Pompey (Caesar, *Bell. civ.*, iii. 5.) As nothing appears to be known of Marcellus after this date it is possible that he perished in the Civil war.

There are three series of denarii bearing the names of these consuls. The first was that struck at Rome by the quaestor urbanus Cn. Nerius (see vol. i., p. 504); the second that issued by them in Sicily on their way from Italy to Greece (see Babelon, vol. i., p. 425, no. 64; and COINAGE OF SICILY, *s.a.* B.C. 49); and the third, which consists of the above coins, issued when the two consuls landed in Illyricum, and when Lentulus was collecting forces for Pompey in Asia Minor. This third series was probably minted at Apollonia and Ephesus. It is to these coins that Cicero (*Ep. ad Fam.*, xiii. 29) refers in speaking of the silver money which was struck at Apollonia in B.C. 49, when Pompey and his partisans had their head-quarters in that city.

The reverse type of Jupiter is practically a copy of that used by Lentulus and Marcellus for the denarii which they struck in Sicily. In that instance the figure is supposed to have been selected in consequence of the proximity of the temple of the god near Syracuse, where the coins may have been issued. Furtwängler (*Meisterwerke*, pp. 408—410) thinks that in this type we have a representation of the colossal figure of Zeus Eleutherios, the work of the sculptor Myron, which the Syracusans had set up as an enduring memorial of the expulsion of the tyrant Thrasybulus, and of the establishment of a democracy in B.C. 463 (Diodorus, xi. 72, 2). He also suggests that it may have been intended to record the conquest of Sicily in B.C. 214 by the consul M. Claudius Marcellus, an ancestor of the consul of B.C. 49. As the denarii of Type I. were probably issued soon after the landing of the consuls in Illyricum, this reverse type was preserved with some modifications. A new one was, however, provided for the obverse, the head of Apollo replacing the triskelis. Babelon (vol. i., p. 426, no. 65) has identified the head as of the young Jupiter, but as these coins were very possibly struck at Apollonia it is more probably of Apollo, that being the principal obverse type of the autonomous silver and copper coins of that city of the first century B.C. (see *Cat. Gr. Coins, Brit. Mus., Thessaly to Aetolia*, pp. 60—62). Though the name of the quaestor who issued these coins is not given, but only the initial of his official title, it may be presumed that it was Cnaeus Nerius, who accompanied the consuls in their flight from Rome. When Pompey left the capital he ordered that the treasure in the public *aerarium* should be seized, and also all the offerings in the temples, in order to defray the expenses which would be incurred in the levying of troops to oppose Caesar (Dion Cassius, xli. 6). As Nerius was quaestor urbanus at that time, and in virtue of his office one of the guardians of the *aerarium*, he no doubt carried out the instructions of Pompey and so was well provided with bullion, which he almost immediately used for coining money, both in Sicily and Greece.

[1] From its reverse type it may be concluded that this denarius was struck at Ephesus when Lentulus was in Asia Minor collecting levies for Pompey. At the same time Marcellus was in command of a portion of the fleet of Pompey which was operating in the eastern Mediterranean, off the coast of Ionia. This money was therefore required to meet the expenses of the levies and of the fleet. The head on the obverse is somewhat uncertain, but it may be of Jupiter. Babelon (vol. i., p. 426, no. 66) identified it as Jupiter Pluvius. Varieties read C , MAR . COS and C . MARC . COS (Babelon, vol. i , p. 426, no. 67; Bahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1896, p. 102).

Specimens of this issue occurred in the San Niccolò di Villola and Lària hoards, which were buried *circ.* B.C. 45—44, but none in that of Carbonara II., which was of a slightly earlier date, B.C. 48 (see vol. i., pp. 501, 502, and Tables of Finds).

The "aureus" of this type figured by Riccio (*Catalogo*, pl. i., no. 10) must either be a gilt specimen of the denarius or a forgery.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Q. SICINIVS: C. COPONIVS	
			(QUINTUS SICINIUS[1]; CAIUS COPONIUS)	
			Denarius	
24	62·8	AR ·7	Head of Apollo r., diademed; below, star; around, Q · SICINIVS III · VIR	The club of Hercules, upright and supporting the lion's skin, with scalp of lion in profile r.; on r., strung bow; on l., arrow; around, C · COPONIVS · PR · S · C (*Praetor, senatus consulto*). (de Salis Coll.)
25	61·7	AR ·8	Similar.	Similar. (Nott)
26	61·6	AR ·75	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. cx. 16.]**
27	61·0	AR ·75	Similar.	Similar. (Townley Coll.)
28	57·0	AR ·7	Similar; no star below head of Apollo.	Similar. **[Pl. cx. 17.]**
29	60·0	AR ·7	Similar; star below head.	Similar; scalp of lion facing. **[Pl. cx. 18.]** (Nott)
30	59·2	AR ·75	Similar; head of Apollo l.	Similar; scalp of lion in profile r. **[Pl. cx. 19.]** (Nott)

[1] Quintus Sicinius, as we have seen (vol. i., p. 503), was a triumvir of the mint at Rome in B.C. 49. Early in that year, on the outbreak of the Civil war, he accompanied C. Coponius to the East, where he continued to exercise his duties as a moneyer. Caius Coponius, for whom Sicinius struck money, was praetor urbanus in B.C. 49. He followed Pompey to Greece and was placed by him in command of the Rhodian portion of his fleet, conjointly with Caius Marcellus (see above, and Caesar, *Bell. civ.*, iii. 5—*navibus Rhodiis C. Marcellus cum C. Coponio praserat*). He was proscribed by the triumvirs B.C. 43, but was pardoned by Antony at the intercession of his wife (Appian, *Bell. civ.*, iv. 40).

This coinage, which was evidently intended for the use of the fleet commanded by Coponius in the East, is of a very exceptional nature, for we have an ordinary moneyer of the Roman mint still using his official title and striking money for a praetor urbanus who had vacated his office. To justify this action the formula S. C. (*Senatus consulto*) is added, in order that it might appear as if the coins were struck under senatorial authority. This instance is quite unique in the whole series of military coinages of the Roman republic (see Fr. Lenormant, *La Mon. dans l'Ant.*, t. ii., pp. 305, 306).

The reverse type is of cistophoric origin, as it is met with on half and quarter cistophori of Ephesus, and of other cities of Asia Minor. It is probable that, like some of the denarii of L. Cornelius Lentulus and C. Claudius Marcellus, these were also minted at Ephesus. Babelon (vol. i., p. 381) has suggested Alinda in Caria, as coins of that city show the same reverse type. This place was, however, situated too far inland to be a convenient spot from which to issue money, which was no doubt intended for the use of the fleet. The head of Apollo and the star are emblematic of the East.

By the means of finds we are able to fix the precise date of this issue. Specimens not only occurred in those of San Niccolò di Villola, Collecchio and Liria, but also in that of Carbonara II., which was buried *circ.* B.C. 48. As none were met with at San Gregorio di Sassola, Compito and Cadriano, we have the narrow limit of date B.C. 49—48 for their issue (see vol. i., pp. 413, 414, 501, 502, and Tables of Finds).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Circ. B.C. 48; A.U.C. 706	
			CAESAR	
			(CAIUS JULIUS CAESAR [1])	
			Denarius	
31	60·5	*R* ·7	Head of Venus r., diademed and wearing necklace; her hair is rolled back, collected into a knot behind, and falls in two locks down her neck.	Aeneas naked, walking l., holding in r. hand the Palladium, and bearing on l. shoulder his father Anchises, who wears long tunic and hood; on r., CAESAR (Cracherode Coll.)
32	60·3	*R* ·75	Similar.	Similar. (Nott)
33	60·3	*R* ·7	Similar.	Similar. (Woodhouse Coll.)
34	59·3	*R* ·7	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. cx. 20.] (Blacas Coll.)
35	57·0	*R* ·7	Similar.	Similar.

[1] According to Count de Salis's view the denarii and aurei assigned to these years and bearing the name of Caesar were struck soon after the battle of Pharsalus, the scene of Caesar's victory over Pompey the Great, 9 August, B.C. 48, and in the following year. He has attributed them to the East. They differ in workmanship from any others bearing the name of Caesar which have been assigned to Spain and Gaul (see above, pp. 363, 368, 390). The types of the denarius, both obverse and reverse, are in high relief, and the fabric is somewhat crude and coarse. The aureus is also of inferior workmanship, but its types are in low relief, and in general style it is not altogether unlike similar pieces of Brutus struck a few years later (see below, p. 477, note 1). There is also a strong resemblance in style, especially in the form and treatment of the head of Venus on the obverse between these denarii and those of an earlier date, with the reverse type a double cornucopiae but without the moneyer's name (see above, p. 464, no. 17). They seem to be rather of Greek than Asiatic work. The approximate date of the issue of these denarii is ascertainable from finds. No specimens were met with in the Cadriano or San Cesario hoards buried *circ.* B.C. 50, nor in that of Carbonara II., *circ.* B.C. 48, but they occurred at San Niccolò di Villola, Collecchio and Liria, *circ.* B.C. 45—44, and in most of the finds buried subsequently (see vol. i., pp. 414, 501, 502, and Tables of Finds). Their absence from the Carbonara II. hoard may be explained by the circumstance that they were probably not issued till after the battle of Pharsalus, and some time must be allowed to elapse before they would reach Italy. Babelon (vol. ii., p. 11) remarks, "Il n'est pas certain que cette pièce ait été frappée, comme on le prétend généralement, vers l'an 704 (50 av. J. C.), mais elle doit figurer parmi les plus anciennes de Jules César." The evidence of finds does not quite confirm this view.

The types, both obverse and reverse, relate to the mythical descent of the Julia gens from Iulus, the son of Aeneas (see vol. i., pp. 542, 543). This subject may have been specially selected by Caesar on this occasion to show the early connection of his family with the East. The watchword of Caesar at Pharsalus, as well as at the subsequent battle of Munda in Spain, was *Venus Victrix*, and it was on the eve of the former battle that he offered special sacrifices to Venus and vowed that he would build a temple in Rome as a thank-offering to her as the "Bringer of Victory" (Appian, *Bell. civ.*, ii. 68). The temple was dedicated in the following year.

This denarius was restored by Trajan, and the reverse forms hybrids with the obverses of that of Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio, with the laureate head of Jupiter (Babelon, vol. i., p. 278, no. 47), and of that of Augustus with his head and the legend AVGVSTVS (Bahrfeldt, *Zeit. f. Num.*, 1877, pp. 42, 43).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Circ. B.C. 47; A.U.C. 707	
			CAESAR	
			(CAIUS JULIUS CAESAR)	
			Aureus [1]	
36	122·8	*N* ·75	Sacrificial axe and simpulum; around, CAESAR DICT (*Dictator*).	One-handled jug (*capis*) and lituus; below, ITER (*Iterum*); all within laurel-wreath. [Pl. cxi. 1.] (Nott)

PERIOD IV.

Circ. B.C. 44—42; A.U.C. 710—712 [2]

			Circ. B.C. 44—43; A.U.C. 710—711	
			C. ANTONIVS M. F	
			(CAIUS ANTONIUS MARCI FILIUS [3])	
			Denarius	
37	61·0	*R* ·7	Male bust r. (the Genius of Macedonia), wearing chlamys and cap (*kausia*); hair long; around, C. ANTO NIVS · M · F · PRO · COS (*Proconsul*).	Emblems of the pontificate; two simpula, one with foot, and axe; below, PONTIFEX [Pl. cxi. 2.] (Nott)

[1] The legends on this aureus furnish us with the date of its issue, as it was in B.C. 47, on his return from the Alexandrine war and the short struggle with Pharnaces of Pontus, that Caesar was appointed dictator for the second time. His first appointment as dictator was in September, B.C. 48, and on its expiration in September of the following year he allowed it to be renewed (Drumann, *Gesch. Roms*, 2 ed., vol. iii., p. 507). The axe and the simpulum relate to the office of pontifex maximus, to which he was elected in B.C. 63, and the capis and lituus to his membership of the college of Augurs.

On account of its somewhat rude fabric Count de Salis has assigned this coin to the East, where it would have been issued for distribution amongst the legions who had served at Pharsalus, and also in Egypt and Pontus. We are unable to decide from want of evidence where it was minted, but it was more probably in Greece than in Asia Minor. It was issued at the rate of $\frac{1}{40}$ of the Roman pound, corresponding in that respect to similar pieces struck at Rome in the following year by the *praefectus Urbi* A. Hirtius (see vol. i., p. 525). It is slightly lighter than the gold pieces of Caesar issued at Rome in B.C. 49, which were at $\frac{1}{38}$ of the pound, and still less in weight than the coin of Pompey issued a few years before and also attributed to the East (see above, p. 464).

[2] During the period which elapsed between the return of Caesar to Rome in B.C. 47 and the struggle between Antony and Octavius and Brutus and Cassius in Greece, there is no provincial money which can be assigned to the East. The coins issued in Greece and Asia during B.C. 44—42 are of two series; that of the proconsul C. Antonius, B.C. 44—43, and that of Brutus and Cassius and their proquaestors and legates, B.C. 43—42.

[3] Caius Antonius M. *f.* M. *n.* was the second son of M. Antonius Creticus, and younger brother of the triumvir. In B.C. 49 he was sent by Julius Caesar as one of his legates to

Circ. B.C. 43—42; A.U.C. 711—712[1]

SERIES I.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			CAEPIO BRVTVS ([QUINTUS] CAEPIO BRUTUS)	
			Denarius	
38	60·3	*R* ·75	Head of Libertas r., hair rolled back and collected into a knot behind; before, LEIBERTAS	A lyre between a plectrum and a laurel-branch, tied with fillet; around, CAE ΓIO·BRVTVS·ΓRO·COS (*Proconsul*). [Pl. cxi. 3.] (Cracherode Coll.)

Illyricum, where with P. Dolabella he took charge of the fleet. Through the influence of Caesar he was elected pontiff and praetor urbanus in B.C. 44, when he assisted his brother to organise his party in Rome. Later in the year he was appointed to the province of Macedonia with the title of proconsul (see below), but soon after his arrival in Illyricum he was besieged by Brutus in the city of Apollonia. After a somewhat lengthened siege he was compelled to surrender, 20 March, B.C. 43. He was kept a prisoner for some time by Brutus, who put him to death at the beginning of B.C. 42, chiefly at the instigation of Q. Hortensius to avenge the murder of Cicero (Appian, *Bell. civ.*, ii. 41; iii. 14, 79; Dion Cassius, xlvii. 21, 24).

As C. Antonius does not appear to have reached his province of Macedonia (Pauly-Wissowa, vol. i., p. 2583; Drumann, *Gesch. Rome*, 2 ed., vol. i., p. 384, note 5), the coins bearing his name were probably issued at Apollonia. The bust on the obverse is, however, intended to represent the Genius of Macedonia, a similar head (of Hermes) being met with on autonomous coins of Macedonia (see *Cat. Gr. Coins, Brit. Mus., Macedonia*, pp. 131 f.). The reverse type records his election to the college of Pontiffs.

This denarius is of great rarity, and of all the finds of which analyses are given it only occurred in that of Carbonara I. (see vol. i., p. 562, and Tables of Finds). It is probable that if struck at Apollonia the issue was very limited.

[1] The coins assigned to these years were struck by Marcus Junius Brutus and Caius Cassius Longinus in Greece and Asia Minor after the murder of Caesar, in their own names and in those of their legates and proquaestors. These issues, for convenience of description and classification, may be separated into three series. The first series consists of coins struck by Brutus and his legates in Greece; the second, of those issued by Cassius in the name of his legate M. Aquinus; and the third, of those bearing the names of Cassius and Brutus struck by their joint legates, P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther and M. Servilius. The coinages of the last two series were struck in Asia, probably at Sardes (see below, pp. 480 f.).

Some particulars of the life of Brutus have already been given with the description of the coins previously struck by him at the Roman mint (see vol. i., p. 479), when he held the office of an ordinary moneyer. A few further data which are specially applicable to the coinage issued in the East may, however, be supplied.

In the September following the murder of Julius Caesar, B.C. 44, Brutus went to Greece to take over the administration of the province of Macedonia, which had been assigned to him by Caesar. Immediately after his departure the Senate transferred the province to Mark Antony, who in turn handed it over to his brother Caius (see above). On his arrival in Illyricum Caius Antonius was forced to surrender at Apollonia, and later was put to death by order of Brutus. Shortly after Brutus became engaged in a war with some Thracian tribes, which he entered on in order to procure money for himself and booty for his legions (see below, p. 474). It was at this time that he assumed the title of *Imperator*, which we meet with on subsequent issues (Dion Cassius, xlvii. 25). Plutarch (*Brutus*, 34) says that Brutus and Cassius were saluted with the title *Imperator* on their meeting at Sardes early in B.C. 42. In the autumn of B.C. 43 Brutus joined Cassius in Syria, and dividing their forces they ravaged the coasts of Rhodes and Lycia, leaving Lucius Statius Murcus with a small fleet to protect the Ionian sea and to intercept the armies of Antony and Octavius (see below, p. 485). The fleet was inadequate for this purpose, and in the summer of B.C. 42 Brutus and Cassius

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Without the name of Brutus	
			Quinarius[1]	
39	28·7	AR ·55	Head of Libertas r., similar to no. 38; but she wears a diadem, and her hair falls in locks down her neck; before, LEIBER TAS	Anchor and stem of prow in saltire. [Pl. cxi. 4.] (Nott)
40	26·5	AR ·55	Similar.	Similar. (Cracherode Coll.)
			L . SESTI : Q . CAEPIO BRVTVS (LUCIUS SESTIUS[2]; QUINTUS CAEPIO BRUTUS)	
			Aureus	
	123·5	N ·75	Bust of Ceres r., veiled, wearing wreath of corn and necklace; before, L·SESTI·; behind, PRO. Q. (*Proquaestor*).	A tripod between a sacrificial axe on the l., and a simpulum on the r.; around, Q . CAEPIO BRVTVS PRO COS (*Proconsul*).

[Bahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1896, pl. vii., no. 166.]

crossed over to Greece to meet the legions of the triumvirs. Two months later the battles of Philippi were fought, which proved fatal, not only to their armies, but also to Brutus and Cassius themselves.

The coins of Brutus struck in Greece may be separated into two groups. On one he is styled *Proconsul*, and on the other *Imperator*. As he was not saluted *Imperator* till the Thracian expedition, all coins bearing that title must be placed subsequent, but those with *Proconsul* previous to that event. The reverse type of the above denarius bears out this classification, as it apparently records the campaign against Caius Antonius and the capture of Apollonia. As the lyre is the reverse type of autonomous coins of that city of the first century B.C. (see *Cat. Gr. Coins, Brit. Mus., Thessaly*, &c., pl. xiii. 2), it may be concluded that this denarius was struck there. The obverse type of Libertas is adopted from that of the denarii issued by Brutus in B.C. 59 as a moneyer of the Roman mint (see vol. i., p. 479). Before the first battle at Philippi Brutus and Cassius exhorted their soldiers to keep before their eyes "Liberty, the Republic, and the destruction of Tyranny and Despotism." The tesserae which were distributed amongst the legions commanded by Brutus were inscribed with the watchword "Leibertas" (Dion Cassius, xlvii. 42, 43).

Brutus is styled on his coins Q . CAEPIO BRVTVS, M . BRVTVS, or simply BRVTVS. His birth-name was Marcus Junius Brutus, but on his adoption by his uncle, Q. Servilius Caepio, he took the name of Q. Caepio Brutus, but he does not appear from his coins to have adhered closely to his name of adoption.

[1] It is somewhat difficult to assign a specific date to the issue of these quinarii on account of the absence of the name of Brutus. The obverse type seems to connect them with the previous denarii. That of the reverse may relate to some naval success which occurred soon after the landing of Brutus in Greece, possibly in connection with the arrival of Caius Antonius in Illyricum.

[2] Lucius Sestius was the son of Publius Sestius or Sextius, who was quaestor B.C. 63.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Denarius	
41	59·3	Æ ·75	Similar; legend differently arranged.	Similar. [Pl. cxi. 5.] (Nott)
42	57·7	Æ ·7	Similar.	Similar. (Nott)
43	57·0	Æ ·7	Similar.	Similar. (Cracherode Coll.)
44	54·5	Æ ·7	Similar.	Similar. (Cracherode Coll.)
45	52·3	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar.
			Quinarius	
			Type I.	
46	27·8	Æ ·6	Similar.	Victory walking r., bearing wreath in extended r. hand and palm-branch in l.; around, Q · CAEPIO. BRVTVS · PRO COS [Pl. cxi. 6.] (Pembroke Coll.)
			Type II.[1]	
47	26·5	Æ ·55	A quaestorial chair (*subsellium*), against which rests a staff (*virga viatoris*); beneath it, a modius; above, L · SESTI; below, PRO Q	A tripod between a simpulum on the l., and a flamen's cap (*apex*) on the r.; around, Q CAEPIO BRVTVS PRO COS. [Pl. cxi. 7.]

tribune B.C. 57, and praetor B.C. 53, and at first a partisan of Pompey, but later joined Caesar. His son, L. Sestius, the only member of his gens of whom we possess coins, served as pro-quaestor to Brutus in Macedonia, and although he cultivated the memory of his commander with pious care, he earned later the friendship of Augustus, who made him consul suffectus in his own place, B.C. 23 (Dion Cassius, liii. 32). It is to this Sestius that Horace addressed one of his odes (*Carm.*, i. 4). His coins were struck during his proquaestorship in Macedonia, and from the obverse type of both gold and silver (bust of Ceres), it may be concluded that he was successful in supplying Brutus with provisions for his army. The sacrificial implements record the office of pontifex to which Brutus had been elected, and the Victory on the reverse of the quinarius of Type I. to the successes of Brutus over Caius Antonius at Apollonia. As Brutus is given the title of *Proconsul* these coins were struck before the Thracian expedition. They are of exceptionally fine style. The illustration of the aureus is from the specimen in the Vienna collection.

[1] The objects on the obverse of this quinarius consist of the quaestorial insignia, viz., the chair or subsellium, the rod or *virga viatoris*, and the modius, not the *scrinium*, or chest for holding documents, as identified by Friedländer (*Berliner Blätter*, 1865, pp. 148 f.). This last

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			ΚΟΣΩΝ	
			Aureus [1]	
48	130·1	*N* ·8	The consul, Lucius Junius Brutus, walking l. between two lictors, each bearing fasces; on l., monogram, BR (*BRutus*); in the exergue, ΚΟΣΩΝ	An eagle with open wings standing l. on sceptre and holding wreath in r. claw.

object is clearly a modius with a handle on either side, and with corn appearing at its mouth. Nor is it a *fiscus*, or money-chest, which, as seen on coins of the quæstor in Macedonia, Assillus (see *Cat. Gr. Coins, Brit. Mus., Macedonia*, p. 19), is of the same circumference throughout, and sometimes provided with a cross-handle. The apex on the reverse shows that Brutus was a flamen as well as a member of the college of Pontiffs.

In connection with this quinarius we may mention some rare bronze coins (size 1·0 and ·85 in.), which have on the obverse, the head of Brutus bare, and on the reverse, the subsellium between the *virga victoria* on the left and the fiscus on the right; below, Q (*Quæstor*). In this instance the object on the right of the subsellium is certainly a fiscus. In style these coins are similar to the denarii of L. Sestius, and they may have been struck in the same district. Imhoof-Blumer (*Mon. grec.*, p. 60; *Choix*, pl. i. 14), who has assigned them to Macedonia, thinks that they may have been issued at Pella or Thessalonica shortly before the battles of Philippi.

The reverse of the quinarius of Type II. forms a hybrid with the obverse of the quinarius of P. Vettius Sabinus (see vol. i., p. 221; Babelon, vol. ii., p. 457, no. 4, note). A barbarous and plated denarius of Sestius has the blundered legend on the reverse, Q. CAEPIO BRIVS IRO CO (Fahrfeldt, *Zeit. f. Num.*, vol. iv., p. 49).

Though these and the following coins of Brutus of Series I., with the exception of those inscribed ΚΟΣΩΝ, may be assigned to Greece, and most probably to Macedonia, we are unable to suggest their actual place or places of mintage. The types of the coins do not furnish any evidence of their provenance. They may have been struck at Amphipolis, which was made a free city by the Romans and the capital of the first of the four districts into which Macedonia was divided. In its vicinity were the gold and silver mines of Mount Pangæus, which had been worked from early times and which would supply plentifully the necessary metals for this money. There was also Pella, for long the capital of Macedonia, of which there are bronze coins extending into imperial times, and including some which may be assigned to Mark Antony—*obv.* Female head (Octavia?), *rev.* Nike or laurel-wreath with name of city (see *Cat. Gr. Coins, Brit. Mus., Macedonia*, p. 92). But in preference to these we might select Thessalonica, which rose to great eminence under Roman administration, and when Macedonia was reduced to one province became the most important city and virtually the metropolis. During the first Civil war Thessalonica was the head-quarters of the Pompeian party, and during the second it declared for Antony and Octavius, but this may not have been till late in the war and when Brutus was in Asia. Besides the bronze coins of Brutus above mentioned there are others of Octavius and Antony which belong to that city (see *Cat. Gr. Coins, Brit. Mus., Macedonia*, p. 115). Throughout the series of gold and silver coins of Brutus there is a considerable uniformity of fabric and style, which suggests that most of them emanated from one mint. The obverse type, consisting of a head or bust, is in high relief, and the designs of the reverse are also in high relief and carefully and distinctly modelled. The letters of the legends are uniformly neat. In this respect these coins resemble those above mentioned of Octavius and Antony struck at Thessalonica, but are in strong contrast to those of Antony which follow and are assigned to the East. The dies for the coins of Brutus were evidently executed by skilful Greek engravers.

[1] It was during the war against the Thracian tribes that Brutus struck these gold coins. The obverse type, which records the expulsion of the kings of Rome by his ancestor, Lucius Junius Brutus, surnamed the Ancient, is similar to that used for the reverse of the denarii struck by Brutus a few years before at the Roman mint (see vol. i., p. 479), whilst the reverse is emblematic of the dominant power which Brutus intended to exercise on behalf of Rome over the province under his administration, and probably against his enemies at home. The eagle with a wreath and standing on a sceptre is found in connection with the obverse type, head of Jupiter, on coins of Q. Pomponius Rufus struck at Rome, circ. B.C. 74 (see vol. i., p. 407), and the eagle alone as the symbol of power is not unfrequently met with on other issues of about this period. The monogram in the field on the obverse is composed of the letters BR, the initials of the cognomen Brutus, but the legend ΚΟΣΩΝ still needs a satisfactory explanation. Eckhel (*Doct. num. vet.*, t. vi., p. 23) suggested that it may be

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
49	129·4	Æ ·85	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. cxi. 8.]
50	131·7 (pierced)	Æ ·8	Similar; no monogram.	Similar. (Payne Knight Coll.)
51	130·8	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. cxi. 9.] (Blacas Coll.)

Q. CAEPIO BRVTVS

(QUINTUS CAEPIO BRUTUS)

Denarius [1]

52	61·0	Æ ·8	Head of Apollo r., laureate; hair in ringlets.	Military trophy, consisting of a cuirass, a helmet with two plumes, and two oblong shields, one with incurved sides; at the base are seated a male and a female captive, both supporting their heads with their hands; the male captive wears *braccae*; around, Q. CAEPIO BRV TVS IMP (*Imperator*).

the name of a Thracian prince who had been killed by his own subjects, and whose widow, Polemocratia, fearing lest her son, Cotys, should share the same fate, brought him to Brutus and sought his protection. At the same time she placed at his disposal all her husband's treasures, amongst which was an unexpected quantity of gold and silver bullion. This Brutus stamped and converted into money (Appian, *Bell. civ.*, iv. 75). The name of the husband of Polemocratia was, however, Sadala, not Koson (Mommsen, *Ephem. Epig.*, vol. ii., pp. 251 f.). Babelon (vol. ii., p. 114) has therefore suggested that these coins were struck at Cossea in Thrace. Dion Cassius (xlvii. 25) states that it was after the expedition against the Bessi, or Besi, that Brutus assumed the dignity of *Imperator*. Can there be a confusion between ΒΗΣΩΝ and ΚΟΣΩΝ?

These coins are somewhat heavier than the Roman aurei struck at this time, but they correspond in weight to the *philippi*. It may therefore be inferred that the gold *philippus*, though no longer issued, was still in currency in Thrace and Macedonia (Mommsen, *Hist. mon. rom.*, t. iii., p. 283).

[1] As Brutus is given the title of *Imperator*, these and the following coins bearing his name must have been issued after the Thracian expedition. The bullion from which they were struck was probably that which was obtained from Polemocratia, the widow of the Thracian prince. The military trophy is a record of this expedition, and the head of Apollo might be a personification of the city where the coins were struck, the place of mintage being, however, very uncertain. It may relate to the belief held by Brutus that his life and doom were under the direct influence of Apollo. Plutarch (*Brutus*, 24) mentions that at a feast given on his birthday at Carystus in Euboea, Brutus, without any visible relation to the subject then being discussed, shouted out the dying words of Patroclus (Homer, *Iliad*, xvi. 849):—

ἀλλά με Μοῖρ' ὀλοὴ, καὶ Ἀπόλλων ἑκατηβόλος

His watchword at the last battle of Philippi was "Apollo" (Plutarch, *loc. cit.*).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
53	59·3	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. cxi. 10.]
54	55·3 (*pierced*)	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar.

C. FLAV. HEMIC: Q. CAEP. BRVT

(CAIUS FLAVIUS HEMICILLUS;[1] QUINTUS CAEPIO BRUTUS)

Denarius

55	60·0	Æ ·75	Bust of Apollo r., draped; hair rolled back and collected into a knot behind; before, lyre; around, C·FLAV·HEMIC·LEG·PRO·PR (*Legatus pro praetore*).	Victory standing l., holding palm-branch in l. hand, and with r. placing wreath on trophy, which consists of a cuirass surmounted by a crested helmet, and below it, a short sword in a sheath; to the arms are attached an oval shield with incurved sides and a long thin curved sword with closed handle (*copis*); around, Q·CAEP·BRVT·IMP· (*Imperator*).
56	58·7	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. cxi. 11.] (Blacas Coll.)

[1] Little appears to be known of Caius Flavius Hemicillus beyond what we learn from his coins. He was acting as *legatus pro praetore* to Brutus about the time of the Thracian expedition. It is quite uncertain whether he was the Flavius who was *praefectus fabrum* to the army of Brutus, and who fell in the second battle of Philippi (Plutarch, *Brutus*, 51); nor can he well be identified with the C. Flavius who is mentioned among the enemies of Octavius, and who was put to death in B.C. 40 after the taking of Perusia. The interpretation of the legend "Hemic" as the cognomen *Hemicillus* is also open to question. Eckhel (*Doct. num. vet.*, t. v., p. 214) says, "Istud indubitatum, esse cognomen Flavii quomodocunque enunciandum," and Borghesi (*Œuvres compl.*, vol. i., pp. 168 f.) supposes it to be of Greek origin, i.e., ἡμισυς κίλλας = dimidius asinus, which would be analogous to other *cognomina* used by the Flavia gens, *Aper*, *Asellus*, *Calvpodon*, *Leo*, *Lupus*, *Taurus*, &c. Mommsen (Borghesi, *loc. cit.*, note) has remarked that we must be on our guard in accepting *Hemicillus* as a word and as a Latin cognomen. The reverse type of the denarius relates to the recent campaign against the Thracians, and the head of Apollo has already been explained in connection with the previous issue. It occurs on other coins of Brutus (see next page).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			L. BRVTVS: M. BRVTVS: COSTA (LUCIUS [JUNIUS] BRUTUS; MARCUS [JUNIUS] BRUTUS; [PEDANIUS] COSTA[1])	
			Aureus	
57	125·0	*N* ·8	Head of the consul Lucius Junius Brutus r., hare, with beard; around, L · BRVTVS · ΓRIM · COS (*Primus consul*); all within wreath of oak.	Head of Marcus Junius Brutus r., bare, with slight beard; above, M · BRV TVS IMΓ (*Imperator*); below, COSTA LEG (*Legatus*); all within wreath of oak. (Devonshire Coll.)
58	124·0	*N* ·8	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. cxi. 12.] (Dupré and Wigan Coll.)
			COSTA: BRVTVS ([PEDANIUS] COSTA; [MARCUS JUNIUS] BRUTUS)	
			Denarius[2]	
59	59·0	*R* ·75	Head of Apollo r., laureate; hair rolled back, collected into a knot behind, and falling down his neck in two locks; around, COSTA LEG (*Legatus*); the whole within radiate border.	Trophy composed of cuirass, crested helmet, oval shield with incurved sides and two spears; around, BRV TVS IMΓ (*Imperator*). (Nott)
60	58·5	*R* ·75	Similar.	Similar. (Nott)
61	58·4	*R* ·75	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. cxi. 13.]

[1] This legate is only known from coins. Costa was a cognomen of the Pedania gens, and also of the Postumia. Eckhel (*Doct. num. vet.*, t. v., p. 269) identifies the legate with the former. He served under Brutus during the Civil war, probably in Greece. He is the only member of the Pedania gens of whom we possess coins. The head on the obverse is that of Lucius Junius Brutus, the Ancient. He was the first consul elected after the expulsion of the kings. It was the Junia gens which through so many centuries had advocated the cause of Roman liberty. The oak-wreath is the *corona civica* which was granted to those who had saved the lives of their fellow-countrymen in battle, or had rescued the State from imminent peril. By the death of Caesar Brutus probably claimed for himself this honour also. On these and the following coins of this series he takes his birth-name, *Marcus Junius Brutus*, instead of his name of adoption, *Quintus Caepio Brutus*. He began to grow a beard on the outbreak of the Civil war, B.C. 49, as a sign of mourning (Lucan, ii. 372—376). The resemblance in fabric between these aurei and those of Julius Caesar struck after the battle of Pharsalus has already been noted (see above, pp. 469, 470).

[2] The reverse type refers to the victories of Brutus, probably in Greece. The head on the obverse has been identified as of Libertas (Babelon, vol. ii., p. 290, no. 1), but the radiate

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			BRVTVS: CASCA LONGVS	
			([MARCUS JUNIUS] BRUTUS; [PUBLIUS OR CAIUS SERVILIUS] CASCA LONGUS[1])	
			Aureus	
62	123·3	*AV* ·8	Head of Brutus r., bare, with beard; behind, BRV TVS: before, IMP (*Imperator*); the whole within laurel-wreath.	A combined military and naval trophy, consisting of a cuirass, a crested helmet, an oval shield with incurved sides, two spears and a short sword in sheath; at the base are two prows, two shields and a rudder (?); on l., between the two spears of the trophy the letter L (*Libertas*); on l. of trophy, CASCA; on r., LONGVS [Pl. cxi. 14.] (Dupré and Wigan Coll.)
			Denarius	
63	62·5	*AR* ·75	Head of Neptune r., bearded and laureate; below, trident; behind, CASCA; before, LONGVS	Victory walking r., bearing palm-branch over l. shoulder, and holding with both hands a broken diadem, bound with fillet; at her feet, a broken sceptre; on l., BRVTVS; on r., IMP (*Imperator*). [Pl. cxi. 15.] (Nott)
64	60·0	*AR* ·7	Similar.	Similar. (Nott)
65	58·3	*AR* ·8	Similar.	Similar.

border which surrounds it makes it more probable that it is of Apollo. The type would thus correspond with those of previous issues (see above, pp. 475, 476).

[1] There were two members of the Servilia gens with the cognomen Casca Longus, to either of whom these coins might be assigned. Publius Servilius Casca, one of the conspirators against Caesar, was tribune of the plebs B.C. 44, joined Brutus in the East and fought at Philippi. His brother Caius, who though a friend of Caesar also took part in his assassination, went to the East and was likewise present at Philippi (Appian, *Bell. civ.*, ii. 113; Dion Cassius, xliv. 52; xlvi. 49; Plutarch, *Brutus*, 45). It was probably Publius Servilius Casca who struck these coins, and who appears to have commanded the fleet of Brutus. The double victory by land and sea which the aureus commemorates was no doubt the capture by Brutus of Xanthus and Patara, cities of Lycia. At Patara Brutus, besides seizing all the gold and silver in the public treasury, ordered each citizen to bring in separately whatsoever he possessed of value (Appian, *Bell. civ.*, iv. 76—82). It was by these victories that Brutus and Cassius hoped to restore freedom to Rome, and to break down all semblance of regal power which had been

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			L · ΓLAET · CEST: BRVT	
			(LUCIUS PLAETORIUS CESTIANUS;[1] [MARCUS JUNIUS] BRUTUS)	
			Aureus	
	119·1	*N* ·75	Bust of Ceres r., laureate, wearing veil and necklace; her head is surmounted by the modius; behind, L · ΓLAET · CEST	Emblems of the pontificate; sacrificial axe and simpulum, without handle; below, BRVT · IMΓ (*Imperator*).

[Babelon, vol. ii., p. 119, no. 50.]

Denarius

Type I.

66	59·0	*R* ·75	Similar.	Similar. (Cracherode Coll.)
67	58·0	*R* ·8	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. cxi. 16.]** (Cracherode Coll.)

introduced by Caesar, and which was fostered by the triumvirs. This is symbolized on the denarius by Victory holding a broken diadem and crushing beneath her feet a sceptre.

A variety of the aureus is without the letter L (*Libertas*) in the field on the reverse (Babelon, vol. ii., p. 118, no. 45). Bahrfeldt (*Num. Zeit.*, 1893, p. 168) states that the aureus of this issue in the British Museum is the finest example that he has met with, and also that those without the letter L on the reverse are rarer than those with that letter.

There is a slight difference in style and fabric between the gold and silver coins of this issue. They were, however, probably from the same mint, but the dies were executed by different engravers. The style of the reverse of the aureus is not unlike that of the denarius of Julius Caesar, with reverse type Aeneas and Anchises (see above, p. 469).

[1] Lucius Plaetorius Cestianus is only known to history from his coins. He held some command or post under Brutus in Greece, possibly as quaestor, as may be inferred from the head of Ceres on the obverse of his coins. The reverse types relate to the office of pontifex held by Brutus, and to the murder of Caesar on the Ides of March. On the eve of the first battle of Philippi Brutus in addressing Cassius said, "On the Ides of March I devoted my life to my country, and since then I have lived in liberty and glory" (Plutarch, *Brutus*, 40). Dion Cassius (xlvii. 25) after recounting the victories of Brutus in Thrace and Macedonia adds, "These were the exploits of Brutus; besides, he struck coins on which were represented a *pileus* and two daggers, to show by this design and also by the inscription that he had in concert with Cassius given liberty to his country."

There is a hybrid consisting of the obverse of the denarius of Type I., and of the reverse of the denarius of L. Mussidius Longus with the type, globe, rudder, cornucopiae, &c. (Bahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1896, p. 169; and vol. i., p. 576, no. 4237).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type II.	
68	58·7	*AR* ·7	Head of Brutus r., bare, with slight beard; behind, L·ΓLAET·CEST; above and before, BRVT IMΓ	Cap of Liberty between two daggers with points downwards; below, EID·MAR (*Eidibus Martiis*). (de Salis Coll.)
69	57·6	*AR* ·75	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. cxi. 17.]
70	52·8	*AR* ·7	Similar.	Similar. (Pembroke Coll.)

SERIES II.[1]

M.AQVINVS: C.CASSI

(MARCUS AQUINUS: CAIUS CASSIUS [LONGINUS[2]])

Aureus

71	123·0	*AV* ·75	Head of Libertas r., diademed, and wearing earring; hair rolled back, collected into a knot behind, and falling down her neck; below, LIBERTAS; behind, M·AQVINVS·LEG· (*Legatus*).	Tripod surmounted by the *cortina* and two laurel-branches; on either side depends a fillet; on l., C·CASSI; on r., ΓR·COS (*Proconsul*). [Pl. cxi. 18.] (Cracherode Coll.)
72	118·8	*AV* ·8	Similar.	Similar; legend on l., C·CASSI; on r., IMΓ (*Imperator*). [Pl. cxi. 19.] (Wigan Coll.)

[1] The only issue assigned to this series is that of the aurei of C. Cassius, struck by his legate, M. Aquinus (see above, p. 471, note 1).

[2] The history of Caius Cassius Longinus, one of the assassins of Julius Caesar, is so well known that it is only necessary to mention here the circumstances which led to the striking of these and the following coins which bear his name and those of his legates, M. Aquinus, P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther, and M. Servilius. Appointed quaestor in B.C. 53, Cassius served with Crassus in the unfortunate expedition against the Parthians, and was a tribune of the people B.C. 49, ranging himself on the side of Pompey, but after Pharsalus he was reconciled to Caesar, and in B.C. 44 was praetor peregrinus, with the promise from Caesar of the province of Syria in the following year. It was at this time that with Brutus he conceived and carried out the assassination of Caesar. Though promised Syria as his province, the Senate at the instigation of Antony gave Cyrene to Cassius, but later confirmed him in the province of Syria, to which he had already proceeded. Here he was opposed by Dolabella, but was successful in capturing Laodiceia and Tarsus. These victories he followed up with the capture of Rhodes, from which island he extracted booty amounting to 8,500 talents (see below, pp. 483, 484). Early in B.C. 42 Cassius met Brutus at Sardes, where both were greeted with the title of *Imperator* (Plutarch, *Brutus*, 34). Soon after they left for Macedonia to take up their position at Philippi, where both perished.

Of Marcus Aquinus, or Aquinius, the legate of Cassius, little appears to be known, but from his coins we learn that his service extended over a period before and after the capture of Rhodes, as on them Cassius is given the titles of *Proconsul* and *Imperator*. It is quite possible that the moneyer is the same person as M. Aquinius, a Pompeian, who took part in the African

SERIES III.[1]

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			C. CASSI: LENTVLVS SPINT (CAIUS CASSIUS [LONGINUS]; [PUBLIUS CORNELIUS] LENTULUS SPINTHER[2])	
			Type I.	
			Aureus	
73	126·6	*N* ·85	Bust of Libertas r., veiled, wearing diadem, earring and necklace of pearls; before, LEIBERTAS; behind, C·CASSI·IMP (*Imperator*).	One-handled jug (*capis*) and lituus; below, LENTVLVS SPINT [Pl. cxi. 20.]

war against Caesar, but was afterwards pardoned by him (*Bell. Afr.*, 57, 89). He is the only one of the legates who struck coins exclusively for Cassius, and the only member of his gens of whom we possess coins.

The aurei of Aquinus were probably struck from the booty obtained at Rhodes and other cities on which contributions had been laid. The head of Libertas on the obverse symbolizes the freedom which Cassius and Brutus promised to restore to the Roman world, and the reverse type, the tripod, may refer to the sacrifices which were offered to Apollo for the recent victories of Cassius. This type is a common one on coins of Greece and Asia, but Borghesi (*Œuvres compl.*, t. i., pp. 343 f.) would connect it specially with the dignity of *quindecimvir sacris faciundis*, with which Cassius had been invested. Though a slight interval may have occurred between the issue of the above aurei on account of the change in the titles given to Cassius, it is clear from the similarity of fabric and style that both were struck at the same place or mint. This may have been at Sardes, where, as we have seen, Brutus and Cassius met after their victories.

No silver coins are known of M. Aquinus.

[1] This series comprises the coins of Cassius and Brutus, struck by their joint legates P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther and M. Servilius. They were also probably issued at Sardes, where the legates appear to have met to celebrate the victories of their generals, and to have distributed amongst the soldiery, in the form of money, the booty which had been amassed.

[2] Publius Cornelius P. f. P. n. Lentulus Spinther was the son of Publius Cornelius Lentulus Spinther, who was consul B.C. 57, and of whom there are coins struck at the Roman mint in his capacity as quaestor (see vol. i., p. 406). The son was born in B.C. 74, assumed the *toga virilis* in B.C. 57, and in the same year was elected into the college of Augurs. As Faustus Cornelius Sulla was already a member of that college, and as two of the same family could not belong to it at the same time, Lentulus was received by a sham adoption into the Manlia gens. He attached himself to the Pompeian party, but later was pardoned by Julius Caesar and returned to Italy. After the murder of the dictator he was sent by the Senate to Asia as quaestor to C. Trebonius, at whose death he joined Brutus and Cassius, serving with the latter against Rhodes, and with the former in Lycia (Appian, *Bell. civ.*, iv. 72, 82). It is uncertain whether Lentulus was slain at Philippi, but he is not mentioned after that time. There are coins which were issued by Lentulus in the names of both his generals. The reverse types of both series record his early appointment to the college of Augurs. This is one of the few instances in which the moneyer used a reverse type which was personal to himself (see above, p. 449). The obverse type of his coins with the name of Cassius and bearing the head of Libertas (not veiled) is so similar to that of the aurei of M. Aquinus, that both issues must have been struck at the same mint, and the dies probably executed by the same engravers. If further proof is needed, it is to be found in the denarius of Type II., where the reverses of the coins of Aquinus and Lentulus are united on one piece. The obverse type of the coins of Lentulus with the name of Brutus relates to the office of pontifex held by the latter.

Bahrfeldt (*Num. Zeit.*, 1896, p. 84) mentions two hybrids with the obverse of the denarius of Type I. var. One has for reverse type that of the denarius of Octavius with the triumphal arch (see above, p. 14, pl. lix., no. 17); the other is also of Octavius, but with the reverse, the emblems of the pontificate (see above, p. 415, no. 116, pl. cvi. no. 14). The former is in his own collection, the latter in that of M. de Belfort.

No.	Weight	Metal and size	Obverse	Reverse
			Denarius	
74	63·5	AR ·7	Similar; Libertas wears double earring and necklace of pendants.	Similar. [Pl. cxii. 1.]
75	58·0	AR ·5	Similar.	Similar. (Cracherode Coll.)
			Type I. var.	
			Aureus	
76	124·3	AV ·85	Head of Libertas r., not veiled, wearing diadem, earring and necklace of pearls; hair rolled back, collected into a knot behind, and falling down her neck; before, LEIBER TAS; behind, C·CASSI·IMP	Similar. [Pl. cxii. 2.] (Devonshire Coll.)
			Denarius	
77	62·0	AR ·8	Similar.	Similar. (Cracherode Coll.)
78	60·3	AR ·85	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. cxii. 3.] (Nott.)
			Type II.	
			Denarius [1]	
79	60·0	AR ·75	Tripod surmounted by the *cortina* and two laurel-branches; on either side depends a fillet; on l., C·CASSI; on r., IMP (similar to rev. of no. 72).	Similar. [Pl. cxii. 4.] (Cracherode Coll.)

[1] This denarius shows a combination of the reverse types of the issues of M. Aquinus and P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther. It proves beyond question that both were struck at the same mint.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			BRVTVS: LENTVLVS SPINT	
			([MARCUS JUNIUS] BRUTUS; [PUBLIUS CORNELIUS] LENTULUS SPINTHER[1])	
			Aureus	
	123·5	*N* ·75	Sacrificial axe (*securis*), simpulum and sacrificial knife (*secespita*); below, BRV TVS	One-handled jug (*capis*) and lituus; below, LENTVLVS SPINT (similar to no. 73).

[Paris Coll.]

Denarius

80	59·5	*R* ·75	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. cxii. 5.]
81	59·0	*R* ·8	Similar.	Similar. (Nott)
			C. CASSI: M. SERVILIVS	
			(CAIUS CASSIUS [LONGINUS]; MARCUS SERVILIUS[2])	
			Type I.	
			Aureus	
82	124·7	*N* ·8	Head of Libertas r., laureate; hair rolled back, collected into a knot behind, and falling down her neck and over l. shoulder; behind, C·CASSI·IMP (*Imperator*).	Aplustre, the branches terminating in flowers (roses); on l., M·SERVILIVS; on r., LEG (*Legatus*). [Pl. cxii. 6.] (Dupré and Wigan Coll.)

[1] After the capture of Rhodes Cassius sent Lentulus to assist Brutus in Lycia. He went to Andriaca, the seaport of the Myreans, broke the chain which closed the harbour and ascended to the city of Myra. As the inhabitants obeyed his commands he collected money in the same way as had recently been done at Patara (see above, p. 478), and returned to Brutus (Appian, *Bell. civ.*, iv. 72, 82). These coins were struck after Lentulus had rejoined Brutus at Sardes. The obverse type records the membership of Brutus of the college of Pontiffs. There is a hybrid consisting of the reverse of the denarius and of the obverse of that of Augustus with his portrait and the legend AVGVSTVS DIVI F (Babelon, vol. ii., p. 117, no. 41, note).

[2] Marcus Servilius was tribune of the plebs B.C. 44, and is spoken of by Cicero as *vir*

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Denarius	
83	60·0	*R* ·8	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. cxii. 7.] (Nott)
			Type II.	
			Denarius	
84	59·3	*R* ·8	Head of Libertas r., laureate, &c., similar to no. 82; behind, C·CASSEI·IMP	A crab holding an aplustre in its claws; below, a loose regal diadem and a rose; on l., M·SERVI LIVS; on r., LEG [Pl. cxii. 8.] (Nott)
			M. SERVILIVS: Q. CAEPIO BRVTVS (MARCUS SERVILIUS: QUINTUS CAEPIO BRUTUS)	
			Aureus[1]	
85	121·2	*N* ·8	Head of Libertas, r., laureate; hair rolled back, collected into a knot behind, and falling down her neck and over l. shoulder (similar to no. 82); behind, M·SERVILIVS; before, LEG (*Legatus*).	Military trophy composed of a cuirass, a crested helmet, an oblong shield and two spears; on l., Q·CAEPIO·; on r., BRVTVS·IMP (*Imperator*). [Pl. cxii. 9.] (Pembroke Coll.)

fortissimus (*ad Fam.*, xii. 7; *Philipp.*, iv. 6). From his coins it appears that he served in the East under Cassius and also under Brutus; with the former in connection with the fleet which captured Rhodes, B.C. 43, and with the latter in Lycia, where he may have commanded a portion of the land forces. The reverse types of the coins bearing the name of his general, Cassius, relate to the great victory over the Rhodian fleet and the subsequent occupation of that island. The aplustre is the common symbol of supremacy at sea. In this instance the branches are floreate, probably a reference to Rhodes, the emblem of that island being a rose. The reverse type of the denarius of Type II. is one of the most interesting of the Roman republican series, and is full of incident. The crab is the symbol of Cos, and is a well-known coin-type of that island. It was within the territorial waters of Cos that the Roman and Rhodian fleets met, and the crab is in consequence represented as holding within its grasp the fate of the contending parties and the right of granting victory. The rose was, as mentioned, the emblem of Rhodes, and is also a frequent coin-type of the island. The loose diadem recalls the circumstance that when Cassius after his victory entered the city of Rhodes, the terror-stricken inhabitants saluted him with the title of king and lord; but he contemptuously answered that he was neither their king nor their lord, but was the chastiser and destroyer of one who would have been both (Plutarch, *Brutus*, 30). Cassius forbad his soldiery to plunder the city in order that he might secure the booty for himself. He took the value of 8000 talents from the temples and the public treasury, and in addition laid a contribution of 500 talents on the inhabitants (Appian, *Bell. civ.*, iv. 73; Plutarch, *Brutus*, 32).

As Servilius struck coins for Brutus as well as for Cassius, and as they resemble in style those of Lentulus, it is probable that they were minted at Sardes at the time of the meeting of the two generals (see above, p. 481).

[1] This aureus was struck by M. Servilius to commemorate his service under Brutus in

No.	*Weight*	*Metal and Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
			MVRCVS	
			([LUCIUS STATIUS] MURCUS[1])	
			Denarius	
86	52·4	*R* ·8	Head of Neptune r.; behind, trident.	MVRCVS IMP (*Imperator*) in the exergue. A military trophy, before which on the r. stands a male figure (Murcus) holding a short sword in his l. hand, and with r. raising a kneeling female figure (Asia). [Pl. cxii. 10.] (Claude Stewart Coll.)

Lycia, where he held a military, not a naval command. He may have been present at the taking of Xanthus and Patara (see above, p. 478). Brutus is given his name of adoption, not his birth-name, as on previous pieces ascribed to Greece (see above, p. 477).

Babelon (vol. ii., p. 119, no. 48) describes a denarius of the type of the aureus as being in the Sandes collection, Dublin. This coin is now in the Berlin cabinet (Bahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1896, p. 169). Bahrfeldt (*loc. cit.*) mentions a hybrid in silver consisting of the obverse of the above aureus and of the reverse of the denarius of C. Numonius Vaala, with the warrior attacking a *vallum* (see vol. i., p. 571, no. 4216). It was formerly in the Bignami collection, but it is now in the Capitoline Museum.

[1] Lucius Statius Murcus was legate to Julius Caesar, B.C. 48, and one of three commissioners appointed to treat with the Pompeians at Oricum (Caesar, *Bell. civ.*, iii. 15). In B.C. 45—44 he was made praetor, and after the expiration of his year of office he went to Syria with the title of proconsul as successor to Sextus Julius Caesar, who at the instigation of Caecilius Bassus had been murdered by his own soldiers. Murcus besieged Bassus in Apamea, and compelled him to surrender. On the arrival of Cassius he handed over his legions to him and was appointed *praefectus classis*, having previously received the title of *Imperator*. He defeated Dolabella and the Rhodians, blockaded Laodicea, and then cruised in the Ionian sea in order to intercept the fleets of Antony and Octavius. After the battles of Philippi, Murcus took his fleet over to Sextus Pompey in Sicily, who treacherously caused him to be put to death (Vell. Patero., ii. 69, 72, 77; Appian, *Bell. civ.*, iii. 77, *pass.*; Dion Cassius, xlvii. 27, *pass.*).

The denarius of Murcus, which is of rather barbarous fabric, was probably struck by him in Asia before the battles of Philippi, though no mention is made either of Cassius or Brutus, as was the case with the other legates, P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther and M. Servilius. The head of Neptune on the obverse is an allusion to his rank of *praefectus classis*; whilst the reverse, which shows the submission of Asia, may have special reference to the capture of Apamea and the surrender of Bassus, and the trophy on it to his victory over Dolabella (Babelon, vol. ii., p. 466).

Babelon (*op. cit.*, p. 467) describes a small copper coin which is in the Paris cabinet, and which has on the obverse the head of Vulcan wearing a conical cap, and on the reverse Victory in a quadriga and the legend STATI TREBO. This piece is of local issue in Italy or Sicily, and does not belong to the Roman series proper. Bahrfeldt (*Num. Zeit.*, 1897, p. 78) illustrates a quadrans formerly in the Bignami collection, now in the Capitoline Museum, of the usual type: *obv.* head of young Hercules and *rev.* prow, above which is the legend [M]VRCV (=MVR CVS) and below, ROMA. If correctly identified this quadrans was struck by a member of the Statia gens, and would be of the end of the second or beginning of the first cent. B.C. It weighs 38 grs.

PERIOD V.[1]

Circ. B.C. 42—31; A.U.C. 712—723

Coinages of Mark Antony as Triumvir, &c.

No	*Weight*	*Metal and Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
			Circ. B.C. 42; A.U.C. 712	
			M. ANTONIVS	
			(MARCUS ANTONIUS [2])	
			Denarius[3]	
			SERIES I.	
87	60·3	*R* ·8	Head of Mark Antony r., bare, with beard; behind, lituus.	Head of Sol r., radiate; around, M·ANTONIVS·III·VIR·R·P·C (*Triumvir reipublicae constituendae*).
88	59·6	*R* ·8	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. cxii. 11.]**

[1] To this period are assigned all the Roman coins of Antony and others which were struck in the East between the battles of Philippi and that of Actium. The series is continuous, but is somewhat varied in its composition. Some of the coins were struck by Antony in his own name only, or in those of his brother Lucius, of Octavius, of Octavia his wife, of his son Marcus, and of Cleopatra of Egypt. Others, the more numerous, were issued in his name, but by his legates, quaestors, proquaestors, *praefecti classis*, &c. A third series, comprising only a small section, consists of extraordinary issues, the more important of which were those of Cnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus, who struck coins on two occasions, first as commander of the fleet of Brutus, and secondly as the legate of Antony (see below, pp. 487-8, 494-5), and of Quintus Labienus, as general of part of the Parthian forces (see below, p. 500). These coins are of all three metals, and comprise in gold the aureus, in silver the denarius and quinarius, and in bronze or copper the sestertius to the sextans. The bronze pieces are mostly of a very special character, and were mainly issued by the *praefecti classis* (see below, pp. 510 f.).

[2] When the triumvirs had secured their power at Rome their first task was to restore unity to the empire. Brutus and Cassius were in possession of Macedonia and Syria, and Sextus Pompey threatened the West from Sicily. The triumvirs first directed their attention to the East, and the conduct of the war was committed by the Senate to Antony and Octavius, but chiefly to the former, who throughout showed conspicuous valour and great military talents. After the battles of Philippi an agreement was entered into between Antony and Octavius, by the terms of which Antony undertook the administration of the Eastern provinces, whilst Octavius returned to Italy to superintend those of the West. This agreement was confirmed two years later by a more definite division of the empire. An imaginary line was to be drawn through Scodra on the Illyrian coast, and all west of that line was to be under the care of Octavius, except Africa, which had already been assigned to Lepidus, and all east of it up to the Euphrates was to go to Antony. From this time, with the exception of three visits to Italy, two being of very short duration, Antony remained in the East, and the coinage throughout shows the supreme authority with which he exercised his control over his allotted provinces. His portrait is the prevailing obverse type on his coins, whether struck by himself or under his delegated authority by his quaestors, proquaestors and others. In this respect his money is a counterpart of that of Octavius in the West.

[3] These denarii, which are placed at the head of the Eastern coinages of Antony, were probably struck soon after the battles of Philippi. The issue consists of two series, one showing

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			SERIES II.	
89	61·5	Æ ·75	Similar; the head of Antony is small and without beard; behind, above the lituus, IMP (*Imperator*).	Similar. [Pl. cxii. 12.]
90	55·7	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar. (Nott)
91	60·5	Æ ·75	Similar; head of Antony larger.	Similar; head of Sol larger. [Pl. cxii. 13.]
92	57·4	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar.

Circ. B.C. 42—41; A.U.C. 712—713

CN. DOMITIVS L. F

(CNAEUS DOMITIUS LUCII FILIUS [AHENOBARBUS[1]])

Aureus

93	126·0	Æ ·8	Head of Cnaeus (?) Domitius Ahenobarbus r., bare; before, AHENOBAR	Front and lateral view of a tetrastyle temple; the upper part dividing the legend NEPT (*Neptuno*); at sides and below, CN·DOMITIVS·L·F·IMP (*Imperator*). [Pl. cxii. 14.] (Devonshire Coll.)

Antony wearing a beard and without the title *Imperator*, the other beardless and with that title. The head with the beard appears to be copied from the denarius struck in Rome in B.C. 44 (see vol. i., p. 550, no. 4178, pl. liv. no. 23), and the beardless one from the Gaulish coins (see above, p. 397, nos. 53, 54, pl. ciii. no. 16). The two series show such variations in fabric and style that they must have been of different localities, but both probably situated in Greece. Subsequent to this year Antony is given quite another portrait (see below, p. 490, note), which is practically continued throughout his coinage. This would serve as a reason for assigning the above denarii to an early date. The reverse type is a general reference to the Eastern provinces, more especially to Asia, which were under the personal rule of Antony. His first task after the battles of Philippi was to proceed to Asia to crush the republican party and to collect money sufficient for the payment of the promised rewards to his veterans. It is on the evidence of these coins that we have associated the denarius of Antony struck in Gaul with the reverse type, a temple and head of Sol (see above, p. 398, no. 60), with the same circumstance.

Babelon (vol. i., p. 168, no. 30) describes an aureus in the Vienna collection of the same type as the denarius with the bearded head of Antony and without the title *Imperator*. Bahrfeldt (*Num. Zeit.*, 1896, p. 29) says of this coin that it is well preserved and weighs 7·20 grammes (= 111·2 grs.), which is somewhat light. He, however, doubts its genuineness, and considers it to be a *cast* much tooled. An illustration is supplied by Bahrfeldt of the piece which seems to endorse his opinion.

[1] Cnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus was the son of Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus, who was consul B.C. 54. Like his father, Cnaeus belonged to the Pompeian party, and was present at

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Denarius[1]	
94	60·5	Æ ·75	Head of Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus r., bare, with beard; before, AHENO BAR	Prow r., on which is placed a military trophy; at sides and below, CN · DOMI TIVS · IMP (Blacas Coll.)
95	57·5	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. cxii. 15.]
96	55·0	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar.
97	46·8	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar.

the battle of Pharsalus, but returning to Italy in B.C. 46 he was pardoned by Caesar. It is somewhat uncertain whether he took any part in the murder of Caesar, but he followed Brutus to Macedonia after Caesar's death and was included amongst those condemned under the *lex Pedia* (Appian, *Bell. civ.*, v. 55). In B.C. 42 he was placed by Brutus in command of a fleet of fifty ships to operate in the Ionian sea, and having united his fleet with that of L. Statius Murcus (see above, p. 485) he completely defeated Cn. Domitius Calvinus (see above, p. 373), on the day of the first battle of Philippi, as the latter attempted to sail out of Brundusium with the troops of Octavius. For this victory he was saluted *Imperator* (Appian, *op. cit.*, iv. 86, 100, 108, 115 f.). After the battles of Philippi Ahenobarbus acted independently of Sextus Pompey, and with a fleet of seventy ships and two legions plundered the coasts of the Ionian sea and attacked the fleet of Octavius near Brundusium, which he besieged (Dion Cassius, xlviii. 7; Appian, *op. cit.*, v. 26, 61). In B.C. 40 he was reconciled to Antony, who invested him with the governorship of Bithynia, where he remained for some years. Later he accompanied Antony in the campaign against the Parthians, B.C. 36 (Plutarch, *Antonius*, 40). He was consul B.C. 32, and on the rupture between Antony and Octavius he fled to Ephesus to join Antony; being, however, disgusted with his conduct with Cleopatra he deserted to Octavius (Suetonius, *Nero*, 3). He died before the battle of Actium.

The coins of Ahenobarbus are of two periods; those struck in B.C. 42—41, when he was ravaging the coasts of Ionia with his fleet, and those issued in B.C. 40, on his reconciliation with Antony, when he was invested with the governorship of Bithynia (see below, p. 494).

The reverse types of his coins assigned to B.C. 42—41 relate to his victory over Cn. Domitius Calvinus at Brundusium. The temple of Neptune on the reverse of the aureus is probably that which Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*, xxxvii. 26) relates was built in the circus of Flaminius by a certain Cn. Domitius, and in which was preserved a group of statues representing Neptune, Thetis, Achilles and others, a much esteemed work of Scopas—*in maxima dignatione delubro Cn. Domitii in circo Flaminio Neptunus ipse et Thetis atque Achilles, Nereides supra delphinos et cete aut hippocampos sedentes.* A reference to this temple also occurs in a later inscription of the Empire, *Aedis Neptuni quae est in circo Flaminio* (*C.I.L.*, vol. vi. 8423). It is not certain by whom this temple was erected, but it may have been by Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, who was consul B.C. 192, and who two years later was legate to the consul L. Scipio in the war against Antiochus the Great. This Ahenobarbus had already founded a temple to Faunus in the island of the Tiber, which he dedicated during his praetorship in B.C. 194 (Livy, xxxiii. 42; xxxiv. 42, 43, 53). It is not impossible that this act of devotion to the gods by erecting a temple to Neptune was performed by Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus after the war with Antiochus, when he may have brought back with him to Rome the group of figures by Scopas to which Pliny refers. The head on the obverse is therefore probably that of the founder of the temple, and not of the *praefectus classis* of Brutus as Babelon (vol. i., p. 466) and von Sallet (*Zeit. f. Num.*, 1891, p. 203) suggest. Judging from the analogy of the silver coins the name on the obverse is also not that of the moneyer, but was intended to be applied to the portrait.

[1] The bearded head on the obverse of these denarii is of Lucius Domitius, to whom the Dioscuri announced the victory of the Romans over the Latins at Lake Regillus. To confirm the truth of what they said they stroked his black hair and beard, which immediately became the colour of brass (Suetonius, *Nero*, 1). From this circumstance the Domitia gens assumed the cognomen *Ahenobarbus*. The reverse type, like that of the aureus, relates to the victory over Cn. Domitius Calvinus at Brundusium, the trophy no doubt specially referring to the troops which were being conducted to Greece for the struggle against Brutus and Cassius.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse

Circ. B.C. 41; A.U.C. 713[1]

M·ANT: M·BARBAT: CAESAR

(MARCUS ANTONIUS; MARCUS BARBATIUS [PHILIPPUS]; [CAIUS] CAESAR)

Aureus

98	124·0	*N* ·8	Head of Antony r., bare; around, M·ANT·IMP·AVG·III·VIR·R·P·C·M·BARBAT·Q·P (*Marcus Antonius, imperator, augur, triumvir reipublicae constituendae; Marcus Barbatius, quaestor [pro] praetore*).	Head of Octavius r., bare, with slight beard; around, CAESAR·IMP·PONT·III·VIR·R·P·C·(*Caesar, imperator, pontifex, triumvir reipublicae constituendae*).
99	123·4	*N* ·8	Similar.	Similar.

[Pl. cxii. 16.]

[1] There are three issues which may be classed to this year. These are of Marcus Barbatius Philippus, Marcus Cocceius Nerva, and Lucius Gellius Publicola, who held the offices of *proquaestor* or *quaestor pro praetore* under Mark Antony. The date of the issues of Barbatius and Nerva is certain, as they both record the consulship of Lucius Antonius, the brother of Mark Antony, which was in B.C. 41. No coins of Gellius with the name and portrait of Lucius Antonius are at present known, but like Barbatius and Nerva he issued a series with those of Mark Antony and Octavius. As all the coins are of the same fabric and style, and also similar in many other respects, they must be classed not only to the same year, but also to the same place of mintage.

Little is known of the personal history of these moneyers, but as each one unites on his coinage the portraits of Mark Antony and Octavius, their issues must have happened before the autumn of B.C. 41, when the war of Perusia broke out, which lasted till March of the following year (see above, pp. 400 f.). This conflict occasioned a rupture between Antony and Octavius, which continued till the triumvirs met at Brundusium in the summer of B.C. 40, when the third division of the empire was arranged. If these coins were struck during the consulship of Lucius Antonius, their issue must have occurred before the siege of Perusia.

Let us see what Antony was doing during the interval between the battles of Philippi and the siege of Perusia. After the deaths of Brutus and Cassius, Antony crossed over into Asia to crush the fragments of the republican party still in arms. Returning for a short time to Greece, he ingratiated himself with the people by his mild administration and general complacency, but he soon went back to Asia and proceeded to Ephesus, where he gave himself up to luxury and fell into every kind of dissipation, allowing himself to be hailed by the name of Bacchus. To pay for these extravagances he enriched himself with the wealth of the country, and raised a contribution of 200,000 talents (Plutarch, *Antonius*, 24; Appian, *Bell. civ.*, v. 4-6; Dion Cassius, xlviii., 24). It was probably at this time that these coins of Barbatius, Nerva, and Gellius were struck, and we would assign their place of mintage to Ephesus. This city in the later days of the Republic and in the early Empire was the capital of the Province of Asia, and it was used by Antony as his head-quarters. It was there that, circ. B.C. 41, Antony would appear to have established a mint, which from the similarity of style and fabric of later issues, and also on account of the portrait of Antony, was in constant operation at least till the time of the battle of Actium. Babelon (vol. i., p. 176) and Fr. Lenormant (*La Mon. dans l'Ant.*, vol. ii., p. 345) were of opinion that these three moneyers were quaestors or proquaestors of the army of Lucius Antonius, and that their coins were struck after the capitulation of Perusia, when a reconciliation was effected between Mark Antony and Octavius. This date, however, would not correspond with the consulship of Lucius Antonius, and moreover, as already mentioned, the reconciliation of the triumvirs did not come about till they met at Brundusium later in the summer of B.C. 40. Subsequently Babelon (vol. i., pp. 256, 537) attributed the coins of Barbatius and Gellius to the East, assigning them to B.C. 41. He has also interpreted the legends Q·P. and PROQ·P. as

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Denarius	
100	60·3	AR ·8	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. cxii. 17.] (Cracherode Coll.)
101	58·0	AR ·75	Similar; head of Antony smaller.	Similar. [Pl. cxii. 18.] (Blacas Coll.)
102	53·6	AR ·85	Similar.	Similar. (Woodhouse Coll.)
103	58·4	AR ·8	Similar; no stops between words of legend except M·ANT	Similar; head of Octavius without beard. [Pl. cxii. 19.] (Claude Stewart Coll.)
104	58·7	AR ·75	Similar; usual stops between words of legend, but reading BARRAT for BAR BAT	Similar; head of Octavius with beard. [Pl. cxii. 20.]
105	55·5	AR ·7	Similar; rude head; legend blundered, ΛΛΛ M ANT IMΓ A/G III VIR R Γ C M BAΓΛΛIOΛ	Similar; rude head without beard; legend blundered, ƆAEƧAR IMIΓΓOMT III ΛIIRRTƆ [Pl. cxiii. 1.]

quaestor provincialis or *proquaestor provincialis*, but no such title appears ever to have been held by the quaestors under the Republic or the Empire (Pauly-Wissowa, vol. iii., p. 2). In an inscription lately found at Karbous (Tunis) the name of D. Laelius occurs with the title of Q . ΓRO . ΓR . i.e., *quaestor pro praetore* (*Comptes rendus, Acad. des Inscr. et Belles-Lettres*, 1908, pp. 120-125).

Marcus Barbatius Philippus was a friend of Julius Caesar. In B.C. 41, during the consulship of Lucius Antonius, he was *quaestor pro praetore* to Mark Antony in the East. He appears to have had some dispute with his chief, for on returning to Italy he misrepresented the views of Antony with regard to Octavius, and so drew off many of those who were assisting Lucius Antonius (Appian, *Bell. civ.*, v. 31). Ulpian (*Digest.* i., 14, 3) states that Barbatius was a runaway slave who ingratiated himself with Antony, and through him obtained the praetorship, —*Barbarius* (sic) *Philippus, cum servus fugitivus esset, Romae praeturam petiit et praetor designatus est.* These particulars of Barbatius confirm the attribution of his coins to a period before the siege of Perusia and not after. They are of gold and silver, and of two issues; one with the heads of Mark Antony and Octavius, the other with those of Mark Antony and his brother Lucius, as consul.

The portrait of Antony is characteristic of his Eastern coinage (see above, p. 451). It shows very little variation throughout the series. It is large and nearly fills the field of the coin, and in this respect is very different from that found on the money which he struck during the two previous years in Gaul. It is by means of this portrait that many of the Eastern issues can be separated from those struck in Gaul. The head of Octavius is also very unlike that met with on his own Gaulish pieces. It is less true to life and not so carefully modelled.

A specimen of the aureus formerly in the Montagu collection (*Sale Catalogue*, no. 61, pl. ii.) reads on the obverse, M . ANT . IMΓ . A/G . III . VIR . R . Γ . C . M . R . AR'R . AT . Q . Γ. The coin is above suspicion as to its antiquity, and may therefore be classed with the denarius (no. 105), which is also of barbarous work. These barbarous pieces may not have been struck officially.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			M. ANT: M. BARBAT: L. ANTONIVS (MARCUS ANTONIUS; MARCUS BARBATIUS [PHILIPPUS]; LUCIUS ANTONIUS[1])	
			Denarius	
	63·8	Æ ·8	Head of Mark Antony r., bare; around, M·ANT·IMP·AVG·IIIVIR·R·P·C·M·BARBAT·Q·P (see no. 98).	Head of Lucius Antonius r., bare; around, L·ANTONIVS COS (*Consul*).

[Cf. Babelon, vol. i., p. 175, no. 49.]

M. ANT: M NERVA: CAESAR

(MARCUS ANTONIUS; MARCUS [COCCEIUS] NERVA[2]; [CAIUS] CAESAR)

Denarius

	43·3	Æ ·75	Head of Antony r., bare; around, M·ANT·[IMP·AVG·III·VI]R·R·P·C·M·NERVA·PROQ·P (*Marcus Antonius, imperator, augur, triumvir rei publicae constituendae; Marcus Nerva, proquaestor [pro] praetore*).	Head of Octavius r., bare, with slight beard; behind, lituus; around, CAESAR·IMP: PONT·III·VIR [R·P·C] (similar to no. 98).

[*Riv. Ital.*, 1889, p. 156, pl. iii., no. 1.]

[1] Lucius Antonius, of whom coins have already been described (see above, pp. 490 f.), was the youngest brother of Mark Antony the triumvir. He was quaestor in Asia B.C. 50—49, and tribune B.C. 44, when after the death of Caesar he introduced an agrarian law with the view to conciliate the people and Caesar's veteran troops. He was present at the siege of Mutina and accompanied his brother to Gaul. He obtained the consulship in B.C. 41, and his quarrel with Octavius brought about the war of Perusia. After the surrender of Perusia his life was spared by Octavius, who appointed him to the command of Iberia, from which time we hear no more of him. The above denarius was struck during his consulship and before the investment of Perusia.

Riccio (*Catalogo*, pl. i., no. 8) figures an aureus of this type. It was not described in the *Sale Catalogue* of his collection (Paris, 1868). It is, however, quite possible that as Marcus Cocceius Nerva struck aurei with portraits of Mark Antony and his brother Lucius, Barbatius did so also, but no specimen is at present known.

[2] Marcus Cocceius Nerva was consul B.C. 36 with L. Gellius Publicola (see below, p. 493).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			M.ANT: M.NERVA: L.ANTONIVS	
			(MARCUS ANTONIUS; MARCUS [COCCEIUS] NERVA; LUCIUS ANTONIUS)	
			Aureus[1]	
106	124·1	AV ·8	Head of Mark Antony r., bare; around, M·ANT·IMP AVG IIIVIR·R·P C M NERVA PROQ·P (see p. 491).	Head of Lucius Antonius[2] r., bare; around, L·ANTO NIVS COS (see p. 491). [Pl. cxiii. 2] (Blacas Coll.)
			Denarius[3]	
107	62·8	AR ·75	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. cxiii. 3.] (Cracherode Coll.)
108	58·5	AR ·8	Similar; behind head of Antony, one-handled jug (*capis*); legend, M·ANT·IMP·AVG·III·VIR·R·P·C·M NERVA·PROQ·P	Similar. [Pl. cxiii. 4.] (de Salis Coll.)

All we know of his previous history is that he was a *proquaestor pro praetore* under Mark Antony in the East, when he struck the coins bearing his name. At the Saecular games held in B.C. 17 he was a *XVvir sacris faciundis* (*C.I.L.*, vi. 32323, 151, *Acta lud. saec.*), and he was the father of M. Cocceius M. f. Nerva, who was consul suffectus before A.D. 24 with C. Vibius Rufinus (Klebs, *Prosopogr.*, i. 428, no. 972). Like Barbatius, Nerva struck two series of coins, one with the heads of Mark Antony and Octavius, the other with those of Mark Antony and his brother Lucius. Babelon (vol. i., p. 306) says that the first series was struck during the siege of Perusia, the second on the reconciliation of Antony and Octavius, but it has been shown that if these coins are to be given to the East their issue must have occurred before the siege of Perusia (see above, p. 489). The lituus behind the head of Octavius relates to his membership of the college of Augurs. The illustration is from the specimen in the possession of Comm. Fr. Gnecchi.

Bahrfeldt (*Num. Zeit.*, 1900, p. 15, pl. i., no. 13) mentions and figures a plated denarius of this type in the Capitoline Museum without the lituus behind the head of Octavius. It came from the Borghesi and Bignami collections.

[1] There is an example of this aureus in the Naples collection (Fiorelli, *Cat. Mus. Naz. di Nap.*, vol. ii., *Mon. rom.*, p. 56, no. 3167). It weighs 113·4 grs. This and the Museum specimen appear to be the only examples known.

[2] The portrait of Lucius Antonius differs considerably from that of his brother. The head is small and narrow, the hair not so thick with signs of baldness, and the nose more aquiline.

[3] A variety of this denarius in the Capitoline Museum from the Bignami collection reads AVG. VIR. for AVG. III. VIR. (Bahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1896, p. 33).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			M.ANT: L.GELL: CAESAR	
			(MARCUS ANTONIUS; LUCIUS GELLIUS [PUBLICOLA[1]]; [CAIUS] CAESAR)	
			Aureus	
	124·5	*N* ·8	Head of Antony r., bare; behind, one-handled jug (*capis*); around, M·ANT· IMP·AVG·III·VIR·R·P·C·L·GELL·Q·P· (*Marcus Antonius, imperator, augur, triumvir reipublicae constituendae; Lucius Gellius, quaestor* [*pro*] *praetore*).	Head of Octavius r., bare, without beard; behind, lituus; around, CAESAR· IMP·PONT·III·VIR· R·P·C· (see p. 491).
			[Babelon, vol. i., p. 177, no. 53.]	
			Denarius	
109	55·7	*R* ·8	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. cxiii. 5.] (de Salis Coll.)
110	55·4	*R* ·8	Similar; head of Antony larger.	Similar; head of Octavius larger. (Blacas Coll.)

[1] Lucius Gellius Publicola was the son of the consul of the same name in B.C. 72. He was accused of incest with his step-mother and of conspiracy against his father's life. After the death of Caesar, Gellius espoused the cause of the republican party and went with Brutus to Asia. He conspired against the lives of both Brutus and Cassius, and being pardoned through the intercession of his mother, Polla, showed so little gratitude for that act of clemency that he deserted to Antony and Octavius, and was appointed by the former a *quaestor pro praetore*. He was further rewarded by Antony with the consulship in B.C. 36, having as his colleague M. Cocceius Nerva, who was acting in B.C. 41 as *proquaestor pro praetore* (see above). He commanded the right wing of Antony's fleet at the battle of Actium, and as no further mention is made of him after that date he was probably killed in the action (Dion Cassius, xlvii. 24, xlix. 24; Plutarch, *Antonius*, 65, 66; Vell. Paterc., ii. 85).

His coins in gold and silver are so precisely similar in type and fabric to those of M.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Circ. B.C. 40; A.U.C. 714[1]	
			ANT : CN . DOMIT . AHENOBARBVS	
			([MARCUS] ANTONIUS; CNAEUS DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS[2])	
			Aureus	
111	124·6	*N* 8	Head of Antony r., bare; behind, lituus; around, ANT · IMP · III · VIR · R · P · C · (*Antonius, imperator, triumvir reipublicae constituendae*).	Prow r.; above, star of sixteen rays; around, CN · DOMIT · AHENOBAR BVS IMP · (*Imperator*). [Pl. cxiii. 6.] (Dupré and Wigan Coll.)

Barbatius and M. Nerva, that they must have been struck at the same mint and under the same circumstances. Of Gellius, however, no coins are known with the portrait of Lucius Antonius, but it is quite possible that these also were struck by him.

[1] There are three series of coins which may be attributed to this year. That which was issued by Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus relating to his reconciliation with Mark Antony, that of Antony himself recording his victories in the East and the consequent restoration of commerce with the West, and that of L. Munatius Plancus commemorating his appointment as proconsul of Asia.

[2] We have already described the gold and silver coins of Ahenobarbus commemorating his signal victory over the fleet of Octavius at Brundusium, B.C. 42 (see above, pp. 487-8). Those which are now described relate to his reconciliation with Antony, B.C. 40. Though we have already given some account of the history of Ahenobarbus, a few details of the remarkable circumstances which led up to the issue of these coins may be added. There appears to be no record of the life of Ahenobarbus during the year which followed his return to the Ionian sea, but in B.C. 40 an amicable understanding having first been arranged with Asinius Pollio, a reconciliation was brought about with Antony, the fleets of the two commanders meeting in the Adriatic. This meeting is somewhat dramatically described by Appian (*Bell. civ.*, v. 55, 56). When Antony saw the fleet of Ahenobarbus approaching he advanced with five of his largest ships to meet him, at the same time ordering the rest of his fleet to follow at a certain distance. His general, L. Munatius Plancus, fearing treachery on the part of Ahenobarbus, tried to dissuade Antony, but he replied that "he would rather die by a breach of the treaty than be saved by an appearance of cowardice." When the ships of the chiefs were alongside of each other the army of Ahenobarbus saluted Antony as imperator, and the two commanders exchanged greetings. Antony received Ahenobarbus on his own ship and sailed to Palocis, where Ahenobarbus had his infantry, and there he yielded his tent to Antony. Shortly afterwards the two fleets proceeded to Brundusium, but the citizens, who had not forgotten that Ahenobarbus had on a previous occasion attacked their city, closed their gates against him, and Octavius declining to accept his friendship, Antony, in order that nothing should interfere with the impending reconciliation with Octavius, thereupon appointed Ahenobarbus governor of Bithynia, to which province he at once departed (Appian, *op. cit.*, v. 61, 63).

These gold and silver coins which bear the name and portrait of Antony were struck immediately after the reconciliation between him and Ahenobarbus, and when the latter was still in command of his own fleet. A few weeks elapsed before the departure of the fleets to Italy, and it was during this short interval that the coins were issued. As they are precisely similar in fabric and style and in the portrait of Antony to coins assigned to the previous year, it may be suggested that their place of mintage was also Ephesus. It is quite possible that Ahenobarbus returned to Ionia for a short time to take in provisions before his departure for the West, and that the coins were struck on that occasion. Babelon (vol. i., p. 178) has suggested that Ahenobarbus issued these coins after his arrival in Bithynia, but that would not quite account for the reverse type of a prow, unless it was only commemorative. Vaillant (*Num. imp. praestant.*, p. 11) thought that the star above the prow denoted the

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Denarius	
112	60·0	AR ·8	Similar; countermarked on neck of Antony with circle.	Similar; star of fourteen rays. [Pl. cxiii. 7.] (Nott)
113	56·4	AR ·8	Similar; no countermark.	Similar; star of seven rays. [Pl. cxiii. 8.]
			M · ANT	
			(MARCUS ANTONIUS)	
			Denarius[1]	
114	58·0	AR ·75	Head of Antony r., bare; behind, lituus.	A winged caduceus between two cornucopiae bound with fillets, all supported on a globe; above, M · ANT · IMP · (*Imperator*); below, III · VIR · R · P · C · (*Triumvir reipublicae constituendae*). [Pl. cxiii. 9.] (Bank of England Coll.)
115	60·3	AR ·75	Similar; countermarked on face with crescent.	Similar; legend reading M · AN · for M · ANT · [Pl. cxiii. 10.] (Nott)

name of the admiral's ship in the fleet of Ahenobarbus, and Havercamp that it signified that these coins were struck at Rhodes, where a special cult of the sun-god was practised. Borghesi (*Œuvres compl.*, t. ii., pp. 50-54) has offered a third suggestion, seeing in the star the *Sidus Julium*, which was placed above the prow of the ship of Ahenobarbus to show that he had abandoned the cause of the Pompeians for that of the triumvirs. None of these suggestions is quite satisfactory.

[1] We have no direct evidence for fixing the date of these denarii, except the general interpretation of the reverse type and the style and portrait of Antony on the obverse, which in treatment is very similar to that on the coins of Ahenobarbus and of the preceding year.

The reverse type is emblematic of the state of the Roman world early in B.C. 40. The globe denotes the wide extent of the domination of Rome, and the cornucopiae and caduceus the restoration of commerce and plenty between the East and the West, which was effected by the victories of Antony and by his recent reconciliation with Ahenobarbus and Sextus Pompey. It was also in B.C. 40 that Antony and Octavius made up their differences, but as no mention is made of the latter on the coins they could not well relate to that circumstance. They must therefore have been struck previously.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			M . ANTON : L . PLANCVS	
			(MARCUS ANTONIUS; LUCIUS [MUNATIUS] PLANCUS [1])	
			Denarius	
116	61·0	Æ ·75	Lituus and one-handled jug (*capis*); around, M · ANTON · IMP · AVG · III · VIR · R · P · C · (*Imperator, augur, triumvir reipublicae constituendae*).	One-handled jug (*capis*) between winged thunderbolt on l. and winged caduceus on r.; around, L · PLANCVS · PRO · COS (*Proconsul*). [Pl. cxiii. 11.] (Nott)

[1] Some particulars of the history of Lucius Munatius L. f. L. n. Plancus have already been given (see vol. i., p. 537). He was a *praefectus Urbi* at Rome in B.C. 45 under Julius Caesar, and in that capacity issued gold and bronze coins. The actual date of the coins here described is somewhat uncertain, and their absence from the Arbanats, Carbonara L., Chantenay and Beauvoisin hoards deprives us of any evidence from those sources. They were struck either during Plancus's proconsulship in Asia, B.C. 40, or during his governorship of Syria, B.C. 35. The difficulty in selecting from these two dates is due to the circumstance that it is not recorded when Plancus was saluted *Imperator iterum*. Borghesi (*Œuvres compl.*, t. ii., pp. 83 f.) was disposed to accept the later date, and mentions the circumstance that the thunderbolt is the usual reverse type of the coins of Seleucia in Syria. He was also of opinion that Plancus did not receive his second imperatorship till B.C. 34, when he may have taken part with Antony in the triumph at Alexandria after the campaign against the Armenians. These conclusions, however, do not appear to be substantiated by the coins themselves. Eckhel (*Doct. num. vet.*, t. vi., p. 43) selected the earlier date, and following Vaillant (*Num. fam. rom.*, vol. ii., p. 155) supposed that Plancus received his second imperatorship at the time of the siege of Perusia, B.C. 41, when he achieved the greatest success of all the partisans of Mark Antony by annihilating a whole legion of the army of Octavius, which was on its march to Rome (Appian, *Bell. civ.*, v. 33). The following reasons may be adduced in favour of the earlier date:—i. that the name of Antony, M . ANTON, is given as on other coins assigned to B.C. 40—39; ii. that he is styled IMP only and not IMP . III or TER ., as on coins of B.C. 38 and later (see below, pp. 506 f.); iii. that the reverse type, the thunderbolt and caduceus, may refer to the restoration of commerce, as the globe, cornucopiae and caduceus on the coins of Antony just described; iv. that the types of the gold and silver pieces are the same as of other issues of this period (see below); v. that there is greater similarity of fabric to the earlier contemporary pieces of Antony than to those of the later date; and vi. that the coins with PRO . COS and those with IMP . ITER are of precisely the same fabric and must all have been issued at the same time.

Vaillant (*loc. cit.*) has explained the type of the thunderbolt and caduceus as relating to the power of the triumvirs and the harmony which existed between them. These symbols have probably a much more general and wider significance, as in the case of the coins of Antony given to the same year, and they may refer generally to the extended domination of Rome and to the revival of commerce. The one-handled jug is similar to that figured on coins of L. Plancus struck at Rome in B.C. 45, and is a record of his membership of the college of Epulones (*C.I.L.*, x. 6087). The obverse type is adapted from earlier coins of Antony issued in Gaul (see above, pp. 392 f.), and refers to his offices of augur and pontifex.

Before the theft of 1831 there were in the Paris cabinet two aurei of Plancus of precisely the same types as these *denarii*, weighing respectively 125·8 grs. and 123·0 grs.; and also a specimen with the legend IMP . ITER . (see no. 118), weighing 125·5 grs. (De la Nauze, *Mém. de l'Acad. roy. des Inscr., &c.*, vol. xxx., 1764, *Le Poids de l'anc. Livre romaine*, p. 382). Mionnet (*de la Rareté et du Prix des Méd. rom.*, vol. i., p. 92) also mentions these aurei and values them at 40 francs each. No other examples appear to be recorded. Cohen (*Mon. rép. rom.*, p. 222, note 1) doubted their existence, as Mionnet had priced them so low. He does not appear to have known of De la Nauze's article.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
117	57·0	*R* ·8	Similar.	Similar. (Cracherode Coll.)
118	56·6	*R* ·9	Similar.	Similar; legend, L · ΡLAN CVS · IMΡ · ITER (*Imperator iterum*). **[Pl. cxiii. 12.]** (Blacas Coll.)
119	54·5	*R* ·75	Similar.	Similar.

Circ. B.C. 40—39; A.U.C. 714—715[1]

M . ANTON : C . CAESAR [2]

(MARCUS ANTONIUS: CAIUS CAESAR)

Aureus

120	116·8	*N* ·8	Head of Antony r., bare; around, M · ANTON · IMΡ · IIIVIR · R · Ρ · C (*Imperator, triumvir reipublicae constituendae*).	Head of Octavius r., bare, with slight beard; around, CAESAR · IMΡ · III · VIR · R · Ρ · C · (*Imperator, triumvir reipublicae constituendae*). **[Pl. cxiii. 13.]** (Devonshire Coll.)

[1] The coins which are given to these years are of three series: the first records the reconciliation of Antony and Octavius; the second the marriage of Antony and Octavia; and the third the successes of Quintus Labienus, who commanded the Parthians against the Romans.

[2] After the surrender of Perusia (see above, p. 401) Octavius went to Gaul, but soon after his arrival there he heard that Antony was on his way to Italy. Fearing lest Antony should unite himself with Sextus Pompey, who had already made overtures through Fulvia, Antony's wife, Octavius hurried south, and the two triumvirs met at Brundusium where a conference was held, at which Asinius Pollio represented Antony, Maecenas acted for Octavius, while L. Cocceius Nerva attended as a friend of both. A reconciliation was effected which was confirmed by the betrothal of Antony (Fulvia having just died at Sicyon) to the high-minded Octavia, the sister of Octavius and widow of C. Claudius Marcellus. This reconciliation was followed by a new division of the Empire, under which an imaginary line was to be drawn through Scodra (Scutari) on the Illyrian coast. All west of this line up to the Ocean was to be under the care of Octavius, all east of it up to the Euphrates was to go to Antony. An exception was made in the case of Africa, which had already been allotted to Lepidus. Italy was to remain neutral ground as before. This was practically a confirmation of the agreement entered into between Antony and Octavius in B.C. 42, after Philippi. Antony then went to Rome to celebrate his marriage with Octavia, and also a triumph which he shared with Octavius. He remained in Italy till the following year, but before his departure for Athens with Octavia the triumvirs came to terms with Sextus Pompey, who undertook to cease his piratical descents on Italy and to put an end to the destruction of the Roman grain-ships, in consideration of his receiving the consulate and the islands of Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica, together with the province of Achaia (Pauly-Wissowa, vol. i., p. 2606).

It was probably to commemorate the reconciliation between the triumvirs that the above coins were struck by order of Antony. As some of them may have been issued before his return to Greece in the summer of B.C. 39, they are assigned to B.C. 40—39. The portrait of Antony confirms this attribution, as it is very similar to that on coins of the preceding year, especially as seen on those of Ahenobarbus. These denarii, like those of M. Barbatius (see above, p. 490), are often of somewhat coarse fabric. The star below the head of Antony on some of the denarii is no doubt symboliral of the East.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Denarius	
121	60·6	Æ ·75	Similar; below neck, star.	Similar. [Pl. cxiii. 14.]
122	59·3	Æ ·7	Similar.	Similar. (Bank of England Coll.)
123	60·3	Æ ·75	Similar; no star below neck, and legend, M·ANTON·IMP·III·VIR·R·P·C·AVC (*Augur*).	Similar; head without beard; legend, CAESAR·IMP·PONT·(*Pontifex*) III·VIR·R·P·C [Pl. cxiii. 15.] (Blacas Coll.)
124	58·7	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar. (de Salis Coll.)
125	58·0	Æ ·75	Similar; AVG for AVC	Similar.
126	56·7	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar; legend reading PON· for PONT· [Pl. cxiii. 16.] (de Salis Coll.)
127	57·3	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar; R·C for R·P·C (Nott)
			Quinarius[1]	
128	26·7	Æ ·55	Head of Concordia r., veiled and diademed; around, III VIR R P C	Two right hands joined holding a caduceus; around, M ANTON·C CAESAR [Pl. cxiii. 17.] (Cracherode Coll.)
129	26·7	Æ ·55	Similar.	Similar. (Woodhouse Coll.)
130	25·5	Æ ·5	Similar; head smaller; legend, III·VIR·R·P·C	Similar; legend, M·AN TON C·CAESAR [Pl. cxiii. 18.] (Cracherode Coll.)

It was at this time that Octavius struck aurei of similar types in Gaul (see above, p. 408). These coins are of quite different fabric and vary in the portraits of the triumvirs. They furnish a good illustration of Count de Salis's classification.

[1] These quinarii clearly commemorate the reconciliation of Antony and Octavius, and they may even include the treaty of Misenum with Sextus Pompey in the following year. It was hoped that this double alliance would bring concord to the State and restore Roman commerce. On some specimens an ear of corn is shown between the veil and the diadem. This, in Cavedoni's opinion (*Rev. Num.*, 1857, p. 191), recalls the abundance which prevailed at Rome after the treaty of Brundusium. Babelon (vol. i., p. 173) questions this date, as in his opinion

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			M. ANTONIVS (MARCUS ANTONIUS) **Aureus** [1]	
	123·9	*N* ·9	Head of Antony r., bare; around, M·ANTONIVS IMP·III·VIR·R·P·C (*Imperator, triumvir reipublicae constituendae*).	Female bust r., Octavia, slightly draped; hair collected into a knot behind, from which one long plait is brought and arranged in a loop along the top of the head.

[Berlin Coll.]

the legends do not authorize the conjecture, and he suggests therefore that it would be better to assign the coins to B.C. 43 or to the years which immediately follow, and to class them with the denarii with the same inscriptions. Count de Salis's classification of the previous denarii of Antony and Octavius to the same date gets rid of the objection raised by Babelon.

[1] This unique coin, which is in the Berlin cabinet, having been acquired at the de Quelen sale in 1888 (no. 536), was found with about twenty-five aurei of Augustus at Castagneto, near Volterra in Central Italy, in the spring of 1883 (*Notizie dei Scavi*, 1883, p. 205). It was the earliest gold piece in the hoard, all the aurei of Augustus being of a date later than B.C. 27, and some contemporary with the Christian era. Considerable difference of opinion has been expressed respecting the portrait on the reverse, as to whether it is of Fulvia, the first wife of Antony, or of Octavia his second wife, whom he married in B.C. 40, the death of Fulvia having occurred a few months before (see above, p. 497). It is evident, as the coin shows Antony still in his first imperatorship, that it was struck not later than B.C. 39. This supplies the dates B.C. 43—40 for the attribution of the portrait to Fulvia, and B.C. 40—39 for its identification with Octavia. Babelon (*Rev. Num.*, 1884, pp. 407 f.) was in favour of the earlier date, and considered the portrait to be of Fulvia, comparing it with those on coins struck at Fulvia (Eumenia) in Phrygia, on which she is represented in the character of Victory (Waddington, *Voy. num. en Asie Min.*, p. 149, pl. xi., no. 5), and in a similar way on coins of Antony struck at Lugdunum (see above, pp. 394-396), of C. Numonius Vaala, and of L. Mussidius Longus (see vol. i., pp. 570, 575). Strongly opposed to this identification was von Sallet (*Zeit. f. Num.*, 1884, pp. 167 f.), who insisted that the portrait is of Octavia, comparing it with that on the cistophori struck by Antony in B.C. 39 (see below, p. 502). Other arguments were adduced on both sides, which need not be given in detail; but in connection with Babelon's identification there is a difficulty which he himself admits; it is that all the portraits cited by him of Fulvia represent her in the character of Victory (*Mon. rép. rom.*, vol. i., p. 170, no. 33, note), whilst those of Octavia are treated similarly to that on the above piece, though in this instance the hair is less elaborately dressed (see below, pp. 502 f.). We are disposed to accept von Sallet's identification, and would suggest that this coin was struck in Greece or in Asia immediately after the marriage of Antony and Octavia, or early in B.C. 39. The somewhat crude style of the portrait of Octavia may have been due to the circumstance that the die-engravers were supplied with an inaccurate model. This identification appears to be supported by historical evidence as well as numismatic. Fulvia remained in Italy till after the fall of Perusia, and did not join Antony in Athens till the summer of B.C. 40, when he censured her severely for having caused the disturbance between his brother Lucius and Octavius. It is said that she was taken ill through grief at his unkind treatment, and in that state was left at Sicyon, where she soon after died (Appian, *Bell. civ.*, v. 59, 62). This does not, therefore, appear to have been a time when Antony would strike a coin with his own portrait and with that of Fulvia.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Q. LABIENVS (QUINTUS LABIENUS[1])	
			Aureus	
131	122·3 (*pierced*)	*N* ·75	Head of Labienus r., bare, with beard; around, Q · LABIENVS · PARTHICVS · IMP (*Imperator*).	A horse standing r., with bridle and saddle, to which a bag (bow-case?) is attached. [Pl. cxiii. 19.] (Blacas Coll.)
			Denarius	
132	58·3	*R* ·7	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. cxiii. 20.] (Noth)

[1] Most modern writers say that Labienus was a cognomen of the Atia gens, but there is no authority for this statement in any ancient author (Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. *Atius*, vol. ii., p. 2254). Waddington (*Fastes des Prov. Asiat.*, p. 80) rightly considered it to be a gentilicium, like Vetulenus, Trebellenus, &c. Quintus Labienus was the son of Titus Labienus, who was a tribune of the plebs B.C. 63, commanded for Caesar in Gaul, but later joining the Pompeian party was present at the battles of Pharsalus, Thapsus and Munda, meeting his death in the last. After the murder of Julius Caesar his son Quintus joined Brutus and Cassius in Macedonia, and was sent into Parthia to seek aid from Orodes, but before coming to terms with the Parthian king the news arrived of the battles of Philippi. As Labienus had but little hope of gaining a pardon from Antony he persuaded the Parthians to attack the Roman provinces in Asia, and in company with Pacorus, the son of Orodes, he overran Syria, taking Antioch, and successively Palestine, Phoenicia, Cilicia and Caria, persuading the veterans of Cassius and Brutus, who occupied towns in those districts, to join his ranks. In the following year Labienus found himself opposed by P. Ventidius, the legate of Antony (see above, p. 403), and failing to unite his forces with those of Pacorus, who had experienced a repulse, he fled into Cilicia, where he remained concealed for a time, but was at length apprehended by Demetrius, a freedman of Octavius, and put to death (Dion Cassius, xlviii. 24-26).

The gold and silver coins which bear the name of Labienus were probably struck at Antioch in Syria after he had assumed the titles of *Parthicus* and *Imperator*. This would be either at the end of B.C. 40, or at the beginning of B.C. 39. They were no doubt intended for the use of the Roman legions in his army, the remnant of those who had fought for Brutus and Cassius. The obverse shows the portrait of Labienus himself, who thus followed the example not only of the triumvirs, but also of Brutus, his former general. In connection with his adoption of the titles *Parthicus* and *Imperator* Dion Cassius (xlviii. 26) remarks that Labienus departed from the custom of Roman commanders, who took such titles from the names of the people whom they had conquered, but he on the contrary assumed his from the victorious nation. It was in reference to this title that Hybreas, the defender of Mylasa, sent Labienus the taunting message that he would call himself the *Carian Imperator* (ἐκείνου γὰρ ἀνειπόντος ἑαυτὸν Παρθικὸν αὐτοκράτορα "νικῶν" ἔφη [Ὑβρέας] "κἀγὼ λέγω ἐμαυτὸν Καρικὸν αὐτοκράτορα."—Strabo, xiv. 2, 24). Labienus, however, adopted the name of *Parthicus* to show that he was an ally of the Parthians. It does not qualify *Imperator*.

The reverse type of the horse is a reference to the light cavalry for which Parthia was so famous, and which had so often proved disastrous to the Roman legions. Justin (xli. 3) relates of the Parthians and their horses—*Equis omni tempore vectantur; illis bella, illis convivia, illis publica ac privata officia obeunt; super illos ire, consistere, mercari, colloqui.* The figure of the horse is skilfully rendered. Its small head, rather thick neck, short legs and long tail were probably true to life. It contrasts very favourably with similar representations on Republican coins, especially on those which were struck about this time in Gaul (see pl. civ., nos. 13, 14; cv., no. 3). It is a living animal, not a mere statue. The object which hangs from the saddle appears rather to be a bow-case than a stirrup.

Only two specimens of the aureus are known: that in the British Museum, which was formerly in the Blacas collection; and that in the Paris cabinet, which was obtained in 1898 (*Rev. Num.*, 1899, p. 177).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			L. ATRATINVS: ANTONIVS	
			(LUCIUS [SEMPRONIUS] ATRATINUS[1]; [MARCUS] ANTONIUS)	
			As	
	219·0	Æ 1·9	Head of Janus without beard; between the heads, mark of value, I; below, L·ATRATINVS AVGVR	Prow r.; above, ANTON IVS; below, IMP (*Imperator*).

[Babelon, vol. i., p. 181, no. 65.]

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[1] Lucius Sempronius Atratinus, who struck this coin, was probably the accuser of M. Caelius, who was defended by Cicero (*pro Cael.*, i. 3, 7). He was elected a member of the college of Augurs in B.C. 40, was appointed consul designate in B.C. 39, but did not enter on that office till B.C. 34, when Antony resigned in his favour. The date of his augurship is ascertainable from an inscription published by Fea (*Framm. di Fasti*, p. 7, no. 10), and it may be concluded that he was appointed consul designate at the time of the treaty of Misenum in July, B.C. 39, when the triumvirs not only nominated the consuls for the following eight years (Appian, *Bell. civ.*, v. 73, says "for four years"), but also those who were to serve that office for portions of the year (Dion Cassius, xlviii. 35). There are two series of coins struck by Atratinus which correspond with these dates. On the first series, which consists of the *as* only, he is styled "Augur," but on the second he is given the additional title of "Consul designatus" (see below, p. 515). The first would therefore have been issued before the treaty of Misenum, the latter after that date. This order is confirmed by the titles given to Antony, who on the above *as* is styled IMP only, whereas on the later pieces he is IMP. TER. COS. DES. ITER. ET TER., showing that they could not have been issued till his third imperatorship, which he probably assumed in B.C. 38 (see below, p. 505). This *as* of Atratinus may therefore be assigned to the second half of the year B.C. 40, or to the first half of B.C. 39. The type also favours the early date, as it is a revival of that which had previously been used for the Roman coinage.

The weight (219·0 grs.) of the specimen illustrated is supplied by Borghesi from the example in his collection (*Œuvres compl.*, t. ii., p. 417). If the coin is of copper, not bronze, it would give us an *as* of the semuncial standard. This is of importance when we come to consider the later coins of Atratinus, which are of bronze, and which he struck as one of the *praefecti classis* of Antony (see below, p. 515). Its place of mintage is very uncertain. Count de Salis has assigned it to the East generally, as well as the later coinage of Atratinus. Borghesi (*loc. cit.*) suggests that it may have been struck in B.C. 40 or B.C. 39 for public convenience, when the triumvirs were in Rome, and when on account of the great distress caused by the high prices and scarcity of provisions Octavius ran the risk of losing his life at the hands of the populace, and was only saved by the timely intervention of Antony (Appian, *Bell. civ.*, v. 67, 68). At this epoch, however, no copper or bronze money was issued at Rome.

There is a small bronze coin attributed to Laconia, having on the obverse a male head (Mark Antony?) and the name ΑΤΡΑΤΙΝΟϹ, and on the reverse an eagle standing r., and in the field, $\frac{\Lambda\ \Lambda}{\Phi\text{I}\ \Delta\text{I}}$ (size ·75 in.) (*Cat. Gr. Coins, Brit. Mus., Peloponnesus*, p. 128, no. 69). It is possible that L. Atratinus was appointed praetor in Laconia by Antony after his consulate. This coin is assigned to *circ.* B.C. 32.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Circ. B.C. 39; A.U.C. 715[1]	
			M. ANTONIVS	
			(MARCUS ANTONIUS)	
			"Cistophoric Medallions"[2]	
			Type I.	
133	189·0	Æ 1·05	Head of Antony r., bound with wreath of ivy; below, lituus; around, M·ANTONIVS·IMP COS·DESIC·ITER ET·TERT (*Imperator, consul designatus iterum et tertio*); the whole within a wreath of ivy-leaves and berries.	The cista mystica surmounted by the draped bust of Octavia in profile r.; her hair is collected into a knot behind, from which one long plait is brought and arranged in a loop along the top of the head (see p. 499); the cista mystica is placed between two interlaced serpents with heads erect; at the sides, III·VIR·R·P·C· (*Triumvir reipublicae constituendae*). [Pl. cxiv. 1.]
134	184·2	Æ 1·05	Similar; ANTONIVS for ANTONIVS	Similar. [Pl. cxiv. 2.] (Claude Stewart Coll.)

[1] It is somewhat difficult at this period (B.C. 39—35) to establish the sequence of the coinages of Antony in the Eastern provinces of the Empire, chiefly owing to the uncertainty which exists as to the precise date of his assuming his second and third imperatorships. There are assigned to this year, B.C. 39, three distinct issues, viz. (i.) that of the cistophoric medallions with the portraits of Antony and Octavia, which record their recent marriage, and also his second and third consular designations; (ii.) that of C. Sosius as quaestor; and (iii.) that of the aureus of Antony, which may record his second imperatorship. The first two were struck during his first imperatorship.

[2] The cistophorus, which was so named from its type, the sacred Bacchic chest or cista, made its first appearance in western Asia Minor about the end of the 3rd cent. B.C. It had its origin at Ephesus, and its issue rapidly extended throughout Mysia, Lydia, Ionia and Phrygia, in which districts it became the chief medium of exchange in silver (Imhoof, *die Münz. der Dyn. v. Pergamon*, pp. 30 f.; Head, *Hist. Num.*, p. 461; Babelon, *Traité*, vol. i., pp. 511-513). The two cities which preserved the issue of these pieces the longest were Ephesus and Pergamum. Of the former place there is an almost unbroken series struck under Roman influence from *circ.* B.C. 134—48, but at Pergamum their coinage appears to have been somewhat intermittent, to be revived under the Roman proconsuls *circ.* B.C. 57. Of these cities there do not seem to exist any pieces between B.C. 48 and B.C. 39, when they were resumed

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type II.	
135	169·9	Æ 1·1	Heads of Antony and Octavia conjoined r.; he wears wreath of ivy; around, M·ANTONIVS·IMP·COS·DESIG·ITER ET·TERT· (see no. 133); the whole within border of dots.	The cista mystica surmounted by draped figure of Bacchus, standing l., holding two-handled cup in r. hand and leaning with l. on thyrsus; the cista mystica is placed between two interlaced serpents with heads erect; at the sides, III·VIR·R·P·C· **[Pl. cxiv. 3.]**
136	170·5	Æ 1·0	Similar, ANTONIVS for ANTONIVS	Similar.
137	166·5	Æ 1·05	Similar.	Similar; Bacchus holds two-handled vase. **[Pl. cxiv. 4.]** (Payne Knight Coll.)

by Antony. Besides the cistophorus there were also the half and quarter-cistophorus, which vary in type, and which belong to an earlier date. The full weight of the cistophorus was from 197—192 grs., and its current value represented either a didrachm of the Aeginetic standard, four Rhodian or three Asiatic drachms, or three Roman denarii.

The pieces described above were struck to commemorate the marriage of Antony and Octavia, which took place after the treaty of Brundusium in B.C. 40. The legend on the obverse seems to supply us with their almost precise date of issue. It was probably in the winter of B.C. 39—38 that Antony assumed his second imperatorship (see below, p. 505), and it was in the summer of B.C. 39 that at the treaty of Misenum between Antony, Octavius and Sextus Pompey an arrangement was entered into for the designation of the consuls and other officers of the State for the next four or eight years (see above, p. 501). As Antony was nominated for the years B.C. 38 and B.C. 34 he assumed the titles of *consul designatus iterum et tertio*. He did not, however, take up the consulship in B.C. 38, so he preserved this title till B.C. 34, when for a short time he held his second consulship. As Antony is styled IMP only on these cistophori we may presume that they were issued some time during the summer of B.C. 39.

These coins of Mark Antony preserve their cistophoric character, which, however, disappears on their re-issue a few years later by Octavius. The portrait of Octavia on the reverse of Type I. and on the obverse of Type II. is very similar to that on the aureus described above (see p. 499). The features are similar and the arrangement of the hair is identical. The reverse design of Type II. is specially Dionysiac. Bacchus was the god whom Antony affected to imitate, and when he returned to Athens from Italy in B.C. 39 he assumed the name of the "New Dionysus, and ordered that he should be so addressed" (Dion Cassius, xlviii. 39). Plutarch (*Antonius*, 75) also relates that during the night previous to Antony's death the god deserted the city of Alexandria amidst a great sound of music and went over to the enemy's camp.

It has been mentioned that the two cities which preserved the issue of the cistophori the latest were Pergamum and Ephesus. It is to these mints that we would assign these coins of Antony. Those of Type I., in their high relief and somewhat better execution, closely resemble similar pieces of Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio struck at Pergamum B.C. 49—48 (*Cat. Gr. Coins, Brit. Mus., Mysia*, pl. xxvi., no. 6); and those of Type II., with their flat fabric of reverse, are like other cistophori of Ephesus of the praetor, C. Fannius, B.C. 48 (*Cat. Gr. Coins, Brit. Mus., Ionia*, pl. xii., no. 11). We are able, therefore, from the legends to fix the approximate date of issue of these cistophori, and from their fabric their places of mintage.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			C. SOSIVS (CAIUS SOSIUS[1]) **As P**	
138	103·3 (*pierced*)	Æ ·9	Head of Antony r., bare; behind neck, IMP· (*Imperator*).	Eagle with closed wings, standing r. on thunderbolt; behind, C·SOSIVS·Q· (*Quaestor*); before, caduceus and ZA (*Zάκυνθος*). **[Pl. cxiv. 5.]**
139	98·8	Æ ·85	Similar; countermark behind head, a star-shaped ornament ✡	Similar.
140	95·0	Æ ·9	Similar; same countermark.	Similar.

[1] C. Sosius C. f. T. n. appears to have been the first member of his family of any repute. The earliest mention of him is as quaestor to Mn. Aemilius Lepidus, consul B.C. 66. He was praetor B.C. 49, and on the breaking out of the Civil war belonged to the Pompeian party. He, however, openly united himself with Caesar (Cicero, *ad Att.*, viii. 6; ix. 1), at whose death he joined Antony. Having accompanied Antony to the East he was appointed quaestor, and in B.C. 38 made governor of Syria and Cilicia in the place of P. Ventidius. During the dissensions amongst the Jews he supported Herod against Antigonus, the representative of the Asmonean line of princes, and in B.C. 37 advanced against Jerusalem. Having captured that city after a severe struggle he placed Herod upon the throne. In return for these services Antony obtained for Sosius the honour of a triumph in B.C. 34, and the consulship along with Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus in B.C. 32 (Dion Cassius, xlix. 41; Appian, *Bell. civ.*, v. 73). Sosius was acclaimed *Imperator* after the fall of Jerusalem. In the last war between Antony and Octavius he was in charge of a squadron of Antony's fleet, and defeated L. Arruntius, the legate of Octavius, but his victory was snatched from him by the unexpected arrival of Agrippa (Vell. Paterc., ii. 85; cf. Plutarch, *Antonius*, 66). He commanded at the battle of Actium, which he appears to have survived, and was subsequently pardoned by Augustus. Dion Cassius (l. 14) states that Sosius was slain in an engagement with Agrippa, which preceded that great battle, but later (lvi. 38) he mentions a Sosius who was amongst those pardoned by Augustus.

Sosius struck four series of coins at different periods: as quaestor *circ.* B.C. 39; as imperator *circ.* B.C. 37, commemorating the capture of Jerusalem; as consul designate *circ.* B.C. 33; and as consul B.C. 32 (see below, pp. 508, 524). This succession of issues covering a period of eight years is in itself remarkable, but the more so as they were all struck in the island of Zacynthus, where they are not infrequently found. This island was surrendered to the Romans by the Macedonians B.C. 191, and though we know but little of its subsequent history it appears to have been a possession of some importance, and a calling-place for the Roman fleets to and from Greece and Asia Minor. The only record of the connection of Sosius with Zacynthus is supplied by his coins, and in consequence Gardner (*Num. Chron.*, 1885, p. 102) has suggested that he may have been master of its revenues. This is quite possible, but each issue appears to have been contemporaneous with his journeys westwards or eastwards, and therefore to mark his presence in the island. The first issue occurred *circ.* B.C. 39, as Antony is styled IMP only. Though the type of the eagle and the thunderbolt was probably borrowed from the Ptolemaic coinage of Egypt, it may in this instance have been intended to relate to the dominating power of Rome, and the caduceus to the protection given to the commerce of the island. Gardner (*loc. cit.*) has suggested that it is an instance of that complaisance shown by Antony to Cleopatra, which led to his utter downfall, but it may be a question if Sosius would select a type for his coins with this import so soon after Antony's marriage with Octavia. These bronze coins appear to have been struck on the quarter-ounce standard, so they may be identified as *asses*. The metal is a mixture of copper, zinc and lead, which, like orichalcum, in currency was rated at double the value of pure copper (see above, p. 45). The edges of the flans are bevelled, so that the reverse, which is slightly concave, presents a wider surface than the obverse. These characteristics of weight and fabric are specially noted, as they may point to some connection in the place of mintage between the coins of Sosius and those of the *praefecti classis* of Antony struck a few years later (see below, pp. 510 f.). The countermark

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			M. ANTONIVS M. F. M. N (MARCUS ANTONIUS MARCI FILIUS MARCI NEPOS)	
			Aureus[1]	
	122·5	*N*	Antony in military dress, standing r., leaning with r. hand on spear and holding short sword in l.; his l. foot is placed on a prow; around, M·ANTONIVS·M·F·M·N·AVG·IMP·ITE (*Augur, imperator iterum*).	Lion walking l., holding short sword in r. paw; above, star; around, COS·DESIG·ITER·ET·TERT·III·VIR·R·P·C. (*Consul designatus iterum et tertio, triumvir reipublicae constituendae*).

[Morelli, *Fam. rom. num.*, pl. ii., no. 1.]

of the star-shaped ornament has not been explained or identified with any particular locality or circumstance (Bahrfeldt, *Journ. Inter.*, vol. xi., p. 222). A similar countermark occurs on coins of C. Proculeius issued *circ.* B.C. 31, in the neighbouring island of Cephallenia (see below, p. 533). Vaillant (*Num. fam. rom.*, vol. ii., p. 429) has suggested that the coins of Sosius were struck at Zabulon. Of those in the National Collection nos. 138 and 140 were found in Zante.

[1] This unique aureus, formerly in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, disappeared in the robbery of 1831. It was melted down, and no other specimen has since been met with. It bore on the obverse an impressed stamp of an eagle, the crest of the Este family. Its chief importance, beyond being unique, is that if the legend on the obverse reads ITE (*Iterum*), it is the only coin recorded which gives the second imperatorship of Antony. This must have happened during his second and third consulship designate. His first imperatorship occurred in B.C. 43 (see above, p. 393) at the siege of Mutina, and his fourth in B.C. 31, as it was coincident with his third consulship (see below, p. 531); but the dates of his second and third imperatorships are uncertain. All we know for a fact is that they occurred during his second and third consulship designate, which extended from B.C. 39—35, as he did not take up his second consulship as arranged in B.C. 38. He was COS I. B.C. 44, COS II. B.C. 34, and COS III. B.C. 31, and therefore COS. DES. ITER. ET TERT. from B.C. 39—35, and COS. ITER. DES. III. from B.C. 34—32.

Von Sallet (*Zeit. f. Num.*, 1884, p. 169) has assigned the second imperatorship of Antony to B.C. 40, when with Octavius he was given an ovation at Rome, and the third to B.C. 38 or 36, but more probably the former on the occasion of the second great victory of Ventidius over the Parthians at Gindarus. Caland (*De Num. M. Ant.*, pp. 10 f.) has selected June, B.C. 38 and B.C. 36 respectively, on both occasions for the Parthian campaigns. Though in the later one Antony suffered a signal defeat, he claimed it as a victory as he himself survived it (Vell. Paterc., ii. 82). The coins do not seem to confirm entirely either Von Sallet's or Caland's views, as in one case it would be difficult to assign a date for those here attributed to B.C. 39, and in the other we should have very large issues of gold, silver and bronze money of Antony for two years, B.C. 36—35. Though differing somewhat from Von Sallet as to the occasion on which Antony assumed his second imperatorship, we are disposed to accept that to which he would attribute the third one. Dr. Ludwig Ganter (*Die Provinzialverwaltung der Triumvirn*, p. 61) has suggested a third date for the second imperatorship of Antony, and also of Octavius, that is after the battles of Philippi, when both resumed the title of *Imperator* on their coins, though neither added the "figure of iteration" (*Iterationsziffer*).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Circ. B.C. 38—37; A.U.C. 716—717[1]	
			M . ANTONIVS M . F . M . N	
			(MARCUS ANTONIUS MARCI FILIUS MARCI NEPOS)	
			Denarius	
141	58·2	AR ·8	Mark Antony in the dress of an augur, standing r., holding lituus in r. hand; around, M·ANTONIVS·M·F·M·N·AVGVR·IMP·TER (*Augur, imperator tertio*).	Head of Sol. r., radiate; around, COS·DESIG·ITER·ET TERT·III·VIR·R·P·C· (*Consul designatus iterum et tertio, triumvir reipublicae constituendae*). [Pl. cxiv. 6.]

This does not seem at all a probable solution, though it has been accepted by Bahrfeldt (*Chron. der Münz. M. Anton.*, *Berliner Münzblätter*, 1905, pp. 332 f.).

For his victories over the Parthians in B.C. 39 Ventidius did not receive any recompense from the Senate, because he was not actually the commander-in-chief, but was only the lieutenant of another (Dion Cassius, xlviii. 41). This other was Antony, who was always ready to avail himself of any distinction or honour for victories gained by those under him. In the absence of any direct evidence it may be presumed that the occasion on which he proclaimed his second imperatorship was in the winter of B.C. 39, when he announced at Athens that the Parthians had been routed by Ventidius, and that Labienus and Pharnapates had been slain. In honour of this victory he gave an entertainment to the Greeks, and treated the Athenians to an exhibition of gymnastic games, in which he himself took the master's part (Plutarch, *Antonius*, 33). For the third imperatorship of Antony we are of Von Sallet's opinion, that it was assumed in the following year, B.C. 38, after the victory of Ventidius over Pacorus in Syria Cyrrhestica, when, as Dion Cassius (xlix. 21) again tells us, the honours were once more decreed to Antony on account of his superior rank and in conformity with the law, because it was he who virtually was in command.

The association of the above aurei with the first campaign of Ventidius raises a question in connection with the obverse legend. Morelli (*loc. cit.*) has read and figured the last two words of the legend as IMP·ITE (*Imperator iterum*), but Mionnet (*de la Rareté et des Prix*, *Méd. Rom.*, vol. i., p. 93) as IMP TER (*Imperator tertio*). In the first case they would record the second imperatorship of Antony, B.C. 39; in the second his third imperatorship, B.C. 38. As Count de Salis accepted Morelli's description the coin is here assigned to the earlier date. The types would suit either. It must, however, be admitted that whilst Morelli is sometimes inaccurate in his descriptions and illustrations, Mionnet, on the other hand, does not reproduce the legends very faithfully, omitting to indicate monograms or letters in ligature.

In assigning this coin to B.C. 39 there is no difficulty in suggesting an explanation of its types. On the obverse Antony is represented as commander-in-chief, not only of the legions serving in the East, but also of the navy. On the reverse the lion may be symbolical of the overwhelming domination of Rome, but if personal to Antony it may be his genethliac sign, as has been suggested in the case of the quinarii which he issued a few years previously at Lugdunum (see above, p. 395, and Eckhel, *Doct. num. vet.*, t. vi., p. 44). The star symbolises the East, where the events recorded took place.

The workmanship of this coin, so far as can be judged from Morelli's illustration, appears to have been of some excellence, and on that account its issue may be given to Athens, where it would have been struck when Antony feasted the inhabitants of the city on receiving the news of the victory of Ventidius. It is to Athens also that we would assign the following denarii of Antony with the reverse type head of Sol, and the aurei with his portrait and that of Octavia, as all the issues appear to be connected by the obverse legends, which give not only Antony's father's initial, but also that of his grandfather.

It may be added that as all Morelli's illustrations of gold and silver coins are drawn to one scale, the size of the coin shown in the figure was not that of the actual piece. De la Nauze (*Mém. de l'Acad.*, vol. xxx., 1764, p. 385) gives its weight as 122·5 grs. (149½ grs. *Fr.*).

[1] The coins classed to these years record the second and third consulship designate and the third imperatorship of Mark Antony, the dates of which have already been discussed (see above, p. 505). They are of silver and gold. Those of silver appear to relate to the victories of Ventidius over the Parthians, and possibly also to the victory which Antony claimed over Antiochus of Commagene. The gold pieces with portraits of Antony and Octavia may either

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
142	58·0	AR ·8	Similar.	Similar. (Nott)
143	54·5	AR ·75	Similar.	Similar. (Nott)
			Aureus [1]	
144	124·4	AV ·8	Head of Antony r., bare; around, M·ANTONIVS·M·F·M·N·AVGVR·IMP TER (see no. 141).	Head of Octavia r., wearing earring; her hair is collected into a knot behind, from which a long plait is brought and arranged in a loop along the top of the head; two locks fall down her neck; around, COS·DESIGN·ITER·ET·TER·III·VIR·R·P·C (see no. 141). [Pl. cxiv. 7.] (Strawberry-Hill Coll.)

commemorate their somewhat recent marriage, or refer to events connected with their visit to Italy in B.C. 37.

The precise circumstances to which these denarii relate are somewhat uncertain. If their issue is put so late as B.C. 36—34 (Babelon, vol. i., p. 188) they might be a record of the expedition of Antony against the Parthians in B.C. 36, but that war was a failure, as Antony lost a great number of troops, and returned to Syria covered with disgrace (Dion Cassius, xlix. 27 f.; Plutarch, *Antonius*, 41-50). This would not be an event which Antony would be likely to commemorate on his coins. If, however, he was acclaimed *Imperator* at the termination of each campaign of Ventidius against the Parthians in B.C. 39 and 38, it is much more probable that these denarii record those victories, and they may also include the successes which Antony claimed in the war against Antiochus of Commagene, in which he supplanted Ventidius. This would place the issue of these coins at the end of B.C. 38, when Antony returned to Athens, where they may have been struck.

On the obverse Antony is represented in the dress of an augur, to which office he was elected in B.C. 50 (Caesar, *Bell. Gall.*, viii. 50), and which he appears to have held in high esteem, as the title "Augur" is met with so frequently in connection with his name on his coins. The head of Sol on the reverse is symbolical of the East.

In assigning these coins to Athens it may be noticed that not only is Antony's name given in the same form as on the preceding aureus, with the addition of his father's and grandfather's initials, but also that in each case his figure in full length is shown on the obverse. These are the only instances throughout his extensive coinage in the East when Antony is represented in this manner. The initials of his father and grandfather, however, occur on the following aurei, and again on similar coins struck in B.C. 34, and bearing the portrait of his son Marcus (see below, p. 521). For this reason we would assign those coins also to Athens.

A variety of the above denarius reads on the obverse TERT for TER (Bahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1896, p. 38). Babelon (vol. i., p. 188, no. 79) describes after Vaillant an aureus of this type, but no specimen appears to be known.

[1] The legends on these aurei, more especially that of the obverse, show that they belong to the same time and to the same district or place of issue as the previous denarii. If it be accepted that Antony was acclaimed *Imperator tertio* in B.C. 38, we have a period of less than two years within which they could have been issued, viz. at the end of B.C. 37, or early in the next year, he had deserted Octavia for Cleopatra. These aurei may therefore have been issued after Antony's return to Athens in B.C. 38, or in the following year, to commemorate his reconciliation with Octavius, which was brought about chiefly by Octavia's influence and skilful intervention. It is true that Octavia remained behind in Italy, but that need not have prevented Antony giving the order for these coins. The portrait of Octavia differs somewhat from that on the aureus assigned to B.C. 40—39 (see above, p. 499), not only in the cast of the features, but also in their general expression and in the elaborate treatment of the hair. It is, however, very similar to that met with on the cistophori given to B.C. 39 (see above, p. 502). Friedländer (*Zeit. f. Num.*, 1875, p. 289), who assigned these coins

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
145	121·3	Ν ·8	Similar; legend ending TER	Similar. [Pl. cxiv. 8.] (Wigan Coll.)
	123·7	Ν ·8	Similar; legend reading, M·ANTONIVS·M·F·M·N·AVGVR·IMP·TIIRT.	Similar; legend reading, COS·DIISIG·ITIIR·IIT TIIRT·III·VIR·R·P·C.[1]

[Babelon, vol. ii., p. 592.]

Circ. B.C. 37; A.U.C. 717

C. SOSIVS
(CAIUS SOSIUS[2])

Semis?

146	70·0	Æ ·8	Head of Antony r., bare; behind neck, ZA (*Ζάκυνθος*).	A military trophy, at the base of which are two captives; on the left is a female figure (Judaea) seated r., her head resting on her l. hand; on the right, a male figure (Antigonus) seated r., looking back, his hands behind him; at the sides, C·SOSIVS·IMP· (*Imperator*). [Pl. cxiv. 9.] (Northwick Coll.)

to B.C. 36, or preferably to B.C. 35, when Antony had repudiated Octavia, has identified the female head as an idealistic representation of Victory.

A variety in the Berlin collection reads IMP. TE for TER (Bahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1896, p. 36), and Babelon (vol. i., p. 184) mentions another reading TERT.

[1] This interesting variety with the letters II for E in the legends is now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York. It was formerly in the collection belonging to Anthony Lefroy, which was sold in London, 19—21 May, 1884 (Sotheby, *Sale Cat., Bagot coll.*, no. 91), and from there it passed successively into the possession of Count Alberic du Chastel and Mr. Hyman Montagu, at the dispersal of whose collection it was purchased for the Metropolitan Museum, New York. Ad. de Longpérier (*Rev. num.*, 1856, pp. 73 f.) has taken the inscription on this coin as evidence that at the end of the Roman republic the letters II were still used to express E, and he cites amongst numerous other instances, chiefly in connection with stelae, the coins of P. Carisius struck at Emerita (see above, p. 377), some of which read IIMIIRITA (Bompois, *Rev. num.*, 1868, p. 75). Eckhel (*Doct. num. vet.*, t. vi., p. 40), who described the coin now in the New York collection, cites the same evidence, and adds that it is apparent that this mode of writing was in use at a much later date than is generally believed, and that it was usurped by a number of moneyers who were engaged on the coinages of the Roman provinces. This was precisely the case not only with the coins of Emerita, but also with this aureus of Antony which we would assign to Athens. The form II for E was therefore at this time probably provincial only.

[2] Earlier coins of Sosius as quaestor have already been described (see above, p. 504). This one commemorates the capture of Jerusalem on October 3, B.C. 37, after a long and severe

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Circ. B.C. 36; A.U.C. 718	
			M. ANT	
			(MARCUS ANTONIUS)	
			Denarius[1]	
			Type I.	
147	58·0	Æ ·8	Head of Antony r., bare; around, ANT · AVGVR III·VIR·R·P·C (*Augur, triumvir reipublicae constituendae*).	Military trophy, consisting of a stem with cuirass and surmounted by a crested helmet with cheek-pieces; to each arm is attached an oblong shield; at the base two round shields with crescent ornaments and two spears; across the field, IMP. TER (*Imperator tertio*). [Pl. cxiv. 10.] (Cracherode Coll.)

siege, Sosius being hailed *Imperator* by his legions, a title which was confirmed by Antony. Dion Cassius (xlix. 22) concludes his account of the siege as follows: "The Jews, a cruel nation when angered, inflicted heavy losses on the Romans, but they suffered still more themselves. The first prisoners taken were those who defended the temple of their god, the others later, on the day called the day of Saturn. Their religious fervour was shown to such a degree that the first, those whom Sosius captured with the temple, asked for permission on the day of Saturn to enter their temple to perform with their fellow-citizens the prescribed rites. Antony handed over the government of this country to a certain Herod. As to Antigonus, he caused him to be scourged after tying him to a post, a treatment which had never before been inflicted on any other king by the Romans. He then put him to death."

The captives seated at the base of the trophy represent Judaea and Antigonus. The latter was taken in chains to Antony, and at the instigation of Herod was ignominiously executed with the axe at Antioch. The coin described probably represents the semis. It is also found with the countermark, a star (Bahrfeldt, *Journ. Inter.*, vol. xi., p. 217). Though it commemorates the victory of Sosius in B.C. 37, it may not have been struck till a somewhat later date, when he returned to Rome for his triumph in B.C. 34. On his way he would probably touch at Zacynthus, which would furnish an occasion for its issue.

[1] Babelon (vol. i., p. 187, nos. 76-78) has identified the trophy of arms on the reverse as Parthian, and was therefore of opinion that these denarii referred to the successes of Mark Antony in the recent war with that nation. The arms, however, are not Parthian but Celtiberian, being similar to those met with on later coins issued by P. Carisius after his campaign in Spain, B.C. 23 (see above, pp. 374-376), more especially in the form of the sword with the closed handle (*copis*), the dagger in a sheath which is attached to the waist of the cuirass, and the circular shields at the base. The forces of Sextus Pompey were mainly recruited from Spain, and from the existing settlement of Celtiberians in Sicily (Livy, xxvi. 21), and some of the legions which fought in the war with Octavius had come with him from Spain in B.C. 43. It would seem therefore that these denarii were struck at the close of the Sicilian war, and this identification is supported, if not actually confirmed, by the occurrence of the prow on one variety of the type (see no. 149). Eckhel (*Doct. num. vet.*, t. vi., p. 46) has also identified these coins with the Sicilian war—"Incerta victoria, quae tropaeum istud extulit, et ex qua verisimile est, Antonio IMP. TER titulum partum. Forte propter navis proram intelligenda navalis de Sex. Pompeio victoria, cujus etiam particeps fuit missis ad id bellum navibus." As evidence of this large Celtiberian population in Sicily at this time we may mention the series of copper coins which were issued in the island, and which have for obverse type the head of Pallas, or a male head, and on the reverse a warrior on horseback, or a horse and the legend HISPANORVM (see below, COINAGE OF SICILY, p. 562; Holm, *Gesch. Sicil.*, vol. iii., p. 463).

A variety of Type I. reads M. ANT for ANT, and another of Type I. var. *b*, AG for AGV (Bahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1896, p. 38; Babelon, vol. i., p. 188).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type I. var. *a*	
148	50·5	AR ·8	Similar; legend, M · ANT · AVGVR · III · VIR · R · P · C	Similar; to the r. arm of the trophy is attached a curved sword with closed handle (*copis*); and to the waist of the cuirass a dagger in a sheath. [Pl. cxiv. 11.] (Blacas Coll.)
			Type I. var. *b*	
149	57·0	AR ·8	Similar; legend, ANT · AVGV · III · VIR · R · P · C	Similar; but on l. at base of trophy, prow l. instead of shield; no spears. [Pl. cxiv. 12.] (Blacas Coll.)

Circ. B.C. 36—35; A.U.C. 718—719[1]

M. AT: L. BIBVLVS M. F

(MARCUS ANTONIUS; LUCIUS [CALPURNIUS] BIBULUS MARCI FILIUS)

Sestertius

	394·0	Æ 1·3	Heads of Antony on l. and of Octavia on r., face to face; her hair is arranged as on no. 144; around, M · AT · IMP · TER · COS · [DES · ITER · ET · TER · III · VIR · R · P · C] (*Imperator tertio, consul designatus iterum et tertio, triumvir reipublicae constituendae*).	Antony and Octavia facing each other, in quadriga r., drawn by hippocamps; on l., HS (*sestertius*); below, Δ (=4 *asses*) and rock (?); around, L · BIBVLVS · M · F · PR · [DESIG] (*Praetor designatus*).

[Bahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1905, pl. i., no. 1.]

[1] Before considering the denominations, weights, date and provenance of the remarkable series of bronze coins which are given to this time, and which were struck by the *praefecti classis* of Mark Antony, we must draw attention to a recent article entitled, *Die Münzen der Flottenpräfekten des Marcus Antonius*, by M. Bahrfeldt (*Num. Zeit.*, 1905, pp. 9-50), whose studies and extensive researches have thrown much light on a coinage which hitherto has presented special

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Tressis	
	365·0	Æ 1·25	Conjoined heads of Antony and Octavius r., facing that of Octavia l.; around, M·ANT·IMP [·TER·COS· DES·ITER·ET·TER· III·] VIR·R·P·C	Three galleys under sail r.; below, Γ (=3 *asses*) and triskelis; around, [L·BIB] VLVS·M·F·PR·DESIG

[Bahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1905, pl. i., no. 2.]

difficulties. These difficulties have been caused mainly by incorrect descriptions, especially as regards the legends, due in a great measure to the fact that most of the specimens which are known at the present time are in poor condition and ill-struck. The number of pieces which supply in a complete form the entire legend, obverse and reverse, is very limited. This has led to much confusion and to wrong deductions. Bahrfeldt, with his accustomed zeal, has placed under request all the principal public and many of the private collections in Europe, with the result that no less than 179 pieces have passed under his personal observation. The result of this examination has enabled him to prove conclusively that throughout the series there is not only uniformity in the types, but also uniformity in the legends on the coins of the individual moneyers. It has been therefore necessary to reject many descriptions, both as regards types as well as legends, which have been handed down in successive numismatic works. One of the chief originators of these misreadings and false descriptions was Vaillant, who supplied legends when they were wanting on the coins which he had for examination. The forger, too, seems to have paid special attention to this particular class of money.

The denominations of which this series of bronze coins is composed are the sestertius, tressis (or tripondius), dupondius, as, semis, and probably the sextans. They are distinguished respectively by the following marks of value:—Δ (=4 asses), Γ (=3 asses), B (=2 asses), A (=1 as), S (semis), and •• (sextans). We need not comment on the necessity of introducing these signs of value. The coinage was quite a new departure from anything issued by the Romans, and in consequence some distinguishing mark showing the current value of each individual piece was almost obligatory. As each denomination is distinguished by its mark of value, so it is also by its type. On the sestertius we have the heads of Antony and Octavia facing each other, *rev.* a quadrign of hippocamps, bearing on it full length figures of the same personages; on the tressis, the conjoined heads of Antony and Octavius facing that of Octavia, *rev.* three galleys under sail and in line; on the dupondius, the heads of Antony and Octavia facing each other, *rev.* two galleys under sail and in line; on the as, the conjoined heads of Antony and Octavia, *rev.* one galley under sail; on the semis, the head of Antony only, *rev.* a galley without sail; and on the sextans, a janiform head, *rev.* the stem of a prow. Each denomination is therefore supplied with a distinct type and a special mark of value. Besides these some bear special symbols—the sestertius, a rock (?) (usually identified as an altar or an astragalus), the tressis, a triskelis, the dupondius, the caps of the Dioscuri, and the as, the Gorgon's head. The meaning of these symbols will be explained when we consider the question of the occasion on which these coins were struck. The legends, as we have already remarked, show considerable uniformity, no variations being made even on the smaller denominations, with the exception of the sextans, which on account of its size rendered abbreviations compulsory.

In a recent article (*Riv. Ital.*, 1908, pp. 547 f.) Sig. G. Dattari has made an impossible suggestion, which is that the letters A, B, Γ, Δ, S are not marks of value, but the numbers of the *officinae* at which these coins were issued.

The long lists of weights supplied by Bahrfeldt (*op. cit.*, pp. 11-24) are of great importance for ascertaining the standard on which these coins were based. It is evident from them that two of the three moneyers, L. Sempronius Atratinus and M. Oppius Capito (see below, pp. 515, 517), struck two series, one heavy, the other light. This difference in weight does not, in our opinion, suggest two different standards, but it was probably due to force of circumstances (see

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Dupondius	
	248·7	Æ 1·15	Heads of Antony on l. and of Octavia on r., face to face; around, [M ANT·IMP· TER · COS · DES · ITER · ET · [TER · III · VIR · R · P · C]	Two galleys under sail r.; at each side of the sail, a cap of the Dioscuri; below, B (=2 *asses*); around, L · BIBVLVS M · F · PR · DESIG

[Bahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1905, pl. i., no. 3.]

below). In order to ascertain the standard of these coins we shall, therefore, only take into consideration the heavier one as being the true one. Owing to the worn state of most of the coins and to imperfect striking, the following figures must be taken as approximate only. The sestertius weighs 410—310 grs., the tressis 350—300 grs., the dupondius 300—215 grs., the as 145—120 grs., and the semis 105—50 grs. Bahrfeldt (*op. cit.*, p. 50) gives the average weights of the coins of the heavier series as—sestertius 385 grs., tressis 325 grs., dupondius 250 grs., and *as* 128 grs. He mentions only two specimens of the sextans, which are of 65·5 grs. and 35·5 grs. respectively. If the Roman ounce be taken as representing 421 grs. (27·264 grammes), the standard on which these coins were struck was quarter-uncial. The question of metal must, however, be taken into consideration. Analyses show that it is not of pure copper, but of a mixed metal consisting of 76·5 per cent. copper, 14·0 per cent. tin, and 8·3 per cent. lead (see *Num. Chron.*, 1904, p. 244). This metal, like orichalcum, was in currency rated at double, or nearly so, that of pure copper, as has been shown in the case of the coinage instituted at Rome in B.C. 15 (see above, p. 45), which was of orichalcum, and was evidently based on the same system as this Eastern coinage. Allowance being made for irregularity of weight arising from circumstances in casting the flans and also for wear, it would appear that these coins were issued on the quarter-ounce standard of bronze or the half-ounce standard of copper, the latter having been adopted at the Roman mint in B.C. 88, under the provisions of the *Lex Papiria* (see vol. i., pp. 189, 241). Bahrfeldt is of opinion that the light series was issued on an eighth-ounce standard, but we are disposed to consider that this difference in weight was more probably due to the very special conditions under which these coins were put forth.

The date of issue and the locality of striking of these exceptional pieces are questions which have led to much diversity of opinion, so far resulting in no satisfactory conclusions. As guides for their date there are two main criteria, legends and types. Of the moneyers themselves our information is limited. The legends show that all the coins belong to one period, that of the third imperatorship of Antony, and when he was consul designate for the second and third time, i.e., from B.C. 38—35 inclusive. It is to these years that Count de Salis had assigned them. The types also show that the coins are of a period when the relations of Antony, Octavius and Octavia were of a perfectly amicable nature, and that they commemorate an event in which all three participated. This amity of the triumvirs could not have been of the time of the marriage of Antony and Octavia in B.C. 40, as the former was then only in his first imperatorship, and had not been as yet designated consul for the second and third time.

After the departure of Antony and Octavia for Greece in B.C. 39 there was no meeting between them and Octavius till the time when the war with Sextus Pompey was at its height, and when Octavius had experienced heavy losses at sea. This was in B.C. 37. The circumstances may be briefly related. In B.C. 38, on account of the renewed attacks of Sextus Pompey on the Italian shores, Octavius determined to strike a decisive blow, and at once set about making the necessary preparations. Antony hearing of this, and wishing for his own purpose to prevent a breach of the treaty with Sextus, came hurriedly to Brundusium, but left again immediately without meeting Octavius, who had been delayed in his arrival. Later in the year two engagements and two heavy storms almost annihilated the fleet of Octavius. Driven to despair he summoned Agrippa from Gaul, and sent Maecenas to Antony requesting

No.	*Weight*	*Metal and Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
			As	
	128·0	Æ ·9	Conjoined heads of Antony and Octavia r.; around, M[ANT · IMP ·] TER · COS · DES [ITER · ET · TER · III · VIR · R · P · C]; countermark behind heads (ΣΕ)	Galley under sail r.; on l., A (= *as*); below, Gorgon's head facing; around, [L · BIBVLV]S · M · F · PR · DESIG

[Bahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1905, pl. i., no. 4.]

help. Antony, who had just returned from Syria, set out at once for Brundusium with a fleet of 300 ships, but in the meantime Octavius had changed his mind and declined to meet him. When an open breach between the triumvirs seemed imminent a reconciliation was effected by the skilful mediation of Octavia (Appian, *Bell. civ.*, v. 93, 94). The triumvirs met and it was arranged that Antony should supply 120 ships to Octavius, who in return provided him with 20,000 legionaries to carry on the campaign against the Parthians. This fleet, which was well equipped, took an active part in the war, and it was with it that Octavius subsequently went to Sicily, when he occupied Tauromenium. It is therefore evident from the types of these coins that it is to the events of B.C. 37—36 that they relate. The good feeling between Antony and Octavius is illustrated by their conjoined heads, and the addition of that of Octavia shows the part which she took in bringing about the reconciliation. The reverse type of the sestertius depicts Antony and Octavia in the characters of Poseidon and Amphitrite. The symbols on the reverses connect this coinage still more intimately with Sicily. The triskelis was long the symbol of the island, and the Gorgon's head usually placed in the centre of it, as shown on the coins of Agathocles of Syracuse (Head, *Coins of Syracuse*, pl. viii., nos. 7, 8), and on denarii of L. Cornelius Lentulus Crus and C. Claudius Marcellus (see COINAGE OF SICILY, below, p. 558), is in this case figured separately. The caps of the Dioscuri point to the part played by the land forces, and the symbol on the sestertius, which we have ventured to identify as a rock, is symbolical of the rugged coasts of Sicily, which had proved so disastrous to the ships of Antony.

The opinions expressed as to the locality in which these coins were issued are as varied as they are uncertain (Bahrfeldt, *op. cit.*, pp. 36 f.). Cavedoni (*Num. bibl.*, p. 119, note 97) considered that the sestertii with the hippocamp-quadriga were issued at Berytus in Phoenicia, and the tresses with the triskelis in some maritime city of Lydia or Pamphylia. Babelon (vol. i., p. 187) proposed to attribute the coins of Atratinus to Panormus, those of Bibulus to the East, Asia Minor or Greece (vol. i., p. 304), and those of Oppius to Sicily (vol. ii., p. 277). Caland (*de Num. M. Ant.*, p. 75) selects Pisidia for the mint-district of the coins of Oppius and Atratinus; but Holm (*Gesch. Sicil.*, vol. iii., p. 400) has classed both issues to Sicily. As provenance would be under the circumstances one of the surest guides, Bahrfeldt (*op. cit.*, p. 37) has put himself to infinite trouble to gather evidence about it, but the results have not been altogether satisfactory. From personal inquiries he has ascertained that none of these coins have ever been found in Sicily, and that no specimens exist in the collection of the Museum at Syracuse nor in the Naples Museum, nor in the Santangelo collection, all of which are rich in South Italian and Sicilian coins. Those of Bibulus and Oppius have been unearthed at Smyrna, of Atratinus at Constantinople, and others in Crete and the Cyrenaïca, but none in Egypt. In the face of these unsatisfactory results Bahrfeldt has suggested that these coins may have been struck on board of one or more of the ships of Antony. It is in this manner that he would account for their rude fabric and special rarity. They must, however, have been intended to circulate somewhere, and if they are to be excluded from Italy and Sicily, where under the special circumstances it may have been possible for them to have originated, they must be relegated to the East, where at all events some pieces have been found. Bahrfeldt (*op. cit.*, p. 33) has placed their issue between the autumn of B.C. 37 (A.U.C. 717) and the summer of B.C. 35 (A.U.C. 719), but as the types appear to record an accomplished fact we are inclined to consider that they did not make their appearance till after the conclusion of the Sicilian war. They may, therefore, be assigned to B.C. 36—35. Antony's fleet did not return immediately to the East after the battle of Naulochus, but it was sent by

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Semis[1]	
150	78·0	Æ ·8	Head of Antony r., bare; around, M·ANT·IMP·TER·COS·DES·ITER·ET·TER·III·VIR·R·P·C	Galley without sail r.; around, L·BIBVLVS·M·F·PR·DESIG [Pl. cxiv. 13.] (Blacas Coll.)
			Sextans[2]	
	65·5	Æ ·7	Janiform head; around, M·ANT·IM TER·COS·DES·[ITER·ET·TER·III·VIR·R·P·C]	Stem of prow in the form of the head and neck of a goose (*χηνίσκος*); at the sides •• (*sextans*); around, L·BIBVLVS·M·F·PR·DESIG

[Cf. Bahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1905, p. 13.]

Octavius to Tarentum, where it appears to have remained till the spring of the following year (Appian, *Bell. civ.*, v. 129). It is, however, possible that some of the ships may have been sent back at an earlier date, and that these coins were struck by their commanders on their arrival at their destined station. Though it must be admitted that evidence of provenance is lacking, we would suggest as a probable mint-place the island of Zacynthus, which would be a likely calling-place or port for vessels returning eastwards. It was in that island that C. Sosius on his journeys to and from Italy struck money on four different occasions (see above, p. 504). There are certain characteristics which are common to the issues of Sosius and to those of the *praefecti classis* of Antony. They are of bronze only and of the same standard, i.e., quarter-ounce, and many of the coins of Antony, like those of Sosius, have the edges bevelled. Is it therefore in these coins of Sosius that we can trace not only the origin of this money of Antony, but also of the subsequent issues of the Roman mint? A shortage of metal in the island would also account for the lightness in weight of many of the specimens.

Lucius Calpurnius Bibulus, whose coins are first described, was the son of M. Calpurnius Bibulus and the step-son of Marcus Junius Brutus, who married his mother Porcia. In B.C. 45 Bibulus went to Athens to continue his studies (Cicero, *ad Att.*, xii. 32), and later, after the death of Caesar, joined his step-father in Italy. He was an eye-witness of the pathetic leave-taking of his parents at Velia, which he himself described (H. Peter, *Hist. rom. frag.*, p. 242; Plutarch, *Brutus*, 23). Being proscribed by the triumvirs he went to the East and was present at the battles of Philippi, but being pardoned by Antony entered his service. He was a *praefectus classis* and commanded a portion of the fleet which was supplied by Antony to take part in the Sicilian war, at which time he was also praetor designate. Appian (*Bell. civ.*, iv. 38, 104, 136; v. 132) relates that he was much employed by Antony in his negotiations with Octavius, and that he was finally promoted by him to the government of Syria, where he died shortly before the battle of Actium. Bibulus struck a complete series of the new bronze money from the sestertius to the sextans, but as it is of the heavy weight only Bahrfeldt (*op. cit.*, p. 28) has suggested that in B.C. 35 he quitted his fleet and went to Rome on a diplomatic mission to Octavius. This would be before pieces of the light weight were being issued.

The coins attributed by Vaillant (*Hist. Ptol.*, p. 197; *Mon. fam. rom.*, pl. xv. 53; pl. xxxiv. 31) to Antony and Cleopatra, on some of which Bibulus is given the title of PRO. SIC (*Propraetor Siciliae*), are considered to be misreadings or fabrications. PRO. SIC. may be a misreading of PR. DESIG. (Babelon, vol. i., p. 189, note 1). Bahrfeldt (*op. cit.*, p. 27) considers that the coins of Antony and Bibulus described by Babelon (vol. i., p. 189, nos. 82-84) may also be relegated to the same category.

[1] Bahrfeldt (*op. cit.*, p. 12) mentions fourteen specimens of this denomination, varying in weight from 104—34 grs. The mark of value S is omitted.

[2] The only specimen known of this coin is in the Capitoline Museum. It was formerly in

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			M. ANT: L. ATRATINVS (MARCUS ANTONIUS; LUCIUS [SEMPRONIUS] ATRATINUS [1])	
			Sestertius	
			LIGHT SERIES	
151	201·0	Æ 1·15	Heads of Antony on l. and of Octavia on r., face to face; around, M·ANT·IMP TER·[COS·DES·ITER· ET·TER·III·VIR·R· P·C] (see p. 510).	Antony and Octavia facing each other, in quadriga r., drawn by hippocamps; on l., HS (*sestertius*); below, Δ (=4 *asses*) and rock(?); [above the hippocamps' heads, lituus]; around, L·ATRATINVS· AVGVR·COS·DESIG· (*Augur, consul designatus*). [Pl. cxiv. 14.] (de Salis Coll.)
			Tressis	
			HEAVY SERIES	
	264·0	Æ 1·4	Conjoined heads of Antony and Octavius r., facing that of Octavia l.; around, M·ANT·IMP·TER·COS· DES·ITER·ET·TER· III·VIR·R·P·C	Three galleys under sail r.; above, lituus; below, Γ (=3 *asses*) and triskelis; around, L·ATRATINVS· AVGVR·COS·DESIG

[Bahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1905, pl. i., no. 8.]

the Borghesi and Bignami collections. It was first described by Borghesi (*Œuvres compl.*, t. ii., 422; Cavedoni, *Num. bibl.*, p. 133), who considered that the janiform head on the obverse was intended to represent Antony and Octavia, and that the object on the reverse was the χηνίσκος, an ornament resembling the head of a goose, a not unusual form of the prow-stem of a vessel. The identification of the two heads as portraits of Antony and Octavia cannot be sustained, as they bear no resemblance to those on the larger denominations. Borghesi also thought that the coin was of the current value of two quadrantes or a half-assarion, as the sextans was not then struck. This, however, is no argument, seeing that most of the coins of this series consist of denominations not hitherto issued in bronze. Bahrfeldt (*loc. cit.*) questions the presence of the marks of value (••) on the reverse, and considers that the slight excrescences are due to patination or oxidation. There is certainly a • on the right of the prow-stem, but that on the left is somewhat indistinct. If the similar piece of Oppius (see below, p. 520) bears these marks, one would expect to find them also on the coin of Bibulus, so that both would represent the sextans.

[1] Some particulars of L. Sempronius Atratinus have been given in connection with a coin

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Dupondius	
			Heavy Series	
	340·0	Æ 1·05	Heads of Antony on l. and of Octavia on r., face to face; around, [M · ANT · IMP ·] TER · COS · DES · ITER · ET · TER · III · VIR · R · P · C ·	Two galleys under sail r.; at each side of the sail, a cap of the Dioscuri; [on r., lituus]; below, B (= 2 *asses*); around, L · ATRATINVS · AVGVR · COS · DESIG

[Bahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1905, pl. i., no. 9.]

As[1]

Heavy Series

	147·7	Æ 1·0	Conjoined heads of Antony and Octavia r.; around, [M · ANT · IMP ·] TER · COS · DES · ITER · ET · TER · III · VIR · R [· P · C]	Galley under sail r.; [above, lituus]; below, A (= *as*) and Gorgon's head facing; around, L · ATRATINVS · AVGVR · COS · DESIG

[Bahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1905, pl. i., no. 10*a*.]

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which he struck during the first imperatorship of Antony, and before he became himself consul designate in B.C. 39 (see above, p. 501). His consulship did not take place till B.C. 34. He appears to have issued two series of coins as a *praefectus classis* of Antony which vary only in weight, not in type. Of the heavier series Bahrfeldt (*op. cit.*, pp. 14 f.) describes the sestertius, tressis, dupondius and as, and the same of the light series, with the exception of the tressis. He condemns as forgeries or as misdescribed pieces the sestertius and dupondius (?) figured by Babelon (vol. i., pp. 184, 185, nos. 71, 72), on which Atratinus is given the title PRAEF. CLASS. F. C. (*praefectus classis flandum curavit*). Riccio (*Catalogo*, pl. vi., no. 4; *Mon. fam. rom.*, pl. xlii., no. 10) was the first to figure these two coins, which were subsequently copied by Cohen and Babelon. Count de Salis had also accepted these descriptions as correct. These errors, like others mentioned, have led to wrong conclusions.

[1] A variety has the mark of value A on the left of the galley. The semis and the sextans are not known of this issue.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			M . ANT: M . OPPIVS CAPITO	
			(MARCUS ANTONIUS; MARCUS OPPIUS CAPITO[1])	
			Sestertius	
			HEAVY SERIES	
152	412·5	Æ 1·4	Heads of Antony on l. and of Octavia on r., face to face; around, M · [ANT · IMP · ITER ·] COS · DESIG · [ITER · ET · ITER · III · VIR ·] R · P · C (see p. 510).	Antony and Octavia facing each other, in quadriga r., drawn by hippocamps; behind, HS (*sestertius*); below, Δ (= 4 *asses*) and rock(?); around, M · OPPI VS · CAPITO · PRO · PR · PRAEF · CLASS · F · C (*Propraetor, praefectus classis, flandum curavit*). [Pl. cxv. 1.] (Blacas Coll.)
			LIGHT SERIES	
153	121·5	Æ 1·0	Similar; legend, M · ANT · . . . . . COS · DESIG · ITER ·	Similar; legend, ... S · CAPITO · PRO · PR · PRAEF · CLASS · F · C · [Pl. cxv. 2.] (Woodhouse Coll.)

[1] Of this moneyer we know even less than of his colleagues. He may have been the M. Oppius who with his father was proscribed in B.C. 43. The latter, on account of his old age, being unable to leave Rome was carried by his son on his shoulders, both ultimately reaching Sicily in safety (Dion Cassius, xlviii. 53). He evidently became reconciled to Antony, who appointed him propractor and *praefectus classis*. He is the only one who gives this last title on his coins, and also his authority for issuing them (*flandum curavit*). Of all three praefects the coins of Oppius are the most numerous at the present time. Bahrfeldt (*op. cit.*, pp. 18 f.) mentions of the sestertius 9 specimens, of the tressis 8, of the dupondius 38, and of the as 63. These he has separated, as in the case of the coins of Atratinus, into two series, a heavy and a light one; the former consisting of the sestertius, tressis, dupondius, as and semis; and the latter of the sestertius, dupondius, as and sextans. In describing the various specimens in the National Collection, as no single piece gives the obverse and reverse legends complete, the portions legible in each case have been set out. From these it will be seen that the size of the coin does not carry with it any variations, and that from the sestertius to the semis the obverse and reverse legends are precisely the same throughout. It is chiefly on this account, and because of excess of tooling, that we have not included in the descriptions the tressis in the National Collection from the Campana cabinet, which has the obverse legend, M . ANTON . IMP . COS . DES . IIIVIR . R . P . C., and on the reverse, M . OPPIVS CAPITO PRO . PR . PRAEF . CLASS . F . C . (*Num. Chron.*, 1904, pl. xii., no. 2). The British Museum has lately acquired another specimen of this coin, which is certainly false.

It may be observed that whilst Bibulus and Atratinus give the name of Antony as M . AT Oppius abbreviates it into M . ANT. He also curtails TERT into TER. These small differences are not sufficient to assign these coins to another locality.

Bahrfeldt (*op. cit.*, p. 25) has condemned as not original pieces those which bear the name of C. Fonteius Capito (Babelon, vol. i., p. 182, nos. 66, 67). Throughout his researches he has not met with an original specimen, and he suggests that they may be altered coins of Oppius. Babelon copied from Cohen, who followed Riccio, and who in turn adopted the illustrations of Vaillant and Morelli. In one case the obverse and reverse legends are transposed. Such a variation does not occur on any of the coins of Bibulus, Atratinus, or Oppius.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Tressis	
			Heavy Series[1]	
154	331·0	Æ 1·3	Conjoined heads of Antony and Octavius r., facing that of Octavia l.; around, [M·ANT·IMP·ER·]COS·DESIG·[IER·ET·ER·III·VIR·R·P·C]	Three galleys under sail r.; below, Γ (=3 *asses*) and triskelis; around, M·OP PIVS·CAPITO·[PRO·PR·] PRAEF·CLAS[S·F·C] [Pl. cxv. 3.] (de Salis Coll.)
			Dupondius	
			Heavy Series	
155	268·0	Æ 1·05	Heads of Antony on l. and of Octavia on r., face to face; around, [M·ANT·IMP·ER·] COS·DESIG·IER·[ET·ER·III·VIR·R·P·C]	Two galleys under sail r.; at each side of the sail, a cap of the Dioscuri; below, B (=2 *asses*); around, [M·OP]PIVS·CAPITO·PRO·P[R·PRAEF·CLASS·F·C] [Pl. cxv. 4.]
156	246·5	Æ 1·1	Similar; legend, M·ANT·IMP·ER·.....III·VIR·R·P·C	Similar; legend, M·OP PIVS·CAPITO·PRO·PR.....
157	234·0	Æ 1·1	Similar; legend, ...IMP·ER·COS·DESIG·IER.....	Similar; legend, ... CA PITO·PRO·PR·PRA EF·CLASS...
			Light Series	
158	160·0	Æ ·9	Similar; legend, M·ANT·IMP·ER·COS·DESIG·IER·ET·ER·III·VIR·....	Similar; legend, ... CAPI TO..... (Blacas Coll.)
159	142·5	Æ 1·0	Similar; legend, ANT..... DESIG.....	Similar; legend, ... CAPI TO·PRO..... (Pres. by S. Lysons)
160	137·5	Æ ·95	Similar; legend, M·ANT·IMP·ER·COS.....VIR·R·P·C	Similar; legend, ... CAPI TO·PRO·PR·PRAEF·CLASS·..

[1] Bahrfeldt (*op. cit.*, p. 22) says he has not met with the tressis of the light series.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
161	126·0	Æ ·8	Similar; legend, ... DE SIG · ITER · ET · . . . . III · VIR · R · P · C	Similar; legend, ... PR · PRAEF · CLASS · . . . . . [Pl. cxv. 5.] (Blacas Coll.)
162	114·5	Æ ·95	Similar; legend entirely obliterated.	Similar; legend, OPPIVS · . . . .
163	101·0	Æ ·95	Similar; legend, ... COS · DESIG · ITER · ET · ER · III · VIR · R · P · C	Similar; legend, PRO . . . PRAEF · CLASS · F · [Pl. cxv. 6.] (Woodhouse Coll.)

As

Heavy Series

164	140·7	Æ ·85	Conjoined heads of Antony and Octavia r.; around, M · ANT · IMP · ER · COS · DESIG · ITER · ET · ER · III · VIR · R · P · C	Galley in full sail r.; below, A (=*as*) and Gorgon's head facing; around, [M · OPPIVS · CAPITO ·] PRO · PR · [PRAEF · CLASS · F · C ·] [Pl. cxv. 7.]

Light Series

165	68·5	Æ ·6	Similar; legend, M · ANT · IMP ·	Similar; legend, ... O · PRO · PR · PR . . . .
166	62·0	Æ ·7	Similar; legend, M · ANT · IMP · ER · COS · DESIG · ITER · ET · ER . . . . R · P · C	Similar; legend, ... PRO · PR · PRAEF (Woodhouse Coll.)
167	61·0	Æ ·7	Similar; legend, M · ANT · IMP ·	Similar; legend, ... EF · CLASS · F · C
168	55·5	Æ ·55	Similar; legend, M · ANT · IMP ·	Similar; legend entirely obliterated.
169	55·0	Æ ·65	Similar; legend, M · ANT · IMP · ER · COS · DESIG	Similar; legend, M · OPPI VS · CAP . . . . . F · CLASS · F · C [Pl. cxv. 8.]
170	54·5	Æ ·65	Similar; legend, M · ANT · IMP · . . . . ITER · ET · ER · III · VIR · R · P · C.	Similar; legend, ... PRAEF · CLASS · F · C
171	50·0	Æ ·65	Similar; legend, M · ANT · IMP · ER · COS · DESIG ·	Similar; legend, M · OPPI . . . . PRAEF · CLASS · F · C [Pl. cxv. 9.]

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Semis	
			HEAVY SERIES	
	53·5	Æ ·7	Head of Antony r.; around, [M·ANT·IMP·ITER·]COS·DESIG·ITER·ET [·TER· III·VIR·R·P·C]	Galley r., without sail; above, S (*semis*); around, M·OPPIVS·CAPITO·PR[O·]PR·PRAEF·CLASS·F·C
			[Bahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1905, pl. ii., no. 18.]	
			Sextans[1]	
			LIGHT SERIES.	
	35·5	Æ ·6	Janiform head; around, ... III VIR R P C	Stem of prow l.; below •• (*sextans*); around, [M·OPPIVS·] CA PRAEF CL...
			[Bahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1905, p. 24.]	
			Circ. B.C. 35; A.U.C. 719	
			ANTONIVS	
			([MARCUS] ANTONIUS)	
			Denarius[2]	
172	60·0	Æ ·8	Head of Antony r., bare; around, ANTONIVS·AVGVR·COS·DES·ITER·ET·TERT (*Augur, consul designatus iterum et tertio*).	An Armenian tiara r., ornamented with stars and with lappets; behind, a bow and arrow in saltire; around, IMP·TERTIO·III·VIR·R·P·C (*Imperator tertio, triumvir reipublicae constituendae*). [Pl. cxv. 10.] (Cracherode Coll.)

[1] Bahrfeldt (*op. cit.*, p. 24) mentions two specimens of this denomination, one formerly in the Rauch collection, the other in the Welzl v. Wellenheim cabinet. Both have now disappeared. Fortunately Rauch published and illustrated his specimen in the *Ann. dell' Inst. Arch.*, 1847, p. 283, pl. P, no. 9, from which the above illustration is taken. The two specimens show that the reverse legend in full would read M·OPPIVS CA·PRAEF·CLASS, but that of the obverse must remain uncertain. As Rauch gives the marks of value •• on the reverse of his specimen this coin must represent the sextans. It is on this account that we consider that the coin of Bibulus of similar type is of the same value (see above, p. 514).

[2] Babelon (vol. i., p. 195) has assigned this coin to B.C. 34, and he concludes that the

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Circ. B.C. 34; A.U.C. 720[1]	
			M . ANTONI . M . F . M . N : M . ANTONIVS M . F . F (MARCUS ANTONIUS MARCI FILIUS MARCI NEPOS; MARCUS ANTONIUS MARCI FILII FILIUS[2])	
			Aureus	
173	122·4	*N* ·75	Head of Mark Antony r., bare; around, M · ANTONI · M · F · M · N · AVC · IMP · TERT (*Augur, imperator tertio*).	Head of Mark Antony junior r., bare; around, COS · ITER · ΔESIC̣N · TERT · III · VIR · R · P · C (*Consul iterum, designatus tertio, triumvir reipublicae constituendae*). [Pl. cxv. 11.] (Montagu Coll.)
174	123·5	*N* ·75	Similar; legend, ANTON · AVC · IMP · III · COS · DES · III · III · V · R · P · C (*Augur, imperator tertio, consul designatus tertio, triumvir reipublicae constituendae*).	Similar; legend, M · ANTONIVS · M · F · F [Pl. cxv. 12.] (Blacas Coll.)

types relate to the victories of Antony over Artavasdes, king of Armenia, in that year, which were celebrated by a triumph of great magnificence at Alexandria. As, however, the titles given to Antony show that he was still consul designate for the second and third times, this coin must have been issued before B.C. 34, when he entered on his second consulship. Nor can the reverse type refer to the victories of Ventidius, as at that time Antony was on friendly terms with the Armenians, and was receiving help from Artavasdes. A breach with that monarch did not occur till the latter's desertion of Antony in the Parthian war, after the failure of the siege of Phraata, which was followed by the disastrous retreat to the Armenian frontier (B.C. 36). It was to revenge that base treatment that Antony in the following year undertook an expedition against the Armenian king, and to ensure success sent Polemo, king of Pontus, to the Median king, Artavasdes, to negotiate with him a treaty of alliance and friendship. For this service Antony handed over to Polemo lesser Armenia, and permitted him to attach it to his own dominions (Dion Cassius, xlix. 33, 44). As Antony did not invade Armenia before B.C. 34, it is to this circumstance that the reverse type of this denarius seems to refer. The tiara is of the same form as that worn by Tigranes, and as seen on his coins as king of Syria (see *Cat. Gr. Coins, Brit. Mus., Seleucid Kings*, pl. xxvii., no. 6). The bow and arrow were the chief offensive weapons used by the Armenians.

A variety, of which a specimen is in the Vienna cabinet and another was in the Bunbury collection, reads TER for TERT. There is also a hybrid in the Budapest National Museum with the obverse, head of Antony; behind, lituus; around, ANT . IMP . III . VIR . R . P . C., as no. 112, p. 495 (Bahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1896, p. 43).

[1] Three series of coins which were struck in the East may be assigned to this year. They consist of those of Antony issued in his own name and in that of his son Marcus, of Antony and his quaestor M. Silanus, and of Antony alone. The inscriptions, which record Antony's second consulship and third consulship designate, show that they could not have been struck before B.C. 34. He only held the consulship for a few days, resigning in the kalends of January in favour of L. Sempronius Atratinus (see above, p. 501).

[2] Marcus Antonius the younger, whom the Greek writers called *Antyllus*, possibly a corruption of Antonillus, was the elder son of the triumvir and Fulvia. After the fall of Mutina the younger Antony was taken by his mother to Greece, and accompanied his father to Asia and Egypt. In B.C. 36 he was betrothed to Julia, the daughter of Octavius. After the battle of Actium Antony conferred on his son the *toga virilis*, and sent him with proposals

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			ANTON: M. SILANVS	
			([MARCUS] ANTONIUS; MARCUS [JUNIUS] SILANUS[1])	
			Denarius	
175	59·5	AR ·75	Head of Antony r., bare; around, ANTON · AVG · IMP · III · COS · DES · III · III · V · R · P · C (*Augur, imperator tertio, consul designatus tertio, triumvir reipublicae constituendae*).	M · SILANVS · AVG Q · PRO · COS (*Augur, quaestor pro consule*), in two lines across the field. [Pl. cxv. 13.] (Woodhouse Coll.)

to Octavius, which were rejected. He was shortly afterwards put to death by Octavius (Dion Cassius, xlviii. 54; li. 6, 15; Plutarch, *Antonius*, 71, 81, 87; Suetonius, *Augustus*, 17).

These aurei, which together give the parentage of both father and son, were issued possibly at the time of the campaign against the Armenians, B.C. 34. The young Marcus, who was then about nine years old, may have accompanied his father in the campaign. In assigning the coins to B.C. 34 Count de Salis appears to have been influenced by the inscriptions on the obverses. On one coin Antony is styled COS . ITER . DESIGN . TERT, and on the other, COS . DES . III. This second form may have been due only to the necessity of abbreviating the legend, or it may be inferred that the first piece was struck early in B.C. 34, before Antony had laid down the consulship, whilst the second was issued after that date. In any case the two coins must be placed together; and they could not have been struck later than B.C. 32, as Antony claimed the consulship for the third time in B.C. 31, though he did not actually fill the office (see below, p. 531).

Owing to a slight malformation of the letters in the legend on the reverse of no. 174, a good deal of discussion has taken place as to the meaning of the three which follow the name of Mark Antony the son. Visconti (*Diss. dell' Accad. Rom. d' Archeol.*, vol. iv., p. 289) has suggested *Magister Equitum Emeritus*, and that both portraits are of Mark Antony the triumvir, one representing him in early life when he was *magister equitum*, the other of a later period. Madden (*Num. Chron.*, 1867, p. 273) interpreted the letters as *Marci Filius Eques*; but Cavedoni (*Ripostigli*, p. 12) had already suggested the more probable reading, *Marci Filii Filius*, the *filius* being repeated in order to distinguish the son from the father, as both were the sons of a *Marcus* (Fr. Gnecchi, *Riv. Ital.*, 1889, pp. 157 f.). Examples of this form of epigraphy are met with in inscriptions (*C.I.L.*, vol. x., Pt. i., 4887, 6071; xiv., 2691). The whole question arose from the circumstance that the serifs at the base of the two F's are slightly extended so that they have the appearance of E's. The peculiar forms of the letter D on both specimens show that the dies were probably made by a Greek artist who was not acquainted with Latin, and so this slight epigraphical error was occasioned. Several of the letters in the legend on the obverse are similar in form.

There can be no question that these coins were struck in the East, and their mint-place was identified by Havercamp as Alexandria, an attribution which Friedländer (*Zeit. f. Num.*, 1875, p. 290) was disposed to accept. Visconti (*op. cit.*, p. 298) considered them to have been struck at Lyons; but that is quite out of the question, as that mint was at that time under the control of Octavius. In deciding on their place of issue we have not only the legends, but also the portrait of Antony to guide us. On the first of these two coins (no. 173) the initials of Antony's father and grandfather are given in precisely the same form as on aurei and denarii assigned to B.C. 39—37 (see above, pp. 505—508). These are the only instances in the whole series of provincial coins of Antony where these initials occur. It should also be noticed that the portrait of Antony is precisely similar to that on the aurei which have for reverse type the head of Octavia (nos. 144, 145). The long and thick neck, slightly bulging at the back, and the very straight features, with an unusually prominent chin, indicate that both these issues were minted at the same place. As it has been suggested that the earlier aurei of Antony and Octavia were struck at Athens, these later ones of Antony and his son may also be assigned to that place. This attribution seems to be confirmed by the somewhat crude forms of most of the letters of the legends, and by the occurrence of the peculiar shaped D, somewhat resembling the Greek Δ. There is, however, some difficulty in accounting for the issue of these coins at Athens at this time, as we have no direct evidence that either Antony or his son were there in B.C. 34, unless the former visited Greece before he proceeded to Armenia.

[1] Marcus Junius Silanus was the son of Decimus Junius Silanus, who was consul in B.C. 55,

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
176	54·5	AR ·8	Similar.	Similar. (Claude Stewart Coll.)

ANTONIVS

([MARCUS] ANTONIUS)

Denarius[1]

177	58·0	AR ·75	Head of Antony r., bare; around, ANTON · AVG · IMP III COS DES III III VRP C (similar to no. 175).	ANTONIVS AVG IMP III (*Augur, imperator tertio*), in two lines across the field. [Pl. cxv. 14.] (Cracherode Coll.)
178	40·2	AR ·7	Similar.	Similar, ANTONIVS AVG · IMP · III

and the step-father of M. Junius Brutus, the murderer of Caesar. He served in Gaul under Julius Caesar, B.C. 53, after whose murder he returned with his brother-in-law Lepidus to Gaul. In the following year Lepidus sent Silanus to the relief of Mutina, which was besieged by Antony; but, on the plea of not having received full instructions, he espoused the cause of Antony (Dion Cassius, xlvi. 38). Shortly after the formation of the triumvirate Silanus joined Sextus Pompey in Sicily, and after the treaty of Misenum, B.C. 39, he returned to Rome (Vell. Paterc., ii. 77), and followed Antony to the East, who placed under his charge the administration of a province with the title of *quaestor pro consule*, but it is not known which province this was. It was during his governorship that Silanus struck these denarii in his own name and in that of Antony. As they must have been issued during B.C. 34 or 33, we know at least the approximate date when Silanus was acting as *quaestor pro consule*. Later, shortly before the battle of Actium, disgusted with the conduct of Antony and Cleopatra, he together with Delius the historian went over to Octavius (Plutarch, *Antonius*, 59). He was consul with Octavius, B.C. 25, and governor of Asia, B.C. 14 (Waddington, *Fastes des Prov. Asiat.*, p. 90). He may be the Silanus to whom, as στρατηγός, Agrippa in B.C. 14 addressed a letter granting certain privileges to the Jews of Asia (Joseph., *Ant. Jud.*, xvi. 167, 168, ed. Naber), but this is doubtful. We have no record of the date of Silanus's appointment as augur.

As we do not know in which province Silanus acted as *quaestor pro consule* for Antony, it is very difficult to determine the place of mintage of his coins. The obverse legend is the same as on the preceding aureus (no. 174) of Antony and his son, but there is just sufficient difference in the portrait to render their attribution to Athens a question. It is, however, quite probable that they were struck in Greece, and about the same time as the aurei of Mark Antony and his son. The reverse type, consisting of the name of the issuer only, is met with on coins of Agrippa struck in Gaul in B.C. 38 (see above, pp. 410, 411), which may have served as the prototype.

Morelli (*Fam. rom. num.*, *Junia*, pl. iv., no. 2, and vol. ii., p. 232) figures and describes a denarius of Silanus with the obverse legend ANTONIVS.AVGVR.COS.DES.ITER.ET.TER., as on no. 172. If this description is correct this coin would have been struck in B.C. 35, but as this variety is not mentioned elsewhere it is probably wrongly given by Morelli.

[1] Similarity of type and fabric and also of the obverse legend shows that these denarii must have been issued at the same time as those of Silanus and in the same locality. It is difficult to account for the repetition of Antony's name and titles on the reverse. They may have been struck by Silanus as *pièces justificatives* for his own money. They are of somewhat coarse work.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Circ. B.C. 33; A.U.C. 721	
			C . SOSIVS	
			(CAIUS SOSIUS[1])	
			Semis ?	
	68·0	Æ ·75	Head of Apollo r., laureate; hair long; behind neck, ZA (Ζάκυνθος).	Tripod; on r., C · SOSIVS; on l., COS · DESIG (*Consul designatus*).

[Bahrfeldt, *Journ. Inter.*, vol. xi., pl. xiii., no. 5.]

			B.C. 32; A.U.C. 722	
			C . SOSIVS	
			(CAIUS SOSIUS[2])	
			Semis ?	
*178	31·5	Æ ·6	Head of Neptune r., laureate; behind neck, ZA (Ζάκυνθος).	Dolphin r., encircling trident; above, C · SOSIVS; below, COS (*Consul*).

[British Museum.]

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[1] For earlier coins of C. Sosius see above, pp. 504, 508. The precise date of the issue of this coin is somewhat uncertain. By the treaty of Misenum, B.C. 39, C. Sosius and Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus were consuls designate for B.C. 36 (Appian, *Bell. civ.*, v. 73), but neither entered on that office in that year, probably because Sosius was in Syria and Ahenobarbus had accompanied Antony in his unfortunate expedition against the Parthians. For his successes in Judaea (see above, p. 508), Antony obtained for Sosius the honour of a triumph in B.C. 34, and the consulship in B.C. 32. Though Sosius was consul designate from B.C. 39, yet we may conclude that this coin was not struck till B.C. 33, as the title COS . DESIG . is not given on any of his earlier pieces, which are also of Zacynthus, and were issued after the treaty of Misenum. The head of Apollo and the tripod are the types of the early staters of the island and also of bronze coins of the same time as those of Sosius (see *Cat. Gr. Coins, Brit. Mus., Peloponnesus*, pl. xix., nos. 17, 23; pl. xx., no. 16). If the earlier coins described above (p. 504) are *asses*, this and the following piece are probably semisses, and so would be issued on the same standard as the coins of Antony struck by his *praefecti classis*. The illustration is from a specimen in the Capitoline Museum. It was formerly in the Borghesi collection. For a recent account of the coins of C. Sosius, see Bahrfeldt, *Journ. Inter.*, vol. xi., pp. 216 f.

[2] It was in B.C. 32 that Sosius was consul with Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus (see preceding

CIRC. B.C. 32—31; A.U.C. 722—723

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Circ. B.C. 32—31; A.U.C. 722—723[1]	
			ANTONI : CLEOPATRAE	
			([MARCI] ANTONII; CLEOPATRAE)	
			Denarius[2]	
179	59·2	*R* ·75	Head of Antony r., bare; behind, an Armenian tiara; around, ANTONI · AR MENIA · DEVICTA	Bust of Cleopatra r., diademed and draped; row of jewels at back of head; before bust, stem of prow; around, CLEOPATRAE · REGINAE · REGVM · FILIORVM · REGVM (de Salis Coll.)
180	55·2	*R* ·8	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. cxv. 15.] (Payne Knight Coll.)
181	51·0	*R* ·75	Similar.	Similar.
182	60·2	*R* ·75	Similar; ARMENTA for ARMENIA	Similar. [Pl. cxv. 16.] (Payne Knight Coll.)

coin). In that year the war between Antony and Octavius began, and both consuls having declared in favour of the former, left Rome early in January to join him in the East. It was on their way there that a halt was made at Zacynthus, where this coin was struck, and where a portion of the fleet of Antony may have been assembled. Antony himself was at Corcyra, whither he had gone to join the main portion of his fleet after leaving Athens (Dion Cassius, l. 2, 9).

The types of this small bronze coin do not occur on the local money of Zacynthus, but they are such as would be quite appropriate to the island or to the commander of a fleet. The specimen illustrated is in the National Collection. It was obtained too late for insertion in the plate.

[1] All the coins attributed to these years are connected with the rupture between Antony and Octavius.

[2] The principal events commemorated by these denarii are the conquest of Armenia by Antony in B.C. 34, his subsequent triumph at Alexandria, the honours which he conferred on Cleopatra, and the assistance which he received from her in the supply of ships. Dion Cassius (xlix. 41) and Plutarch (*Antonius*, 54) relate that on the occasion of his triumph Antony commanded that Cleopatra should be styled "Queen of Kings," and proclaimed her sovereign over Egypt, Cyprus, Africa, and Coele-Syria. Caesarion, her son by Caesar the dictator, was nominated her colleague, whilst of his own sons by her, Alexander received Armenia and Media, and Ptolemy, Phoenicia, Lycia, and Cilicia, all three at the same time being given the title of "King of Kings." These coins are generally considered to have been issued on this occasion. Count de Salis was, however, of opinion that they are of a slightly later date, and he had put them to B.C. 33 or 32. Already at the beginning of B.C. 33 Antony and Octavius entered upon a series of recriminations. Antony reproached Octavius with having deprived Lepidus of his share of the administration, and with having appropriated the lands of Italy and the armies of Sextus Pompey. Octavius retorted by charging Antony with having put Sextus Pompey to death, with seizing the person of Artavasdes of Armenia, and putting him in irons, an act of perfidy and a blot on the honour of the Roman people, and with conferring honours on the children of Cleopatra, complaining especially at the intrusion of Caesarion into the family of Caesar (Dion Cassius, l. 1). The Senate was, however, unwilling to proclaim Antony a public enemy, chiefly on account of those who were with him and who would share the same condemnation, so war was openly declared against Cleopatra. In anticipation of this result each side had entered on preparations for the struggle. Early in B.C. 32, Antony left for Syria to collect his legions, and shortly afterwards Cleopatra followed with her navies, both meeting at Ephesus. Antony being unable to persuade Cleopatra to return to Egypt, they sailed together for Samos, accompanied by a tribe of players and musicians, so that "whilst the

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			ANT	
			([MARCUS] ANTONIUS)	
			Legionary Coins[1]	
			SERIES I.	
			Aureus	
183	124·4	N ·8	Galley r., with rowers; a standard is placed at the prow; above, ANT AVG (*Augur*); below, IIIVIR · R · P · C (*Triumvir reipublicae constituendae*).	Three standards, a legionary *aquila* between two *signa*; around, CHORTIVM· PRAETORIARVM[2] [Pl. cxvi. 1.] (Wigan Coll.)

whole world was venting its anguish in groans and tears, that island alone was piping and dancing." From Samos they went to Athens, where the entertainments were renewed. Cleopatra, jealous of the honours which the Athenians had conferred on Octavia, endeavoured to court the people by every mark of favour, and they in return decreed her public honours (Plutarch, *Antonius*, 57). It was probably on this occasion that these coins were struck by order of Antony, as a final retort to the recriminations of Octavius and to the declaration of war by the Senate against Cleopatra. The tiara on the obverse refers to the conquest of Armenia, and the legend on the reverse to the honours which Antony had decreed to the sons of Cleopatra, whilst the prow of the ship placed before her bust records the assistance given by her in furnishing Antony with a navy. The chief reason for assigning these coins to Athens and not to Ephesus, the only other place at which they could have been struck, is because there is a certain resemblance in fabric, in the shape of the letters of the legend, and more especially in the portrait of Antony to the previous aurei of himself and his son. This resemblance had already been noticed by Friedländer (*Zeit. f. Num.*, 1875, p. 298), who, however, gave both issues to Alexandria.

The legend on the reverse is difficult to interpret. It may perhaps be rendered "Of Cleopatra, Queen of Kings (and) of (her) Sons, the Kings." REGINA REGVM is equivalent to ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΑ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ, a very usual Oriental title.

Varieties of these denarii read CLEOPAT for CLEOPATRAE and SESINAE for REGINAE (Babelon, vol. i., p. 195). The names of Antony and Cleopatra are in the genitive case.

[1] These coins were struck by Antony for the use of his fleet and legions when he was preparing for the struggle with Octavius, which culminated in the battle of Actium, 2 September, B.C. 31. Count de Salis had given rather a wider range of date for this coinage, B.C. 39—31, but uniformity of type and similarity of fabric make it very improbable that the issue could have extended over so long a period, though the variations in the legends are so numerous. It would appear to have been commenced as soon as the preparations for the war were entered upon by Antony, B.C. 32, and to have extended till nearly its close. These coins furnish an interesting record of the number of legions of which Antony's army was composed. If all the thirty legions commemorated by the coins were at their full strength it would give an army of about 180,000 men. Plutarch (*Antonius*, 61) says that Antony had no fewer than 500 armed vessels, 100,000 foot, and 12,000 horse, and that Octavius's forces consisted of 250 war-ships, 80,000 foot, and a number of horse equal to that of the enemy. It was to provide this enormous body of troops, both naval and military, with money that Antony caused these coins to be issued; and as the first massing of both services appears to have been at Ephesus, it is to that place that we would attribute their mintage. The uniformity of type and fabric shows that this issue must have been limited to a single area.

[2] The *cohortes praetoriae* formed the body-guard of the commanders. They consisted of mixed companies of horse and foot selected from veterans and from the *equites extraordinarii*. Caesar had only one praetorian cohort, but towards the end of the Republic each *imperator* had one; and after the battles of Philippi, when a large number of the victorious legions were disbanded, the various praetorian cohorts comprised some 8000 men. Later each of the triumvirs had several, and at the battle of Actium those of Octavius numbered at least four. No doubt those of Antony were not fewer, as his great army was composed of such diversified elements (Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, 3rd ed., vol. ii., pp. 863, 864).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Denarius	
184	58·6	*AR* ·7	Similar; legend, ANT · AVG above galley; III · VIR · R · P · C below.	Similar. **[Pl. cxvi. 2.]** (Cracherode Coll.)
			SERIES II.	
			Denarius	
185	55·0	*AR* ·7	Similar; legend reading AVC for AVG	Three military standards (*signa*), each ornamented with two wreaths and a prow; around, CHORTIS· SPECVLATORVM[1] **[Pl. cxvi. 3.]** (Cracherode Coll.)
186	54·5	*AR* ·7	Similar.	Similar. (Nott)
			SERIES III.[2]	
			Aureus	
187	112·7	*AV* ·75	Similar; legend, ANT·AVC above galley; III · VIR · R · P · C below.	Three standards, a legionary *aquila* between two *signa* (similar to no. 183); between them, LEC IV (*Legionis quartae*). **[Pl. cxvi. 4.]** (Blacas Coll.)
188	124·4	*AV* ·75	Similar.	Similar; LEC VI (*Legionis sextae*). **[Pl. cxvi. 5.]** (Montagu Coll.)
			Denarius[3]	
189	58·4	*AR* ·7	Similar; AVC for AVC	Similar; LEC PRI (*Legionis primae*). **[Pl. cxvi. 6.]** (Campana Coll.)
190	53·4	*AR* ·7	Similar.	Similar; LEC II

[1] The *cohortes speculatorum* are first mentioned during the Social war. They were employed to carry despatches and sometimes to act as executioners. During the Empire there were ten for each legion, but they were more numerous than the praetorian cohorts, forming a separate corps with separate officers (Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverwaltung*, 3rd ed., vol. ii., p. 530).

[2] In describing the denarii of this series, it has not been considered necessary to transliterate in each case the number of the legion.

[3] These denarii are of baser metal than the ordinary currency of the time, and plated specimens are frequently met with, which prove that the coinage was a species of "money of necessity," struck to meet a special demand, and in the midst of great military preparations. Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*, xxxiii. 46) says, *Miscuit denario triumvir Antonius ferrum.* In finds of denarii, the burial of which must have taken place after the reign of Nero,

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
191	59·8	AR ·7	Similar.	Similar; LEϚ II [Pl. cxvi. 7.] (Cracherode Coll.)
192	48·5	AR ·7	Similar.	Similar; LEG II (Woodhouse Coll.)
193	58·0	AR ·7	Similar; AVϚ for AVC	Similar; LEϚ III (Cracherode Coll.)
194	52·5	AR ·7	Similar; AVC for AVϚ	Similar; LEϚ IIII (Cracherode Coll.)
195	56·0	AR ·7	Similar.	Similar; LEC IV (Cracherode Coll.)
196	47·0	AR ·7	Similar.	Similar; LEC V (Cracherode Coll.)
197	51·0	AR ·7	Similar.	Similar; LEC VI (Cracherode Coll.)
198	56·4	AR ·75	Similar; AVϚ for AVC	Similar; LEϚ VII (Cracherode Coll.)
199	54·0	AR ·7	Similar; AVG for AVϚ	Similar; LEG VIII (Cracherode Coll.)
200	60·0	AR ·7	Similar; AVC for AVG	Similar; LEϚ VIIII [Pl. cxvi. 8.] (Cracherode Coll.)
201	50·4	AR ·7	Similar; AVϚ for AVC	Similar; LEC IX [Pl. cxvi. 9.] (Cracherode Coll.)

these legionary coins frequently occur. When Nero debased the silver money, reducing its standard from 99 or 98 per cent. to 86 or 84 per cent. of pure metal, all the previous imperial silver coinage, together with the later republican passed out of currency, and only these base pieces of Antony were retained. In order to make their tender legal some were countermarked during the reign of Vespasian with the name of that Emperor (Mommsen, *Hist. mon. rom.*, t. iii., p. 28). Exceptions are, however, met with in the special denarii of the *cohortes praetoriae* and *speculatorum*, and also in those of the *Legio Antiqua*, *Legio Classica*, and *Legio Libyca*, which appear to be of the proper standard of metal. These base coins would appear to have been struck for the army and navy in general, but special legions were honoured with coins of a true standard. This is strong evidence in favour of a short duration of the issue.

Considerable inequality exists in the abundance of the coins of some of the legions. Some are very common, whilst others are very rare, such as those of the Ist, XXIVth, XXVth and XXXth legions. Fr. Lenormant (*La Mon. dans l'Ant.*, t. ii., p. 355, note) says that authentic pieces of the XXVIth—XXIXth legions do not appear to exist; but Babelon (vol. i., p. 204) describes specimens as being in the D'Ailly collection. The aurei of this series are also very rare, and are only known of the IVth, VIth, XIVth and XIXth legions. Bahrfeldt (*Num. Zeit.*, 1896, p. 44) thought that the aureus of the VIth legion described above was a cast, and therefore not genuine. It came from the Ercolani, de Quelen and Montagu collections, and was found in February 1883 at San Lazzaro near Bologna (*Notizie dei Scavi*, 1883, p. 44). The coin, however, is perfectly genuine, only it has suffered from wear. It is a struck piece, not a cast. In the inscriptions the letter G is found in five forms, G, Ԍ, Ϛ, Ϛ, and Ⅽ; otherwise the types throughout show no variations, except in the stops between the words of the legends, which are sometimes omitted.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
202	56·2	AR ·7	Similar; AVC for AVϚ	Similar; LEϚ X (Cracherode Coll.)
203	59·6	AR ·7	Similar.	Similar; LEC XI (Cracherode Coll.)
204	52·4	AR ·75	Similar.	Similar; LEC XII (Cracherode Coll.)
205	53·2	AR ·7	Similar; AVG for AVC	Similar; LEG XIII (Cracherode Coll.)
206	51·6	AR ·7	Similar; AVϚ for AVG	Similar; LEϚ XIII (Woodhouse Coll.)
207	55·6	AR ·7	Similar; AVC for AVϚ	Similar; LEϚ XIIII (Cracherode Coll.)
208	57·4	AR ·75	Similar; AVG for AVC	Similar; LEG XIV (de Salis Coll.)
209	54·7	AR ·65	Similar; AVC for AVG	Similar; LEC XIV (Nott)
210	57·6	AR ·7	Similar.	Similar; LEϚ XV (Cracherode Coll.)
211	52·6	AR ·7	Similar.	Similar; LEC XVI [Pl. cxvi. 10.] (Cracherode Coll.)
212	57·0	AR ·65	Similar; AVG for AVC	Similar; LEϚ XVII (de Salis Coll.)
213	53·0	AR ·7	Similar; AVG for AVϚ	Similar; LEϚ XVIII[1] (Cracherode Coll.)
214	58·6	AR ·7	Similar; AVC for AVG	Similar; LEϚ XIX[2]
215	58·4	AR ·65	Similar.	Similar; LEC XX [Pl. cxvi. 11.] (Cracherode Coll.)
216	55·8	AR ·75	Similar; AVG for AVC	Similar; LEG XXI[3] (Cracherode Coll.)
217	57·4	AR ·7	Similar; AVϚ for AVG	Similar; LEG XXII (Woodhouse Coll.)

[1] A variety reads XIIX (Babelon, vol. i., pp. 203, no. 131).

[2] This occurs also in gold (Mionnet, *de la Rareté et du Prix des Méd. rom.*, vol. i., p. 19). De la Nauze (*Mém. de l'Acad.*, vol. xxx., 1764, p. 383) gives its weight as 147⅞ grains *Fr.* (= 121·5 grs.).

[3] The aureus of this legion appears to be a forgery (Babelon, vol. i., p. 203, note 1).

No.	*Weight*	*Metal and Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
218	53·4	*R* ·75	Similar; AVG for AVC	Similar; LEG XXII (Cracherode Coll.)
219	57·0	*R* ·7	Similar; AVC for AVG	Similar; LEC XXIII (de Salis Coll.)
220	53·6	*R* ·7	Similar; AVG for AVC	Similar; LEG XXV
221	51·0	*R* ·65	Similar.	Similar; LEC XXX [Pl. cxvi. 12.]

SERIES IV.[1]

Denarius

222	54·8	*R* ·7	Similar type; AVC for AVG	Similar type; legend, LEC · XII · ANTIQVAE (*Legionis duodecimae antiquae*). [Pl. cxvi. 13.] (Blacas Coll.)
223	54·5	*R* ·7	Similar.	Similar; legend, LEC · XVII · CLASSICAE (*Legionis septimae decimae classicae*). [Pl. cxvi. 14.] (Nott)
224	51·5	*R* ·7	Similar.	Similar. (Cracherode Coll.)
225	54·5	*R* ·7	Similar; AVG for AVC	Similar; legend, LEC · XVIII · LYBICAE (*Legionis octavae decimae Lybicae*). [Pl. cxvi. 15.]
226	51·6	*R* ·7	Similar; AVC for AVG	Similar. (de Salis Coll.)

[1] This series consists of denarii giving the *cognomina* of the legions. Mommsen (*Res gestae*, p. 75, note 1) remarks, "Legiones XII, XVII, XVIII quod modo simpliciter ita dicuntur, modo adiectis cognominibus *XII antiqua*, *XVII classica*, *XVIII Lybica* (sic), inde non recte colliges geminas has Antonium habuisse; quid enim vetabat cognomina, quorum in legionibus usus sollemnis tempore multo posteriore invaluit, plerumque omittere, interdum adscribere?" The Legio XII or XII *Antiqua* may therefore be the same one, but in one case the cognomen is added. This cognomen does not seem to be otherwise mentioned than on coins. The Legio XVII *Classica* was probably reserved for special naval service, whilst the Legio XVIII *Lybica* no doubt took its name from the province in which it was levied, like the Legio I *Germanica*, *Italica*, *Parthica*, Legio III *Cyrenaica*, &c.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Circ. B.C. 31; A.U.C. 723[1]	
			M. ANTONIVS: D. VR	
			(MARCUS ANTONIUS; DECIMUS TURULLIUS[2])	
			Denarius	
227	58·6	AR ·75	Head of Antony r., bare; around, M·ANTONIVS·AVG·IMP·IIII·COS·TERT·III·VIR·R·P·C (*Augur, imperator quarto, consul tertio, triumvir reipublicae constituendae*).	Victory standing l., holding laurel-wreath tied with fillet in r. hand, and palm-branch in l.; behind, D·VR; the whole within laurel-wreath. **[Pl. cxvi. 16.]**
228	58·2	AR ·75	Similar.	Similar; without moneyer's name. **[Pl. cxvi. 17.]**
229	43·0	AR ·8	Similar.	Similar. (de Salis Coll.)

[1] Of the three coinages struck during this year two are those of legates of Antony, Decimus Turullius and P. Canidius Crassus; the third of a legate of Octavius, C. Proculeius. The money of Turullius is of silver, but that of Crassus and Proculeius is of bronze.

[2] Decimus Turullius, who struck these coins, is probably the member of the family to whom Dion Cassius (li. 8) gives the praenomen Publius (Πούπλιος Τουρούλλιος). He is also mentioned by Appian (*Bell. civ.*, v. 2) and by Valerius Maximus (i. 1, § 19), but neither gives his praenomen. He took part in the assassination of Julius Caesar, was quaestor to Cassius in B.C. 43, and received the command of the fleet which had been raised by L. Tillius Cimber in Bithynia, when it is said that he cut down the trees of a wood sacred to Aesculapius in the island of Cos, wherewith to build more ships. After the battles of Philippi, Turullius went over to Antony, with whom he lived on intimate terms. Turullius was surrendered by Antony to Octavius after the battle of Actium, and was put to death in the island of Cos, that some satisfaction might be offered to Aesculapius for the destruction of his sacred grove (Dion Cassius, *loc. cit.*).

The date of this coinage is fixed by the third consulship of Antony, B.C. 31. He was, however, only nominally consul in that year, for in B.C. 32 the Senate expunged his name as consul designate (Dion Cassius, l. 4). This same writer (l. 10) says that Antony claimed the consulship for this year in virtue of the arrangement made at Misenum in B.C. 39, and that it was the last year of that arrangement. The actual consuls were Octavius and Valerius Messala. In his speech to his army before the battle of Actium, Octavius mentions amongst the honours granted to Antony that he was twice consul and often Imperator (Dion Cassius, l. 25). Caland (*de Num. M. Ant.*, p. 24) has assigned Antony's fourth imperatorship to B.C. 31, because he is styled IMP. III. on all the coins recording his second consulship. The only pieces which mention his second consulship are those which are assigned to B.C. 34 (see above, pp. 521-523). It is therefore quite possible and even probable that Antony assumed his fourth imperatorship after the Armenian war and when he celebrated his triumph at Alexandria. He was not likely to let such an occasion pass without some such record. The only other coins which record Antony's fourth imperatorship are those struck by L. Pinarius Scarpus in Cyrenaïca, which, like the above, give his third consulship (see below, p. 583). The victory recorded by these coins appears to have been more imaginary than real. Dion Cassius mentions only one engagement before the battle of Actium, that in which he said Sosius lost his life (l. 14).

On some of the coins the name of Turullius is omitted, but all of them, signed or unsigned, must have been issued at the same time. The portrait of Antony and the general fabric of these coins are very similar to those of M. Silanus. They were probably struck in Greece and possibly at Athens.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			CRAS	
			([PUBLIUS CANIDIUS] CRASSUS[1])	
			Dupondius	
230	159·1	Æ 1·1	Crocodile r.	Rostrum tridens r.; above, CRAS **[Pl. cxvi. 18.]** (Cracherode Coll.)
			As	
231	86·4	Æ ·9	Head of Apollo r., laureate; hair in ringlets.	Fasces with axe, dividing CR A **[Pl. cxvi. 19.]** (de Salis Coll.)

[1] Cavedoni (*Bull. dell' Inst. di Corr. Arch.*, 1844, p. 48; cf. *Rev. Num.*, 1857, p. 348) proposed to identify this moneyer with M. Canidius Crassus, the proquæstor of M. Cato, who was proprætor in Cyprus, B.C. 57, and to attribute to him the piece with the head of Apollo and the fasces, which he concluded was struck in that island. In support of this identification Cavedoni draws attention to the similarity of the obverse type to that of coins of Nicocles, and to the abbreviation of the moneyer's name, which may be compared with those on the coins of former kings of the island, ΕΥΑ for Evagoras and ΠΝ for Pnytagoras. Babelon (vol. i., p. 309) has accepted this identification, and further suggests that the other coin, with the crocodile and the rostrum, may be given to the same district, on account of the strong Egyptian influence in Cyprus. If we consider the weight of these coins, which appear to be issued on the same standard as those of C. Proculeius, and also their fabric, the date B.C. 57 is much too early. The moneyer may therefore with more probability be identified with P. Canidius Crassus, who was with Lepidus in Gaul, B.C. 43, when Antony was compelled to seek refuge there. He was *consul suffectus* with L. Cornelius Balbus, B.C. 40, and a little later one of the legates of Antony, whom he accompanied in the Parthian campaign. He remained in Armenia till B.C. 32, when he was recalled by Antony and placed in command of the land forces at the battle of Actium, of which he was only a spectator. After this engagement he went with Antony to Alexandria, where in B.C. 30, by order of Octavius, he was beheaded (Cicero, *ad Fam.*, x. 21; Dion Cassius, xlix., 24; Plutarch, *Antonius*, 34, 42, 63, 65, 67, 68; Vell. Paterc., 85, 87). After the death of Antony, Crassus was in charge of the young Cæsarion, the son of Julius Cæsar and Cleopatra. There are coins of that young king having on the obverse the head of Cybele and the legend ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙ, and on the reverse a crocodile of precisely the same form as on the coin given above, and over it the legend ΚΡΑΣ (Crassus). A specimen is described and figured by Feuardent (*Num. Égypt. anc.*, vol. ii., p. 1, pl. xxxvi., no. 538 bis). It is therefore evident that the above coins must be assigned to P. Canidius Crassus, the legate of Antony, and not to M. Canidius Crassus, the proquæstor of M. Cato. They were struck either shortly before or immediately after the death of Antony. Feuardent (*op. cit.*, p. 11) has given these coins to Egypt, but Svoronos (*Mon. Ptol.*, p. 317), on account of their provenance, assigns them to Cyrenaïca. As this is still an open question they are here classed to the East generally.

The denominations of these coins are a little uncertain. The specimens in the National Collection are somewhat worn, so they are not a sure criterion, but the maximum weight of the larger pieces in the Museum at Athens is 203 grs., and of the smaller one 124 grs. (Svoronos, *op. cit.*, p. 317). A specimen of the larger piece in the Paris collection weighs 223 grs. (Bahrfeldt, *Journ. Inter.*, vol. xi., p. 227). If these coins had been of copper they would have been issued on the semuncial standard, i.e., at 200 grs. to the ounce; but from an analysis made of a specimen, the composition of the metal is 89·23 per cent. copper, 7·80 per cent. tin, 2·10 per cent. lead, and 0·87 per cent. iron = 100·000. Though this analysis does not coincide with that of the coins of Antony, yet considering the special circumstances under which these pieces were struck, it is probable that they are also of the quarter-ounce standard. The larger piece would therefore represent the dupondius and the smaller one the as.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			C . ΓROCVLEI . L . F (CAIUS PROCULEIUS LUCII FILIUS[1]) As ?	
232	109·7	Æ ·9	Terminal bust of Jupiter r., diademed; behind, ☧ (Κε-ΦΑλληνία?); bust countermarked with wheel-shaped ornament, ⊛	Ray-fish; below, divided by its tail, C·ΓRO CVLEI / L· F. (Col. de Bosset)
233	73·2	Æ ·9	Similar; no countermark.	Similar; countermark on fish, ⓈⅠ

[Pl. cxvi. 20.]

[1] Caius Proculeius L. f., a Roman eques, was an intimate friend of Octavius. His name is first mentioned in connection with the failure of Octavius to seize Sicily early in B.C. 36, when he was attacked by Sextus Pompey by land and sea (Appian, *Bell. civ.*, v. 109, 110). In his despair Octavius appealed to Proculeius to put an end to his life (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, vii. 45). After the battle of Actium Octavius sent Proculeius to Antony and Cleopatra, but the former was just expiring when he arrived. Plutarch (*Antonius*, 77–79) gives a long account of the interview between Proculeius and Cleopatra. It is to this Proculeius that Horace (*Carm.*, ii. 2) refers—

Vivet extento Proculeius ævo,
Notus in fratres animi paterni.

Porphyrius relates in his commentary on this passage that Proculeius divided his property between his brothers Caepio and Murena, who had lost theirs in the Civil war. Ancient writers tell of the great intimacy between Proculeius and Octavius, and Tacitus (*Ann.*, iv. 40) states that he was one of the Romans to whom Augustus had thought of giving his daughter Julia in marriage. Proculeius put an end to his life by taking gypsum, when suffering from a disease of the stomach (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxvi. 24).

Some uncertainty has existed as to the place where these coins were struck, on account of different solutions of the monogram on the obverse. Morelli (*Fam. rom. num.*, vol. ii., p. 361) and Eckhel (*Doct. num. vet.*, t. v., p. 289) suggested that it is composed of the letters KOP KYPAI, or KO, and the former therefore attributed the coins to Corcyra. Babelon (vol. ii., p. 387) has accepted this attribution. Gardner (*Cat. Gr. Coins, Brit. Mus., Peloponnesus*, pp. xlii., 83) has proposed KPA, which he identifies as the initials of the town of Cranium, in the island of Cephallenia, where these coins are sometimes found. Both Woodhouse and Col. de Bosset collected in Cephallenia (see nos. 232, 234, 235). Bahrfeldt (*Journ. Inter.*, vol. xi., p. 225), however, has recognized in the monogram the letters ΚΦΑΛΟ, and he therefore connects it with the town of Cephallenia, which C. Antonius commenced building when he was residing in the island after his banishment from Italy, B.C. 59—55. Ptolemy (iii. 14, § 12) identified Cephallenia as the capital of the island. As there is a slight difference in the form of the monogram on the larger and smaller specimens, it may be that the coins which vary in the obverse as well as in the reverse types are of two places, Cephallenia and Cranium. In any case they are to be attributed to the island of Cephallenia rather than to Corcyra. Their issue probably occurred soon after the battle of Actium, when Octavius may have left a portion of his fleet in charge of Proculeius. Cephallenia is situated at a very short distance from Actium, and its harbours would afford convenient shelter for some of the damaged vessels. These coins cannot be assigned to a date earlier than B.C. 31, as Proculeius was a friend of Octavius, and he could not have held any office under Antony, who till then had the administration of the Eastern portion of the Roman Empire.

The type of the ray-fish is suggestive that these coins belong to a marine city or to an island. The bipennis may relate to the recent engagement at Actium; or it may be specially connected with the island, since we would recognize in the pillar or obelisk some local structure. The countermarks have not been explained (see also coins of Sosius, p. 504).

The weights of these coins correspond with those of C. Sosius, which were issued about the same time at Zacynthus, and they may therefore represent the as and the semis of the quarter-ounce standard.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Semis ?	
			Type I.	
234	36·6	Æ ·7	Head of Jupiter r., diademed; behind, ꝺ (ΚΡΑνιον?)	Bipennis; the handle dividing legend, C ΓRO CVLEI L· F·; countermark on bipennis, (SI) (Woodhouse Coll.)
235	29·8	Æ ·6	Similar.	Similar; no countermark. [Pl. cxvi. 21.] (Woodhouse Coll.)
			Type II.[1]	
	43·4	Æ ·7	Head of Apollo (?) l., laureate; monogram not visible.	Similar; no countermark.

[Bahrfeldt, *Journ. Inter.*, vol. xi., pl. xiii., no. 9.]

			Type III.	
	24·0	Æ ·55	Female head r., turreted; behind, ꝺ	Pillar on base (obelisk); at the sides, C·ΓRO CVLEI L F

[Bahrfeldt, *Journ. Inter.*, vol. xi., pl. xiii., no. 14.]

[1] This and the next piece were first published by Bahrfeldt (*Num. Zeit.*, 1897, p. 62). He mentions that the semis of Type II. now in the Munich cabinet was purchased in 1895 at the Bunbury sale in London (*Sale Cat.*, no. 518), and that a specimen of Type III. is in the Capitoline Museum, and was formerly in the Bignami collection. Another one of Type III. is in the Mourouzi collection in Athens (Bahrfeldt, *Journ. Inter.*, vol. xi., p. 224).

PERIOD VI.

Circ. B.C. 29—27; A.U.C. 725—727[1]

Octavius as Imperator Perpetuo

No.	*Weight*	*Metal and Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
			Circ. B.C. 29—28; A.U.C. 725—726	
			CAESAR DIVI F OR CAESAR (CAESAR DIVI [JULI] FILIUS)	
			Denarius[2]	
236	62·0	*R* ·8	Head of Octavius r., bare.	Pax, diademed and draped, standing l., holding in r. hand olive-branch, and in l. cornucopiae; around, CAESAR DIVI·F
237	60·5	*R* ·8	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. cxvii. 1.]
238	57·4	*R* ·8	Similar.	Similar.
239	51·5	*R* ·75	Similar.	Similar.

[1] The coinages attributed to this period are those which were issued in the East after Octavius had received the title of *Imperator Perpetuo*, and before the Senate decreed to him that of *Augustus*, 16 January, B.C. 27. He is styled CAESAR DIVI F or CAESAR only, which varies somewhat from the titles given to him on his coins struck at Rome or in Gaul at this particular time. The attribution of these issues to this particular epoch is confirmed by the legends, which record either the seventh imperatorship of Octavius, to which he was acclaimed in B.C. 29, or his sixth consulship, B.C. 28. Their classification to the East is based not only on their types, but also on fabric and on the portrait of Octavius, which varies somewhat from that met with either on the money of the Roman mint or of Gaul. There are in this group, B.C. 29—27, two somewhat distinct portraits, which are repeated on some of the coins assigned to B.C. 27, after Octavius had been proclaimed Augustus. The early portrait, that met with on coins given to B.C. 29—28, is carefully modelled, showing very distinctly the anatomy of the face and of the neck; the brow is slightly overhanging, which lends to the features a somewhat stern look, very different from that on the urban coinage, where the expression of the countenance is softer and wanting in character. The later portrait is executed more in the round (see nos. 246, 247, pl. cxvii., no. 5). It is in higher relief, the lines showing the anatomy of the face and neck are wanting, and there is also less vigour of expression. Both these portraits are met with on denarii assigned to B.C. 28, which have the same reverse type, and which record the same event, the subjection of Egypt; and as they recur on the coins assigned to B.C. 27, they may be considered to form a connecting link between those on which Octavius is styled "Caesar" and those on which he is given the title of "Augustus." This interchange of portrait on the same issue proves that the coins emanated from the same mint and are contemporary; and from evidence which we shall adduce in connection with those assigned to B.C. 27, it is very probable that they were struck at Ephesus, where Antony had established a mint in the early period of his government of the Eastern provinces.

[2] After the battle of Actium, with the exception of a hurried visit to Italy, Octavius remained in the East, and did not return to Rome till the summer of B.C. 29, when he was accorded a triple triumph (see above, p. 13), which was accompanied by the distribution of largess, the celebration of public games and the closing of the temple of Janus. It is to this last circumstance, and to the restoration of a period of prosperity to Rome, that the reverse type of these denarii relates.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Quinarius[1]	
240	29·5	*R* ·6	Head of Octavius r., bare; around, CAESAR IMP · VII (*Imperator septimo*).	Victory, holding wreath in r. hand and palm-branch in l., standing l. on the cista mystica, which is placed between two serpents erect; around, ASIA RECEPTA [Pl. cxvii. 2.] (Woodhouse Coll.)
241	28·0	*R* ·5	Similar.	Similar. (Cracherode Coll.)
242	27·0	*R* ·65	Similar.	Similar.
			Circ. B.C. 28; A.U.C. 726[2]	
			CAESAR OR CAESAR DIVI F (CAESAR DIVI [JULI] FILIUS)	
			Denarius	
			SERIES I.	
243	60·0	*R* ·8	Head of Octavius r., bare (similar to no. 236); behind, lituus; around, CAESAR COS · VI (*Consul sexto*).	Crocodile, standing r.; above, AEGVPTO; below, CAPTA [Pl. cxvii. 3.] (de Salis Coll.)

[1] The submission of the Province of Asia, to which these quinarii refer, occurred in B.C. 30, after the annexation of Egypt as a Roman province, and when Octavius was still in the East. The fact is specially mentioned in the Ancyran inscription (Mommsen, *Res gestae*, v. 31 f.: *Provincias omnis, quae trans Hadriaticum mare vergunt ad orientem, Cyrenasque, iam ea parte magna regibus eas possidentibus, et antea Siciliam et Sardiniam occupatas bello servili reciperavi*). The provinces alluded to were those which by agreement had been assigned to Antony, and included not only Asia but also Pontus, Bithynia, Cilicia, Cyprus, Syria, Crete and Cyrene. The reverse type of the cista mystica was copied from the cistophori of Asia. The head of Octavius, though smaller, is similar to that on the preceding denarii with the reverse type of Pax. Octavius was proclaimed imperator for the sixth time after the battle of Actium, and for the seventh in B.C. 29, for the victories of M. Licinus Crassus in Thrace and Dacia (Mommsen, *op. cit.*, p. 12). These quinarii must be given to B.C. 29 or 28, as Octavius received the title of Augustus early in January of the following year.

[2] The coins issued in this year are denarii and cistophoric medallions. As they are all inscribed with the sixth consulship, their precise date of issue is indicated. Octavius was COS. VI B.C. 28 and COS. VII B.C. 27. On the denarii we meet with the two portraits of Octavius mentioned above. The portrait on the coins of Series I. is similar to that met with in B.C. 29, and that on those of Series II. recurs in the following year. They therefore form the connecting link.

The reverse type of the crocodile is also commemorative of the subjection of Egypt after the battle of Actium and the deaths of Antony and Cleopatra. It became a Roman province, governed by a prefect appointed by Octavius, who later, as Emperor, received the revenues as his private property. The capricorn, the genethliac sign of Octavius, occurs as the reverse type of cistophori and denarii assigned to B.C. 27 (see below, pp. 541, 544).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
244	55·4	*Æ* ·8	Similar.	Similar. (Woodhouse Coll.)
245	55·5	*Æ* ·8	Similar; head of Octavius l.; the legend is also transposed.	Similar. [Pl. cxvii. 4.]
			Series II.	
246	56·5	*Æ* ·7	Head of Octavius r., bare, in high relief; below, capricorn r.; around, CAE SAR · DIVI · F · COS · VI	Similar; legend, AEÇVPTO CAPTA [Pl. cxvii. 5.] (Cracherode Coll.)
247	56·0	*Æ* ·7	Similar.	Similar; CAPTA for CAPTA (de Salis Coll.)
			"Cistophoric Medallions"[1]	
248	181·5	*Æ* 1·2	Head of Octavius r., laureate; around, IMP · CAE SAR · DIVI · F · COS · VI · LIBERTATIS · P · R · VIN DEX · (*Imperator Caesar Divi filius, consul sexto, libertatis populi romani vindex*).	Pax standing l. on a lighted torch, holding caduceus in r. hand; before her, PAX; behind her, cista mystica, surmounted by serpent erect; the whole within laurel-wreath. [Pl. cxvii. 6.]
249	179·0	*Æ* 1·1	Similar.	Similar.
			Circ. B.C. 27; A.U.C. 727	
			CAESAR DIVI F (CAESAR DIVI [JULI] FILIUS)	
			Aureus[2]	
250	124·7	*N* ·85	Head of Octavius r., bare, in high relief; below, capricorn r. (similar to no. 246); around, CAESAR · DIVI · F COS · VII (*Consul septimo*).	Crocodile standing r.; above, AEÇVPT; below, CAPTA (similar to no. 246). [Pl. cxvii. 7.] (Ashburnham Coll.)

[1] These cistophori struck in B.C. 28, that is, during the sixth consulship of Octavius, commemorate the general peace which was proclaimed on his return to Rome in the previous year, and which it was hoped would restore commerce with the East, and thereby increase the prosperity of the State. As Octavius had reduced Egypt to a Roman province, and thus re-established the domination of Rome in the East, he is styled "Vindicator of the Liberty of the Roman People." These cistophori were probably struck at Ephesus. The reverse resembles in style the cistophorus of Octavius (as Augustus) with the capricorn, assigned to the next year, but the portrait is very different (see below, p. 541, no. 263).

[2] Octavius entered on his seventh consulship on January 1, B.C. 27, and he received the name of Augustus on the 16th of the same month. This aureus must therefore have been issued quite early in the year, before the news of his new title had reached Ephesus, where it was probably struck. The types were adapted from the denarii of the previous year, on which his sixth consulship is recorded. The portrait of Octavius differs slightly from that on the denarii of the same type. It is an intermediate one between the two already noticed.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Dupondius[1]	
251	172·0 (*worn*)	Æ 1·0	Head of Octavius r., bare; behind, CAISAR	C · A[2] (*Commune Asiae*) within a wreath of laurel ornamented with rostra, and between two plain circles. **[Pl. cxvii. 8.]**
			As[?]	
252	74·0	Æ ·7	Similar.	Similar; the wreath of laurel is without rostra. **[Pl. cxvii. 9.]** (Pres. by G. F. Hill)
253	69·0 (*broken*)	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar. (Hamburger Coll.)
254	67·8	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar. (Reichardt Coll.)
255	66·5	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar. (Pres. by G. F. Hill)

[1] The bronze coinage, which Octavius revived in the East early in B.C. 27 or perhaps in the previous year, appears to have been based on the same standard of weight as that of Mark Antony issued a few years before by the admirals of his fleet (see above, pp. 510 f.). The metal of which these coins were struck shows from analysis (*Num. Chron.*, 1904, p. 244) that it is composed of 76·5 per cent. copper, 0·7 per cent. lead, and 20·0 per cent. zinc, which, though somewhat different from that used for the coins of Antony, yet is the same as was adopted for the bronze money first issued at Rome in B.C. 15, and which is designated *orichalcum* (see above, pp. 45, 57). If at Rome the coins of orichalcum had a higher rateable value than those of pure copper, it may be taken that the denominations of the *Commune Asiae* coinage (see also below, p. 542) were the sestertius of 390-301 grs., the dupondius of 237-159 grs., and the as (?) of 74-66 grs. It is possible that the smallest denomination may be the semis, but as all the specimens in the National Collection are somewhat worn, we prefer to consider it as representing the as. The reverse types of all three denominations is a wreath enclosing the letters C . A, but in the case of the dupondius, for distinction, the wreath is interspersed with rostra.

[2] The letters C . A were usually considered to be the initials of the city at which these coins were struck; in consequence they have been assigned to Caesarea Augusta in Spain, Caesareia Paneas in Palestine (Pellerin, *Mélanges de Méd.*, vol. i. 36), and to Caesareia Arca in Phoenicia (De Saulcy, *Ann. de la Soc. de Num.*, vol. iii., p. 259). But Fröhner (*Mélanges d'Épig. et d'Arch.*, ch. xxii., p. 77) has suggested that the initials are not those of a city but of the legend *Commune Asiae* (*κοινὸν Ἀσίας*), denoting that these coins, like the cistophori with the legend COM . ASIAE, were intended for currency within the area of the Asiatic cities which celebrated the cult of Rome and Augustus, of which Pergamum appears to have been the centre (Dion Cassius, li. 20; Tacitus, *Ann.* iv. 37). They would therefore pass in currency not only with the Roman denarius, but also with the cistophorus, the value of which was equal to three denarii.

Though the union of cities for political and economical purposes existed at an early date in the province of Asia, and in other districts of the Roman empire, the foundation of the Commune Asiae is usually credited to Augustus. It was specially established for the cult of Rome and the Emperor, but it had also its political aspect, and in that respect resembled the Confederation founded at a later date at Lugdunum (see above, p. 439). The community assembled annually, and its chief priest was known as the ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀσίας, whose duties were the superintendence of the religious part of the meeting and of the public games which took place at the same time. The games, however, appear to have been quinquennial (P. Monceaux, *de Com. Asiae Prov.*, p. 46). In the various provinces where temples for this cult existed, there was a local ἀρχιερεύς. The first temple was built at Pergamum (Dion Cassius, *loc. cit.*), but others were also erected at Ephesus, Smyrna, Sardes, Cyzicus, Laodiceia and Philadelphia. This cult, as established by Augustus, appears to have been maintained for three centuries (Pauly-Wissowa, vol. ii., pp. 1556-1559).

PERIOD VII.[1]

Circ. B.C. 27—18; A.U.C. 727—736

Octavius as Augustus

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Circ. B.C. 27; A.U.C. 727	
			AVGVSTVS, CAESAR AVGVSTVS OR IMP. CAESAR AVGVSTVS	
			SERIES I.	
			Struck at Ephesus	
			Denarius	
			Type I.	
256	53·5	Æ ·75	Head of Augustus r., bare, in low relief, showing the earlier portrait (similar to no. 243); behind, AVGVS TVS	Façade of hexastyle temple; the pediment is ornamented with acroteria and with a globe in the centre; at the sides, IOVI OLVM (*Iovi Olympico*). [Pl. cxvii. 10.]

[1] The issues of this Period may be divided into two groups, separated however by a considerable interval. The first group, which is assigned to B.C. 27, seems to have made its appearance about the time that Octavius received the title of Augustus, an event which we gather from the coins was celebrated in the East with much honour. The second group is of a somewhat later date, and records two great events connected with the rule of Augustus, the restoration of the standards by the Parthians and the submission of Armenia. The first occurred in May, B.C. 20, the latter a few months later, probably at the beginning of the winter. Dr. Gabrici (*Studi e Mater. di Arch. e Num.*, vol. ii., pp. 163-171) has assigned the coins of the first group to a somewhat later date, B.C. 19, and would make their issue contemporary with the visit of Augustus to Athens, on his return journey to Italy from the East in that year. He has also given their actual mintage to that city, and in consequence he has proposed explanations of the types which would accord with this attribution. In the classification of these provincial coins it is necessary, as has been frequently observed, to follow up very closely any evidence afforded by style and fabric. In this particular instance this evidence is forthcoming in the portrait of Augustus. The coins assigned to B.C. 29—28 supply, as we have mentioned (see above, p. 535), two portraits of Augustus. Both these are repeated on the issues of B.C. 27. On the coinage with the reverse type, the temple of the Olympian Jupiter, we meet with the two portraits, but on that with the reverse, a rostral wreath, the second one only occurs. This continuity in portraiture shows that the coins of the first group, here assigned to B.C. 27, could not have been issued, as Dr. Gabrici suggests, some eight years later, and they must therefore be given to an earlier date, most probably that proposed by Count de Salis.

The coins assigned to B.C. 27 appear from style and fabric, and also from their types, to fall into two series, each of which consists of denarii, of a bronze issue, and of cistophori. The second series has in addition aurei. If the denarii assigned to B.C. 29—28 are to be attributed to Ephesus, then those of the first series, bearing the same portraits of Augustus, must take their place at the same mint. The like may be observed of the bronze money which has for reverse type the letters C. A (*Commune Asiae*) within a wreath. The gold and silver coins of the second series show quite a different style of work, more especially those with the reverse type, a heifer. The workmanship of these pieces is so exceptionally fine that the dies, both obverse and reverse, must have been executed by a singularly efficient body of engravers. There is also no continuity in the portrait of Augustus which would connect these pieces with those of previous years. The bronze coins assigned to

No.	*Weight*	*Metal and Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
257	60·0	*R* ·75	Similar; head of Augustus in high relief (similar to no. 246); legend, AVGVS TVS	Similar; legend, IOVI OLV **[Pl. cxvii. 11.]**
258	56·6	*R* ·75	Similar.	Similar.
259	52·0	*R* ·75	Similar.	Similar.
			Type II.[1]	
260	53·5	*R* ·7	Head of Augustus r., bare, in high relief (similar to no. 246); behind, AVGVS TVS	Laurel-wreath ornamented with rostra and tied with long fillet. **[Pl. cxvii. 12.]** (Cracherode Coll.)
			Quinarius	
261	30·0	*R* ·5	Similar; same portrait; AV GVSTVS for AVGVSTVS	Victory, holding wreath in r. hand and palm-branch in l., standing l. on prow. **[Pl. cxvii. 13.]**

this series have also a different reverse type, AVGVSTVS within a wreath, and on the obverse the name of the emperor is given as IMP CAESAR or CAESAR.

This division is also supported by the evidence of the cistophori, which show from difference of style that they cannot all be assigned to one mint, though in two cases out of three the types are the same. This was the opinion of Pinder (*Cistophoren*, p. 607), more especially in relation to those pieces which have for reverse types the capricorn and the sheaf of corn. The cistophori which give the name of Augustus below his portrait must all be of the same mint, and their place of issue is fixed by the occurrence of the Ephesian altar. Those which have the head of Augustus of a different style, and with his name always placed behind it, we would assign to Pergamum, which city, together with Ephesus, had issued cistophori under Mark Antony (see above, pp. 502, 503). From similarity of style the gold, silver and bronze coins of the second group may also be given with practical certainty to Pergamum. Smaller differences connecting the coins to each distinct series will be noticed with the descriptions.

One of the first acts of Octavius on his return to Rome in B.C. 29 was to offer up sacrifices to Jupiter Capitolinus, and to dedicate a temple to Minerva (Dion Cassius, li. 22). The temple represented on these coins is, however, not that of Jupiter on the Capitol, but a local one; and as they are ascribed to Ephesus it may be that of the Olympian god which was erected in that city (Guhl, *Ephesiaca*, p. 124). It is uncertain at what period the cult of Jupiter Olympius was established in Ephesus; but on its coins struck during the reign of Domitian the god is represented seated, holding the cultus-statue of Artemis Ephesia, with the legend ΕΦΕCΙΩΝ ΖΕΥC ΟΛΥΜΠΙΟC (*Brit. Mus. Cat., Gr. Coins, Ionia*, p. 75, no. 215). It is therefore quite possible that the cult of this divinity dates from the preceding century. Dr. Gabrici (*Studi e Mater. di Arch. e Num.*, vol. ii., p. 169), having assigned the issue of these coins to Athens, B.C. 19, has identified the temple as that of the Olympian Jupiter in that city, which Suetonius (*Augustus*, 60) tells us was dedicated to Augustus. This temple, which was built on the site of the one erected by Peisistratus, was originally designed for Antiochus Epiphanes, *circ.* B.C. 170, but was not completed till the time of Hadrian. Dr. Gabrici has given the date of its dedication to Augustus as B.C. 19, when he visited Athens on his way from Asia to Italy. The temple, as completed by Hadrian, was octostyle, whilst that shown on the coins is hexastyle. For reasons already given we are unable to accept so late a date as B.C. 19 for these coins.

[1] This denarius and the following quinarius both record the battle of Actium. The reverse type of the former forms part of that of the dupondius assigned to this period (see above, p. 538, and below, p. 542), and that of the latter is met with on denarii struck at Rome at a slightly earlier date, which commemorate the same event (see above, p. 13).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			"Cistophoric Medallions" [1]	
			Type I.	
262	185·0	Æ 1·0	Head of Augustus r., bare; below, IMP · CAE SAR; plain outer circle.	Altar ornamented with two stags facing each other, above each a festoon of flowers enclosing a circular ornament; a long fillet hangs down on each side of the altar; above, AVGVSTVS; plain outer circle. **[Pl. cxvii. 14.]**
			Type II.	
263	186·0	Æ 1·1	Similar.	Capricorn r., head turned back to l., bearing on its back a cornucopiae; below, AVGVSTVS; all within laurel-wreath. **[Pl. cxvii. 15.]**
			Type III.	
264	184·3	Æ 1·0	Similar.	Sheaf of six ears of corn; dividing the legend, AV GV STVS; border of dots. **[Pl. cxvii. 16.]**

[1] This series of cistophoric medallions, which we would assign to Ephesus, has precisely the same portrait in each type, and the name of Augustus, which is placed below, is in the same position and similarly divided. It is the reverse type of the altar which enables us to connect them with Ephesus. The altar ornamented with stags or hinds is clearly Ephesian. Though Augustus does not appear to have had a special temple erected to him at Ephesus, yet that city no doubt followed the example of others in the provinces in providing an altar to him (Suetonius, *Octavius*, 59). The inscription AVGVSTVS, which surmounts the altar, permits of no other construction being placed on this type.

The capricorn, the genethliac sign of Augustus, has been noticed in connection with coins assigned to the Roman mint and also to Gaul (see above, pp. 19, 418), and the sheaf of corn is emblematic of the corn-producing districts of Asia, from which Italy drew her main supplies. The latter formed one of the principal types of cistophori struck later by Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian (see Pinder, *Cistophoren*, pl. iii.). The capricorn and the corn-sheaf occur also on contemporary cistophori assigned to Pergamum, but the portrait and the position of the Emperor's name on the obverse differ. There are also slight differences in the treatment of the reverse types; the hair on the neck of the capricorn being indicated by horizontal lines, giving the animal a crude appearance, and the stalks of the ears of corn are without leaves (*spicae*). These differences in the details and also in style, though slight, show distinctly that there were two series struck at two different mints; the one certainly at Ephesus, the other most probably at Pergamum (see Pinder, *op. cit.*, pp. 607, 610).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			BRONZE[1]	
			Sestertius	
265	394·0	Æ 1·5	Head of Augustus r., bare; behind, AVGVSTVS	C·A (*Commune Asiae*) within a wreath of laurel between two dotted circles. [Pl. cxviii. 1.]
266	378·0	Æ 1·5	Similar.	Similar. (Hamburger Coll.)
267	366·0	Æ 1·4	Similar.	Similar. (Hamburger Coll.)
268	351·5	Æ 1·4	Similar.	Similar. (Reichardt Coll.)
269	301·0	Æ 1·45	Similar.	Similar. (Reichardt Coll.)
270	387·0	Æ 1·3	Similar; AVϚVSTVS	Similar.
271	363·0	Æ 1·4	Similar.	Similar. (Hamburger Coll.)
272	337·0	Æ 1·4	Similar.	Similar.
			Dupondius	
273	237·1	Æ 1·05	Similar; AVGVSTVS	Similar; the wreath of laurel is ornamented with rostra. (Reichardt Coll.)
274	228·0	Æ 1·1	Similar.	Similar. (Hamburger Coll.)
275	187·5	Æ 1·1	Similar.	Similar.
276	159·0	Æ 1·0	Similar.	Similar.

[1] In the earlier series of bronze coins of similar type assigned to this year (see above, p. 538), the only denominations met with are the dupondius and the as (?). In this series the smaller denomination is not issued, but in its place we have the sestertius, which is varied in a similar manner from the dupondius in having a plain wreath on the reverse, and not one ornamented with rostra. As these later coins give the emperor his new title of Augustus, they must have been struck at a subsequent date. They are of orichalcum (see *Num. Chron.*, 1904, p. 244), and of the quarter-ounce standard. On some specimens of the sestertius, as well as the dupondius, the stop between C A is omitted.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
277	207·5	Æ 1·05	Similar; AVϚVSTVS for AVGVSTVS	Similar. [Pl. cxviii. 2.] (Northwick Coll.)
278	196·0	Æ 1·15	Similar.	Similar. (Hamburger Coll.)
279	186·0	Æ 1·1	Similar.	Similar.
280	172·0	Æ 1·25	Similar.	Similar. (Hamburger Coll.)

SERIES II.[1]

Struck at Pergamum

Aureus[2]

Type I.

281	123·0	*N* ·8	Head of Augustus r., bare, in high relief; behind, CAESAR	Heifer walking l., head low; above, AVϚVSTVS [Pl. cxviii. 3.] (Blacas Coll.)
282	121·6	*N* ·8	Similar; head smaller and CAESAR for CAESAR	Similar; AVϚVSTVS for AVGVSTVS [Pl. cxviii. 4.]

Type II.

283	122·0	*N* ·8	Bust of Augustus l., bare, head laureate; behind, CAESAR	Heifer walking r., head low; above, AVGVSTVS [Pl. cxviii. 5.] (Wigan Coll.)

[1] The coins of this series may be assigned to Pergamum, as already mentioned (see above, pp. 539, 540). The aurei and denarii are of exceedingly fine workmanship, and in this respect they are similar to the cistophori also assigned to this mint. The series therefore comprises gold, silver and bronze coins, the silver including the cistophorus.

[2] It is difficult to explain in a satisfactory manner the somewhat unusual type of the heifer on these aurei and denarii. It possibly has a special reference to the sacrifices which were offered up in all the Asiatic cities on the granting to Octavius of the title of Augustus in B.C. 27. A personal reference to the emperor seems too obscure. Dr. Gabrici (*op. cit.*, p. 167), having assigned these coins to Athens, has identified the heifer on the reverse as a representation of the master-piece in bronze, which was executed by the artist Myron, and which was placed in the neighbourhood of the Acropolis (Cicero, *in Verr.*, *Act* ii., iv. 60). At a later date it was brought to Rome and was placed in the *Forum Pacis*, which was constructed by Vespasian after the taking of Jerusalem (Dion Cassius, lxvi. 15). It was still there at the time of the invasion of the Goths (Procopius, *de Bell. Goth.*, iv. 21). The assignment of these coins to a somewhat earlier date, B.C. 27, and to a different locality, renders it impossible to accept Dr. Gabrici's solution.

The attribution of the following denarii to Pergamum is somewhat uncertain. It may, however, be remarked that the laureate head very closely resembles that on the aureus (no. 283), and the treatment of the capricorn on the reverse is very similar to that on the cistophorus, the animal's skin being modelled with great care and skill. This mythical animal occurs also on the contemporary coinage assigned to Ephesus (see above, p. 541).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Denarius	
			Type I.	
284	61·0	AR ·8	Head of Augustus r., bare, in high relief; behind, CAESAR	Heifer standing r., head raised; above, AVGVST VS **[Pl. cxviii. 6.]** (Cracherode Coll.)
285	56·5	AR ·75	Similar.	Similar; AVGVSTVS (de Salis Coll.)
			Type II.	
286	58·6	AR ·75	Head of Augustus r., laureate.	Capricorn r., holding globe and rudder with its feet; on its back, a cornucopiae; below, AVGVSTVS **[Pl. cxviii. 7.]**
			Type II. var.	
	55·8	AR ·75	Similar.	Similar; capricorn r., without globe, rudder, or cornucopiae; above, star; below, AVGVSTVS

[Cohen, *Méd. imp.*, vol. i., p. 65, no. 18.]

"Cistophoric Medallions" [1]

Type I.[2]

287	186·0	AR 1·0	Head of Augustus r., bare; before, lituus; behind, IMP · CAESAR (downwards); border of dots.	Capricorn r., head turned back to l., bearing on its back a cornucopiae; below, AVGVSTVS; all within laurel-wreath. **[Pl. cxviii. 8.]** (Dymock Coll.)

[1] On account of their superior workmanship we are disposed to assign these cistophori to Pergamum (see above, p. 541). Pinder (*Cistophoren*, pp. 604 f.) leaves their place of mintage uncertain.

[2] Types I. and II., as compared with similar pieces assigned to Ephesus (see above, p. 541), are more skilfully executed. The figure of the capricorn is treated more delicately,

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type II.	
288	178·0	Æ 1·0	Similar; head of Augustus l.; before, lituus; behind, IMP . CAESAR (downwards); border of dots.	Sheaf of six ears of corn with leaves, dividing the legend, AVGV STVS; border of dots. [Pl. cxviii. 9.]
			Type II. var.	
289	185·0	Æ 1·0	Similar; head of Augustus r.; no lituus before; behind, IMP . CAESAR; border of dots.	Similar; same border. [Pl. cxviii. 10.]
			Type III.[1]	
290	187·7	Æ 1·1	Similar; head of Augustus in lower relief and more spread; the legend, IMP . CAESAR (upwards); border of dots.	Sphinx with open wings seated r.; above, AVGVS TVS; border of dots. [Pl. cxviii. 11.] (Borrell Coll.)

the skin of the animal, especially that of the neck, being more faithfully delineated, and in the case of the corn-sheaf the ears of corn have leaves. With the exception of Type III. the head of Augustus is in high relief, and on all the legend is placed behind it and not below, as on similar coins given to Ephesus.

[1] The sphinx, though it was not an unusual emblem on coins struck in the East, is in this instance personal to Augustus, as it was engraved on the ring which he used for sealing public documents—*in diplomatibus libellisque et epistolis signandis, initio Sphinge usus est; mox imagine Magni Alexandri; novissime sua, Dioscoridis manu sculpta* (Suetonius, *Augustus*, 50). Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*, xxxvii. 4) mentions that Augustus found amongst his mother's rings two *indiscretae similitudinis*, and that he gave another to his friends Agrippa and Maecenas, in order that in his absence they might seal edicts for him. The circumstance that the mother of Augustus used the same seal as himself suggests that the sphinx had not only a personal but also a religious and superstitious significance, and Pliny (*loc. cit.*) adds—*Augustus, postea ad evitanda convicia sphingis, Alexandri Magni imagine signavit.* Owing to the occurrence of the sphinx as the obverse type of coins of Chios, these cistophori have been assigned to that island. Pinder (*op. cit.*, p. 608), however, remarks that the form of the animal on the two series shows considerable variation. On the coins of Chios it is represented with the breasts of a woman, whereas on the cistophori it has a flat breast like a bird (*Vogelbrust*). On the ground of style also Pinder does not accept their attribution to Chios, and he therefore gives them to Pergamum.

Varieties of the sphinx type have for the obverse the head of Augustus in high relief, with or without the lituus, as on Type I. and Type II. var., i.e. with the reverse a capricorn or a sheaf of corn. This interchange of obverse dies fixes the issue of all three types to the same place of mintage (Pinder, *op. cit.*, pl. ii., nos. 9, 10).

Prof. Milani (*Studi e Mater. di Arch. e Num.*, vol. ii., pp. 172 f.) illustrates and describes a gold seal-ring in the collection of the Grand Duke of Tuscany (now deposited in the Museo Archeologico in Florence), the bezel formed of a black agate engraved with the figure of a sphinx. It is said to have been found in Rome early in the seventeenth century on the site of the Palazzo Corea, not far from the mausoleum of Augustus. From its style and workmanship Professor Milani would identify this ring as the first one which Augustus used for sealing his public and private documents.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			BRONZE[1]	
			Sestertius	
291	358·0	Æ 1·4	Head of Augustus r., bare; behind, IMP · CAESAR	AVGV STVS within laurel-wreath, between two dotted circles. **[Pl. cxviii. 12.]**
			Dupondius	
			Type I.[2]	
292	162·5 (*worn*)	Æ 1·0	Head of Augustus r., bare; behind, CAESAR	Similar; no inner circle of dots. **[Pl. cxviii. 13 rev.]**
			Type II.	
293	213·5	Æ 1·1	Similar; legend, CAESAR	AVGVSTVS within laurel-wreath. **[Pl. cxviii. 14.]**
294	165·0	Æ 1·0	Similar; CAESAR for CAE SAR	Similar. (Reichardt Coll.)
295	160·8	Æ 1·0	Similar.	Similar; AVCVSTVS (Bank of England Coll.)
296	160·7	Æ 1·05	Similar.	Similar.
297	160·0	Æ 1·0	Similar.	Similar; AVϚVSTVS

[1] These bronze coins, if issued in B.C. 27, cannot be assigned to the same mint as those with the legend C . A (*Commune Asiae*) on the reverse. They differ not only in type, style, the portrait of Augustus, and the legends, but also in the composition of the metal of which they were struck (see *Num. Chron.*, 1904, p. 244). The analyses show that the metal of the above coins is composed of 89·8 per cent. copper, 7·5 per cent. tin, and 2·7 per cent. zinc; whereas that of the coins with the reverse C . A within a wreath consists of 78·7 per cent. copper, 0·7 per cent. lead, and 20·6 per cent. zinc. Two issues of metal so divergent in its composition could not well have been struck at the same time and at the same place. Both are of the quarter-ounce bronze standard. These coins are therefore assigned to Pergamum.

[2] The obverse of the specimen of this type in the National Collection is too much worn for illustration.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Circ. B.C. 19—18; A.U.C. 735—736[1]	
			AVGVSTVS: CAESAR DIV. F (AUGUSTUS; CAESAR DIVI [JULI] FILIUS)	
			SERIES I.	
			Signis Parthicis Receptis	
			Aureus [2]	
298	119·5	*N* ·75	Head of Augustus r., bare; below, AVGVSTVS	Capricorn r.; above, SIGNIS; below, RECEPTIS [Pl. cxix. 1.]
299	120·5	*N* ·8	Similar.	Similar; around capricorn, SIGNIS PARTHICIS RECEPTIS [Pl. cxix. 2.] (Blacas Coll.)

[1] The coins assigned to this date commemorate two very important events in connection with the visit of Augustus to the East, B.C. 22—19, which occurred within a short interval of each other. These were the surrender of the Roman standards by the Parthians, and the submission or restoration of the kingdom of Armenia to the suzerainty of Rome.

The first event was commemorated not only on contemporary coins of Augustus of the Roman mint, but also on those issued some years later by the moneyers who struck money in their own names as well as in that of Augustus (see above, pp. 25, 64 *pass.*). It was on the 12th May, B.C. 20 (Gardthausen, *Augustus*, p. 827), that Phraates, the King of Kings, set at liberty the Roman prisoners, and that his messengers on bended knees handed to Tiberius the captive standards which Augustus had commanded him to receive.

Claudi virtute Neronis
Armenius cecidit; jus imperiumque Phraates
Caesaris accepit genibus minor: aurea fruges
Italiae pleno defudit Copia cornu.—Horace, *Epist.* xii., 26 f.

The joy in the Roman camp and throughout the whole empire knew no bounds. Augustus was proclaimed *Imperator* for the IXth time, and he claimed the event as a great victory, though he had not achieved it by force of arms, but rather by a stroke of discreet diplomacy (Dion Cassius, liv. 8).

The submission of Armenia took place shortly after the surrender of the standards. In B.C. 34, after the capture of the unfortunate Artavasdes by Antony (see above, p. 525, note 2), his son Artaxias was made king of Armenia. One of the first acts of Artaxias was to put to death all the Romans who had remained in the country. He then demanded the restoration of his relatives, a request which Augustus refused. In B.C. 20, the Armenians having complained to Augustus of the conduct of Artaxias, and having requested as king his brother Tigranes, who was then at Rome, Tiberius was sent with a large army into Armenia to depose Artaxias, and to place Tigranes on the throne. Before, however, Tiberius arrived Artaxias was murdered, and in consequence Tigranes was proclaimed king without opposition. Tiberius, however, took to himself the credit of a successful expedition (Dion Cassius, li. 16, liv. 9; Tacitus, *Ann.*, ii. 3; Vell. Paterc., ii. 94). Augustus (Mommsen, *Res gestae*, ch. xxvii.) says, "*Armeniam maiorem interfecto rege eius Artaxe cum possem facere provinciam, malui maiorum nostrorum exemplo regnum id Tigrani regis Artavasdis filio, nepoti autem Tigranis regis, per Ti. Neronem tradere, qui tum mihi privignus erat.*"

The coins which illustrate these two interesting events are of gold and silver, and possibly of bronze, the silver including the cistophorus as well as the denarius. In describing the coins of the preceding issues assigned to B.C. 27 reasons were given for attributing one series to Ephesus, the other to Pergamum. If these attributions are correct, the coins included in the years B.C. 19—18, from a certain similarity of type and fabric, may all be classed to Ephesus. On the aurei and denarii the portrait of Augustus is uniformly the same. The obverses of the cistophori not only show the same portrait as on the earlier pieces of that denomination ascribed to Ephesus, but the legend is also similarly placed, i.e., under the head. Some of the bronze coins, too, have the same reverse type, the initials C. A within a wreath.

[2] As Augustus looked upon the surrender of the standards as quite a personal matter, the capricorn, his genethliac sign, was used to commemorate the event.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Denarius	
300	59·0	*AR* ·75	Head of Augustus r., bare; [below, AVGVSTVS].	Inscription in three lines across the field, SIGNIS | ΓAΡTHICIS(*sic*) | RECE ΡTIS **[Pl. cxix. 3]** (Bank of England Coll.)
			SERIES II.[1]	
			Armenia Recepta	
			Denarius	
			Type I.	
301	58·0	*AR* ·75	Head of Augustus r., bare; below, AVGVSTVS	An Armenian tiara and a quiver and bow-case, united; above, ARMEN IA; below, RECEΡTA **[Pl. cxix. 4.]** (Borrell Coll.)

Count de Salis may have assigned these coinages to B.C. 19—18 on the evidence of the cistophori, which record the 5th tribunitian year of Augustus. It is, however, possible that some of the issues appeared in B.C. 20; especially that which commemorates the surrender of the standards.

[1] The coins, aurei and denarii, relating to the submission of Armenia, are of two series; one with the legend ARMENIA RECEΡTA, the other with ARMENIA CAΡTA. The legend RECEΡTA was no doubt used to emphasize the circumstance that Armenia had already been conquered by Antony in B.C. 34, and that it was now received back, not so much as a part of the Roman empire, but as a district over which Rome would exercise her suzerainty. That of CAΡTA may have been adopted in order to gratify the ambition and pride of Tiberius, who, though he did not strike a blow, claimed the submission of Armenia as accomplished by his own military skill and valour (Dion Cassius, liv. 9). At a later date the veterans greeted Tiberius with the words, *Ego tecum, imperator, in Armenia* (Vell. Paterc., ii. 104). Each series has the same reverse types, the tiara with the united quiver and bow-case and the Armenian soldier; and the same variations of the obverse, the head of Augustus being with or without his name. This form of the quiver and bow-case seems to be peculiar to Armenia, and the tiara differs from that already figured on earlier coins of Antony, in being less ornamented and without the lappets. In this instance it is connected with the accession of Tigranes. The Armenian soldier is clad in his usual dress, a conical-shaped cap, a cloak, and loose breeches.

On account of the inscription being often partly "off the field" some uncertainty exists as to the number of the imperatorship inscribed on the coins relating to this event. It has been given as VII, VIII, or VIIII. As Augustus was IMP . VII, A.U.C. 725—729 (B.C. 29—25), IMP . VIII, A.U.C. 729—734 (B.C. 25—20), and IMP . VIIII, A.U.C. 734—739 (B.C. 20—15), these coins must have been struck during his VIIIIth imperatorship, to which Augustus was acclaimed on the surrender of the standards (Mommsen, *Res gestae*, pp. 12, 13). The specimen in the Berlin Museum, which is described by Babelon (vol. ii., p. 61, no. 146) as reading IMP . VII, and by Bahrfeldt (*Num. Zeit.*, 1896, p. 158) as IMP . VIII, must therefore be connected with the VIIIIth imperatorship.

Count de Salis has noted a variety of Type I. without the name of Augustus on the obverse, but he has not referred to any existing specimen.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type II.	
	57·4	AR ·75	Similar; without legend, AVGVSTVS	An Armenian soldier standing facing, wearing conical-shaped cap, close-fitting cloak, and loose *braccae*; he holds spear in r. hand and rests his l. on bow; across the field and in three lines, CAE SAR DIV · F | ARMEN RECE[P] | IMP VIII[I] (*Armenia recepta, Imperator nono*).

[Berlin Coll.]

SERIES III.

Armenia Capta

Denarius[1]

Type I.

302	57·4	AR ·75	Head of Augustus r., bare.	An Armenian tiara and a quiver and bow-case, united (similar to no. 301); above, ARMENIA; below, CAPTA [Pl. cxix. 5.] (Blacas Coll.)
303	56·4	AR ·75	Similar.	Similar.
			Type I. var.	
304	55·8	AR ·8	Similar; below head, AV GVSTVS	Similar. [Pl. cxix. 6.] (Cracherode Coll.)

[1] The types of these denarii are only repetitions of those with the legend "Armenia Recepta" (see above for the explanation of this change in the legend).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type II.[1]	
305	60·0	Æ ·8	Head of Augustus r., bare.	An Armenian soldier standing facing, wearing conical-shaped cap, close-fitting cloak, and loose *braccae*; he holds spear in r. hand and rests l. on bow (see p. 549); across the field and in three lines, CAESAR DIV · F | AR MEN CAPT[A] | IMP VIII[I] (*Armenia capta, Imperator nono*). **[Pl. cxix. 7.]**
			Type II. var.	
306	54·4	Æ ·7	Similar; below head, AV GVSTVS	Similar. **[Pl. cxix. 8.]** (Blacas Coll.)
307	51·5	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar; CAPTA and IMP VIIII (Cracherode Coll.)
			Aureus	
			Type I.[2]	
308	121·0	Æ ·5	Head of Augustus r., bare; below, AVGVS[TVS]	Victory r., slaying a bull; she is seated on its back and plunges a knife into its neck; with her l. hand she grasps the head of the animal by the jaw; above on l., ARMENIA; below, CAPTA **[Pl. cxix. 9.]** (Wigan Coll.)

[1] Cohen (*Méd. imp. rom.*, vol. i., p. 71, no. 56) describes a denarius of this type with the legend IMP VIII. The legend in full would probably read IMP VIIII, the last unit being off the field of the coin. From these pieces it may be concluded that all those with the legend "Armenia Recepta" should be of the VIIIIth imperatorship.

[2] The subject of Victory slaying a bull, Nike *βουθυτοῦσα*, is frequently met with in ancient sculpture and glyptic art, and in connection with the worship of Mithras. It occurs in reliefs of marble and bronze, on gems, &c. The representations vary, Victory being shown seated on the bull or standing at its side, or over it, but in each case she seizes the animal by the jaw. In this instance the type relates to the submission of Armenia more in the sense of "capta" than "recepta." Eckhel (*Doct. num. vet.*, t. vi., p. 99) explained it as illustrating the victory of Roman arms over those of the Armenians, and Cavedoni (*Ann. dell' Inst. Arch.*, 1850, p. 183) as recording the sacrifices of the victors after their success.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type II.[1]	
309	120·0	*Æ* ·8	Similar; AVGVSTVS	Sphinx with open wings seated r. **[Pl. cxix. 10.]** (Cracherode Coll.)
			"Cistophoric Medallions"[2]	
			Type I.	
310	186·2	*Æ* 1·05	Head of Augustus r., bare; below, IMP · IX · TR · PO · V (*Imperator nono, tribunitia potestate quinto*).	Triumphal arch surmounted by a quadriga with figure of Augustus; the entablature is inscribed, IMP · IX · TR · POT · V; the sides are ornamented with legionary *aquilae*; within the space formed by the archway is the legend in three lines, S · P · R · (*Senatus Populus[que] Romanus*) | SIGNIS | RECEPT IS **[Pl. cxix. 11.]**
			Type II.	
311	179·5	*Æ* 1·0	Similar.	Circular domed temple, showing four columns, within which is a Roman standard; across the field, MART · VLTO (*Martis Ultoris*). **[Pl. cxix. 12.]**

[1] This type of the sphinx has already been met with on a cistophorus (see above, p. 545, no. 290). Count de Salis has given these aurei to a somewhat later date than the cistophorus on account of style and fabric. The cistophorus is assigned to Pergamum, but this aureus to Ephesus.

[2] These cistophori commemorate two events—the surrender of the standards by the Parthians, and the erection of the temple dedicated by the *Commune Asiae* to Rome and Augustus at Ephesus (see above, p. 538).

The triumphal arch and the temple of Mars are probably representations of those at Rome. They may not have existed at Ephesus. Similar representations of these buildings are met with on Roman coins of this period (see above, p. 50, pl. lxiv., no. 8, and p. 27, pl. lxi., no. 17).

The temple shown on Type III. is usually identified as that of Pergamum (Pinder, *Cistophoren*, p. 613), but if these coins are to be assigned to Ephesus it must be the one erected in that city. Dion Cassius (li. 20) says that it was in A.U.C. 725 (B.C. 29), that Caesar (Octavius) gave permission to the inhabitants of Pergamum and Nicomedia in Bithynia to erect temples in his honour. It is therefore quite possible that the first temple to be erected for this cult was at Pergamum. This coin may commemorate the completion of the Ephesian one. References are made to this temple in inscriptions found at Ephesus (Wood, *Ephesus, Inscr., from site of temple*, p. 16, *from theatre*, p. 36).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type III.	
312	184·0	Æ 1·05	Similar.	Façade of temple of six columns; the pediment is surmounted by acroteria, and the entablature is inscribed, ROM · ET · AVGVST (*Romae et Augusti*); across the field, COM · ASIAE (*Commune Asiae*). [Pl. cxix. 13.]
313	182·5	Æ 1·05	Similar.	Similar.
			IMP. AVGVST	
			(IMPERATOR AUGUSTUS)	
			Sestertius[1]	
314	364·0	Æ 1·5	Head of Augustus r., bare; around, IMP AVGVST TR POT (*Tribunitia potestate*).	Within three concentric circles, an oak-wreath, two laurel-branches, and the legend, OB CIVIS SER VATOS [Pl. cxix. 14.]
315	343·0	Æ 1·5	Similar; legend, IMP · AV GVST · TR · POT	Similar; the laurel-branches are omitted.

[1] The date of issue of these sestertii and the following dupondii is somewhat uncertain. It was in B.C. 23 that the tribunitian power was granted to Augustus in perpetuity, and it is from that date that his tribunitian years are reckoned. In the usual way TR . POT . would signify that these coins were struck in B.C. 23, but as they are of provincial issue the actual numeration of the tribunitian year may have been overlooked. In any case they are subsequent to B C. 27.

The reverse type of these sestertii may have a double signification. The oak-wreath may represent that which was by order of the Senate placed above the doorway of the house of Augustus, and the two laurel-branches the trees which were planted on either side of the portico, but in this particular instance the wreath may relate to the service he had rendered to the State in obtaining the restoration of the standards by the Parthians. This type was a few years later adopted for the sestertius struck at Rome (see above, p. 45), which is further proof that the bronze coinage introduced in the capital in B.C. 15 was modelled on that previously issued in the East. As these coins and the following dupondii, like those of Antony struck by his *praefecti classis*, are of mixed metal, not pure copper, it may be presumed that they represent the sestertius and the dupondius.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			AVGVST (AUGUSTUS) Dupondius[1]	
316	176·0	Æ ·9	Head of Augustus r., bare; around, AVGVST TR · POT	C · A (*Commune Asiae*) within a wreath of laurel between two dotted circles.
317	155·5	Æ ·95	Similar.	Similar. (Hamburger Coll.)
318	121·8	Æ ·9	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. cxix. 15.]** (Reichardt Coll.)
319	120·5	Æ 1·0	Similar.	Similar. (Hamburger Coll.)
320	174·0	Æ ·9	Similar; AVGVST for AV GVST	Similar; in the centre, Λ T[2] above C · A (Pres. by Sir John Evans)
321	143·7	Æ ·9	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. cxix. 16.]**
322	143·0	Æ ·95	Similar.	Similar.

[1] These bronze coins belong to the series issued by the *Commune Asiae*, and their reverse type would appear to connect them with Ephesus (see above, pp. 538, 542). Their weight shows that they are dupondii.

[2] The solution of these letters Λ T has so far proved an enigma. Pellerin (*Mélanges de Méd.*, vol. i., p. 36), who has assigned all the coins with C. A to Caesareia Paneas in Palestine, and de Saulcy (*Ann. de la Soc. de Num.*, vol. iii., p. 261), who placed their mintage at Caesareia Arca in Phoenicia (see above, p. 538), both considered the letters to be a date, viz. 330, and to represent in each case the era of Alexander the Great, the former ascribing the coins to B.C. 3, the latter to A.D. 6. Fröhner (*Mélanges d'Epig. et d'Arch.*, ch. xxii., p. 77) thought that they represent the number of cities which formed the *Commune Asiae*. It has also been suggested (*Num. Chron.*, 1904, p. 210) that the letters may be marks of value such as are occasionally met with on the coins of Midaëum (Phrygia) and other Asiatic cities, where we find T A signifying *tria assaria*, or A B *duo assaria*. Another suggestion is that they may represent a monetary alliance between two cities, Laodiceia and Tralles, both of which were members of the *Commune Asiae* (P. Monceaux, *de Com. Asiae Prov.*, p. 38). Such alliances did exist between these and other cities at a later time (see Head, *Hist. Num.*, p. 566; *Cat. Gr. Coins, Brit. Mus., Phrygia*, pp. 324 f.), but there is no certain evidence that one was formed at so early a date as these coins are ascribed to. The coins on which these initials are found are of rude work, and so may have been minted at some other place than the rest of the issue.

COINAGE OF SICILY

THE coinage assigned to Sicily, which comes within the scope of this work, does not commence till the outbreak of the Civil war between Caesar and Pompey, B.C. 49.

Previous to that date, and also at a later period, there was struck in Sicily under Roman influence a considerable series of small bronze coins based on the system of the *as*. Many of them bear the names of the magistrates who issued them, together with the names or monograms of the cities in which they were struck. Others have magistrates' names but are without those of the mints or their marks, whilst a third series is without legends. Their chronological sequence cannot be determined, but they may be grouped into classes in the order mentioned, or according to the types of the reverses.[1] This classification is, however, not chronological, since many pieces of the various classes must have been issued simultaneously. The mints to which these coins have been assigned are Agrigentum, Panormus, Segesta, Lilybaeum, Cephaloedium, Halaesa, Tyndaris, Assoros, Henna, and Catana, but more especially Panormus, of which place there is a large series bearing magistrates' names and the monogram of the city, and having for the obverse type the head of Jupiter, and for the reverse a warrior.[2] These coins are of three denominations, the *as*, the *semis*, and the *quadrans*, and their weight appears to be based on a quarter-ounce standard, which was adopted for the bronze issues of the East, more especially for the fleet-money of Antony.[3] The duration of this coinage is also quite uncertain. Bahrfeldt[4] has limited it to the period from the turn of the 7th century A.U.C. (*circ.* B.C. 53) to the year A.U.C. 727 (B.C. 27), when a division of the provinces was agreed upon between Augustus and the Senate. If the seven years, B.C. 42—36, when Sextus Pompey held Sicily, and when we may presume that this coinage was in abeyance, be deducted from this period, the limit of time prescribed by Bahrfeldt would be much too contracted for the issue of such a varied and extensive series, even supposing that some of the cities produced their coinages simultaneously. It seems, therefore, that if this period is not extended upwards it must at least be carried down considerably later. This later extension of time is supported not only by the fact that a large number of coins bear the portrait and name of Augustus, a title which he did not receive till B.C. 27, but also that on some pieces of Agrigentum he is given the title of *Pater Patriae*, which was not accorded him till B.C. 2, and on others of Panormus he is figured wearing a radiate crown, which would suggest that such pieces were issued after his death.[5] As these coins therefore do not lend themselves

[1] Holm, *Gesch. Sicil.*, vol. iii., pp. 727 f.; Bahrfeldt, *Röm. Sicil. Münz.*, p. 8.
[2] Bahrfeldt, *op. cit.*, p. 79. [3] See above, pp. 511, 512. [4] *Op. cit.*, p. 15.
[5] Holm, *op. cit.*, p. 727, no. 735; p. 728, no. 744.

to any chronological order, and as the series from its multiplicity of types seems to form a separate class, their description is not included amongst the following, though from their weight they may be claimed to belong to the Roman coinage.[1]

If these coins are eliminated, those which are here assigned to Sicily are limited to the period of the Civil war between the Caesarian and Pompeian parties, B.C. 49—36. They are of two separate epochs: the first in connection with Julius Caesar, the second with the triumvirs, more especially with Octavius.

The issues, though not numerous, may be separated into groups or periods, according to the following events:—

i. The war between Julius Caesar and Pompey the Great. The only coinage is that of the consuls, L. Cornelius Lentulus Crus and C. Claudius Marcellus, B.C. 49.

ii. The war in Africa, and the assistance rendered to Caesar by the proconsul of Sicily, A. Allienus, B.C. 47.

iii. (*a*) The first war between Octavius and Sextus Pompey, and the defeat of Q. Salvius Salvidienus Rufus, *circ.* B.C. 42—38.

(*β*) The second war between Octavius and Sextus Pompey. These coins commemorate the successes of Pompey and the assistance of Q. Nasidius, *circ.* B.C. 38—36. There are none of Octavius.

CLASSIFICATION.—Sicily took but little part in the Civil war between Caesar and Pompey. At the beginning of hostilities the island was held by M. Porcius Cato[2] for Pompey, but on the arrival of C. Scribonius Curio, the legate of Caesar, he withdrew to Africa, on the plea that he did not wish the inhabitants to be compromised by a vain and useless struggle. After the battle of Dyrrhachium the Pompeian fleet attacked Messana and other places, but on the news of the defeat of Pompey at Pharsalus it retired, and the island remained in the hands of the Caesarian party. There are no coins which actually commemorate these events. The only ones assigned to this period are those of the consuls L. Cornelius Lentulus Crus and C. Claudius Marcellus, who from numismatic evidence appear to have halted in the island in B.C. 49 on their way to Greece (see vol. i., p. 504, note 1). Caesar did not himself visit Sicily till he was about to start in B.C. 47 for the African war. He then made it his naval base, and it was at Lilybaeum that he collected his fleet and legions for the coming campaign. The coins of A. Allienus are a memorial of this event, and of the assistance which Caesar received from the proconsul. From this time till after the death of Caesar the island remained undisturbed, except for the rivalry between some of its cities.

On the foundation of the triumvirate in B.C. 43 Sicily was allotted to Octavius, but he was forestalled in its possession by Sextus Pompey, who on being placed on the list of the proscribed for the murder of Ceasar, landed there with a powerful fleet, the command of which had been entrusted to him by the

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[1] Another series of bronze coins, somewhat analogous to this one, was issued by Sextus Pompey during his occupation of Sicily. It is referred to later (see below, p. 562).

[2] See his coins struck in Africa, pp. 574, 575.

Senate. Here he long maintained his position in spite of the attempts of Octavius to dislodge him. The first attack was made by Octavius in B.C. 42, and failed, the main portion of his fleet commanded by Q. Salvius Salvidienus Rufus being defeated at the entrance of the straits near the promontory of Scyllaeum.[1] Octavius was unable to continue the struggle as his presence was more urgently needed in Greece, where Antony was preparing for the coming contest against Brutus and Cassius. It was in commemoration of this success that Sextus Pompey struck the coins which are assigned to B.C. 42—38. This victory left Pompey in possession of Sicily, where he now acted as an independent ruler. His fleet had command of the seas, and with it he intercepted the corn-ships from the East and Africa. Moreover, the supplies of corn from Sicily, upon which Rome in a great measure depended, were entirely stopped. The situation remained unchanged till B.C. 40, when Antony and Octavius met at Brundusium to make a new division of the Empire. The determination of the triumvirs, or at least of Octavius, at that time was to declare war against Pompey, but Rome, threatened with famine, compelled them to come to terms with their enemy, and a peace was concluded at Misenum in the summer of B.C. 39, which gave to Pompey a share in the government by securing to him Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica and Achaia. He was also nominated for the consulship at a future date. The compact was, however, of short duration, as Pompey soon renewed his piratical attacks on Italy on the ground that Antony had failed to perform his part of the treaty in retaining the province of Achaia. Octavius now determined to free Italy from this continuous ravaging of her coasts and destruction of her fleets. The war broke out in B.C. 38, and opened with a series of disasters to Octavius and of successes to Pompey. It was to commemorate these victories that Pompey struck the coins which are assigned to B.C. 38—36. With the assistance, however, of Antony, and by the superior generalship of Agrippa, Octavius overcame all obstacles, and the complete defeat of Pompey's fleet at Naulochus in the September of B.C. 36 compelled him to abandon Sicily and to take refuge in the East.[2]

TYPES.—These series of the coins of Sicily present no difficulties as regards their chronological sequence. The types all refer to contemporary events, and in each case they identify themselves with the actual circumstances of their issue. Thus the triskelis and the figure of Jupiter on the coins of the consuls Lentulus and Marcellus illustrate their visit to the island on their way to Greece. The figure of the hero Trinacrus and the head of Venus on those of Allienus record the assistance which the proconsul rendered Caesar in the African war. The head of Pompey the Great and Neptune and the Catanaean brothers associate Sextus Pompey with the defeat of Salvidienus in B.C. 42; and the remaining coins of Pompey, with the head of Neptune, the figure of Scylla, and the Pharos of Messana, are records of his destruction of the fleet of Octavius in the Straits of Messana. Lastly, the coins of Q. Nasidius, which represent on the reverse a galley or battle-scene, and which give to Sextus Pompey the title of "Son of Neptune," relate to the signal services which he rendered Pompey in the final contest.

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[1] Appian, *Bell. civ.*, iv. 85.

[2] Appian, *op. cit.*, v. 77-112; Dion Cassius, xlix. 1-17; Holm, *Gesch. Sicil.*, vol. iii., pp. 196 f.; p. 463.

DENOMINATIONS.—Since we have excluded from our descriptions the series of small bronze coins issued by the Roman governors in Sicily, the only denominations which we meet with are the aureus and the denarius. These are of the same standard of weight as similar pieces issued at the same time at Rome and in the provinces, West and East.

FINDS OF COINS.—The evidence of finds is not of great moment, when the types of the coins tell their own tale. Such evidence as we possess confirms, however, the sequence in which the coinages are here placed. The coins of the consuls of B.C. 49, Lentulus and Marcellus, did not occur in any of the hoards, the burial of which was previous to that date; but specimens were met with in the San Niccolò di Villola hoard, the concealment of which took place *circ.* B.C. 45 (see vol. i., p. 502, and Tables of Finds). The earliest find in which any of the coins of Sextus Pompey were met with was that of Carbonara I., which could not have been concealed before B.C. 36; but those of Q. Nasidius were discovered at Peccioli and Garlasco, in hoards which have been assigned to a slightly earlier date, *circ.* B.C. 37—36 (see vol. i., pp. 561, 562, and Tables of Finds). As these last pieces were absent from earlier finds, it shows that they were struck during the second stage of the contest between Octavius and Pompey.

MINT-PLACES.—The coins in the series, the types of which would suggest their place of mintage, are those of the consuls of B.C. 49 and those of Sextus Pompey struck in B.C. 42—38 and also in B.C. 38—36. The first are connected with Syracuse by the figure of Jupiter, and those of Pompey of B.C. 42—38 possibly with the city of Catana, if the occurrence of the representation of the Catanean brothers is sufficient evidence to warrant such a suggestion.[1] The denarii of A. Allienus may have been struck at Lilybaeum, which was one of the cities that produced some of the bronze coins mentioned above, bearing magistrates' names. As Pompey made Messana the base of his operations during the second war with Octavius, we may with some reason assign his coins of B.C. 38—36 to that place, especially on account of the representation of the Pharos and of Scylla.[2] The coins of Q. Nasidius from similarity of the obverse type to those of Pompey of B.C. 42—38 may have been issued at Catana, but this attribution is quite conjectural.

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[1] See below, p. 558.

[2] See below, p. 563.

PERIOD I.

Circ. B.C. 49; A.U.C. 705

No.	*Weight*	*Metal and Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
			LENT : MR	
			([LUCIUS CORNELIUS] LENTULUS; [CAIUS CLAUDIUS] MARCELLUS[1])	
			Denarius	
1	62·0	Æ ·75	Triskelis with facing winged head of Medusa in the centre; between each leg, an ear of corn.	Jupiter naked, standing front, head turned to r., holding thunderbolt in r. hand and eagle on l.; in the field, LENT MR COS (*Lentulus, Marcellus, consules*). **[Pl. cxx. 1.]** (Cracherode Coll.)
2	47·6 (*plated*)	Æ ·7	Similar.	Similar; LENT MR COS **[Pl. cxx. 2.]**
3	63·6	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar; LENT MR COS, and on r., harpa or pruning hook. **[Pl. cxx. 3.]** (Blacas Coll.)
4	62·0	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar.

[1] Of Lucius Cornelius Lentulus Crus and Caius Claudius Marcellus, who were the consuls for B.C. 49, we have already described two series of coins bearing their names (see vol. i., p. 504, and above, p. 466). These were struck in Rome and in the East. The third series now described was intermediate between these two, and is to be assigned to Sicily on account of the types, both obverse and reverse. It may therefore be presumed that as the consuls did not return to Italy these pieces were issued during their passage to Epirus, where they were despatched by Pompey from Brundusium in charge of a considerable portion of his army (Caesar, *Bell. civ.*, i. 25; Plutarch, *Pompeius*, 62; Appian, *Bell. civ.*, ii. 39; Dion Cassius, xli. 12). As none of the historians mention the circumstance that the consuls broke their journey in Sicily on their way eastwards, some doubt has been expressed whether these coins were actually struck in that island, and whether they relate to contemporary events. Eckhel (*Doct. num. vet.*, t. v., p. 182) remarks that although these denarii bear Sicilian types it does not follow that they were struck in the island, and the designs may be intended to refer to the capture of Syracuse by M. Claudius Marcellus in B.C. 212, the ancestor of the consul of B.C. 49. As, however, the coins of the consuls assigned to Greece and Asia Minor bear types which associate them with their places of mintage, it seems only reasonable to apply the same conditions to the above pieces, and to conclude that the consuls made a short stay in Sicily on their way to Greece. Of this visit these coins would be a memorial.

The triskelis or triquetra on the obverse is similar to that seen on the early coins of Syracuse (Head, *Coinage of Syracuse*, pl. viii., nos. 7, 8), and the figure of Jupiter on the reverse is claimed to be a copy of the famous statue of Zeus Eleutherios, by Myron, which was set up by the Syracusans as a memorial of their freedom in B.C. 460 (see above, p. 467, note). The harpa was the weapon with which Jupiter wounded Typhon (Apollod., i. 6). It

PERIOD II.

Circ. B.C. 47; A.U.C. 707

No.	*Weight*	*Metal and Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
			A. ALLIENVS	
			(AULUS ALLIENUS[1])	
			Denarius[2]	
5	60·0	*AR* ·75	Bust of Venus r., with slight drapery, wearing diadem; hair rolled back, collected into a knot behind, and falling in two locks down her neck; around, C·CAE SAR IMP · COS · ITER (*Imperator, consul iterum*).	The hero, Trinacrus, naked but for his mantle, which is wrapped around his l. arm, standing l., his r. foot resting on a prow and his r. arm on his knee; in r. hand he holds the triskelis; around, A·ALLIENVS PRO · COS (*Proconsul*). **[Pl. cxx. 4.]** (Nott)
6	58·0	*AR* ·7	Similar; more drapery shown.	Similar. (Blacas Coll.)

may, however, in this instance relate to the corn-producing districts of Sicily. These coins may have been issued under the superintendence of the quaestor urbanus Cn. Nerius, who struck at the Roman mint other pieces bearing the consuls' names, and possibly those also which are attributed to Apollonia in Illyricum (see above, p. 466). In the first issue, that of the Roman mint (see vol. i., p. 504), we meet with the harpa in connection with the head of Saturn, and in the second, that of Apollonia, the type of Jupiter is reproduced, but for the harpa is substituted an altar.

There is a hybrid consisting of the reverse of the denarius, no. 3, and of the obverse of that of Faustus Sulla with head of Diana, as vol. i., p. 471, no. 3824 (Babelon, vol. i., p. 426).

[1] Aulus Allienus was a legate of Cicero in Asia, B.C. 60, and praetor, B.C. 49 (Cicero, *ad Quin. fr.*, i. 1, 10; *ad Att.*, x. 15, 3). In the following year he was appointed governor of Sicily, and as proconsul in B.C. 47—46 he sent a large body of troops to Caesar, who was then carrying on the war in Africa against the Pompeian generals (Hirtius, *Bell. Afr.*, 26, 34). After Caesar's death he joined the party of the Senate, was legate to Trebonius in Asia, and later to Dolabella, who sent him to Egypt for some legions. On his return he was intercepted by Cassius in Palestine, whom he joined (Appian, *Bell. civ.*, iii. 78; iv. 59). These coins were issued by Allienus for the use of the troops which he levied for Caesar in B.C. 47. They may have been struck at Lilybaeum (see above, p. 557).

[2] The figure on the reverse has been rightly identified as the hero Trinacrus, the reputed son of Neptune, who appears to have been invented to account for the name Trinacria, which Sicily is said to have borne originally, and by which it was first known to the Greeks (Hill, *Coins of Anc. Sicily*, p. 225). The island may, however, have received its name from its triangular form, and from the three promontories which formed its extremities. This was evidently the origin of the triskelis symbol (Thuc., vi. 2; Diodorus, v. 2; Strabo, vi., c. 265). The pose of the figure on the reverse, which is the same as that in which Neptune is usually represented, leaves no doubt of this identification (see next coin). The head of Venus on the obverse was complimentary to Julius Caesar, as the Julia gens claimed descent from Iulus, the grandson of Venus and Anchises. Caesar entered on his second consulship in B.C. 48, but he continued in office over the usual time, as the consuls for B.C. 47 were not elected till late in the year. These coins were struck when Caesar was holding the consulship, but they were not issued till B.C. 47. Some specimens show more drapery on the bust of Venus than others (Babelon, vol. i., p. 138).

PERIOD III.

Circ. B.C. 42—36; A.U.C. 712—718

No.	*Weight*	*Metal and Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
			MAG . ΠVS	
			([SEXTUS POMPEIUS] MAGNUS PIUS[1])	
			SERIES I.	
			Circ. B.C. 42—38; A.U.C. 712—716	
			Denarius	
7	60·3	AR ·8	Head of Pompey the Great r., bare; behind, one-handled jug (*capis*); before, lituus; around, MAG· ΠVS · IMΠ · ITER (*Imperator iterum*).	Neptune naked but for his chlamys, which is wrapped around his l. arm, standing l. between the Catanaean brothers, Anapias and Amphinomus, bearing their parents on their shoulders; Neptune rests his r. foot on a prow and holds aplustre in his r. hand, his l. is placed upon his hip; above and in the exergue, ΠRÆF CLAS · ET · ORÆ · MRIT · EX · S · C (*Praefectus classis et orae maritimae ex senatus consulto*). [Pl. cxx. 5.] (de Salis Coll.)

[1] In dealing with the coins of Sextus Pompey struck in Spain, and in anticipation of those now described and assigned to Sicily, some details were given of the career of the younger son of Pompey the Great (see above, pp. 370-371). It was in B.C. 43 that by the intervention of M. Aemilus Lepidus, the triumvir, a reconciliation was effected between Sextus Pompey and the Senate, who placed him in command of the naval forces of the Republic with the title of *Praefectus classis et orae maritimae*. Later, on his being proscribed by the triumvirs, he sailed for Sicily, seized the island in spite of the opposition of the propraetor A. Pompeius Bithynicus, and established himself there. His forces were soon increased by a number of refugees who had been also proscribed, and also by the slaves (Appian, *Bell. civ.*, iv. 25, 36 f.). The first important attempt to dislodge him was made by Q. Salvius Salvidienus Rufus, the legate of Octavius, in B.C. 42 (see above, p. 407), but it utterly failed, and Sextus Pompey remained in possession of Sicily. It was in consequence of his victory over Salvidienus that the soldiers of Pompey hailed him with the title of "Son of Neptune," and acclaimed him *Imperator* for the second time (Dion Cassius, xlviii. 19).

The money issued by Sextus Pompey in Sicily may be separated into two series: that which was struck from after the defeat of Salvidienus till the outbreak of hostilities with Octavius, B.C. 42—38; and that from B.C. 38 to the battle of Naulochus, 3 September, B.C. 36. The coins of the first series are of gold and silver, the aurens and the denarius. The silver coins have for obverse type the head of Pompey the Great, similar to that on coins struck by Sextus in Spain (see above, pp. 370, 371). On either side are placed the capis and the lituus, symbols of the augurship, which also occur on the aurei of the elder Pompey, struck in honour of his triumph in B.C. 61 (see above, p. 464). On his Sicilian coins, as on his Spanish pieces, Sextus gives his own name, but with the title of *Imperator iterum*, which enables us to fix their date of issue. On the reverse the figure of Neptune relates to his recent victory over Salvidienus and to his acclamation as the "Son of Neptune," whilst the representation of the Catanaean brothers, *sudantes venerando pondere*, may either

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
8	58·4	*R* ·75	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. cxx. 6.] (Cracherode Coll.)
9	58·4	*R* ·75	Similar.	Similar.
10	56·0	*R* ·8	Similar.	Similar. (Cracherode Coll.)
11	60·7	*R* ·75	Similar.	Similar; legend, PRÆF ORÆ · MARIT · ET · CLAS · EX · S · C [Pl. cxx. 7.]
12	57·0	*R* ·8	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. cxx. 8.]

Aureus[1]

13	124·0	*N* ·8	Head of Sextus Pompey r., bare, with close beard; around, MAG · PIVS · IMP · ITER (see no. 7); all within oak-wreath.	Heads of Pompey the Great and his son Cnaeus Pompey, face to face; both are bare, the latter is bearded; on l., lituus; on r., tripod; above and below, PRÆF CLAS · ET · ORÆ · MARIT · EX · S · C (see no. 7). [Pl. cxx. 9.] (Cracherode Coll.)
14	128·0	*N* ·75	Similar.	Similar; but OR for ORÆ [Pl. cxx. 10.] (Wigan Coll.)

refer to the title *Pius*, which Pompey had assumed, or it may show that these coins were struck at Catana. The type occurs on autonomous bronze coins of that city (see *Cat. Gr. Coins, Brit. Mus., Sicily*, p. 52, no. 70). The original of these representations was doubtless the group of statues which existed at Catana, and has been described by Claudian (Hill, *Coins of Anc. Sicily*, p. 206). The legend records Pompey's appointment by the Senate as "prefect of the fleet and of the sea-coast." This title was retained by Pompey on all his Sicilian coins. The formula EX S.C. (*Ex senatus consulto*) applies to this appointment and not to any order of the Senate in reference to the issue of the coins, as sometimes suggested. A variety of no. 11 reads S.C. for EX S.C. (Babelon, vol. ii., p. 354, no. 26).

This denarius was restored by Trajan (Babelon, vol. ii., p. 582, no. 41).

[1] The date of issue of these aurei is somewhat uncertain. Count de Salis had placed it at some time during B.C. 42—36, the outside limits for the coins of Sextus Pompey struck in Sicily. It is, however, most probable that they were issued soon after the battle with Salvidienus, as Pompey may have considered that by this victory he had not only saved the lives of those who had taken refuge in Sicily from the proscriptions of the triumvirs, but had also redeemed his oath to avenge the deaths of his father and brother. It is for these reasons that Pompey caused the oak-wreath to be placed on the obverse as a sign or token that he had preserved the lives of his fellow citizens, and that he depicted the tripod on the reverse in conjunction with the portraits of his father and brother as denoting the fulfilment of his oath.

These aurei are specially interesting, as they supply the only identified portraits of Sextus and Cnaeus Pompey. That of Sextus is most striking. It shows a large round head with a slightly retreating forehead and a prominent brow. The hair is thick, smooth, and arranged in rolls, and the beard short and curly, and covering the cheek. It is in strong contrast to that of his brother, with its high-arched skull, wig-like hair, slightly aquiline nose, and thin,

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			SERIES II.	
			Circ. B.C. 38—36; A.U.C. 716—718[1]	
			Denarius	
			Type I.	
15	62·3	AR ·8	Head of Neptune r., bound with diadem, hair and beard in long curly locks; behind his shoulder, trident; around, MAG·PIVS·IMP·ITER (see no. 7).	A naval trophy placed on an anchor and with a trident above the helmet; the arms are composed of the stem of a prow and an aplustre, and the lower part of the heads of two marine monsters, Scylla and Charybdis; around, PRÆF·CLAS·ET·ORÆ·MARI·EX·S·C (see no. 7). **[Pl. cxx. 11.]** (Cracherode Coll.)

sparse beard covering only the lower part of the cheek (Bernoulli, *Röm. Ikon*, pt. i., pp. 224-226). From their portraits the two brothers must have been of quite different characters; the one, though rough and uncultured, yet resolute and determined (Vell. Paterc., ii. 73), the other weak and vacillating.

There is a forgery similar to these aurei, but having on the obverse the portrait of Pompey the Great, and on the reverse those of Sextus and Cnaeus Pompey face to face, both without beards; behind the head on the right is a one-handled jug (*capis*) instead of a tripod. An example is in the Gotha collection. It is described by Von Sallet (*Zeit. f. Num.*, 1879, p. 59) and figured by Bahrfeldt (*Num. Zeit.*, 1896, pl. x., no. 232). There exists also a Becker forgery, which is a close copy of the original piece (Bahrfeldt, *loc. cit.*, no. 233).

Whilst on the subject of forgeries we may mention another one which exists in gold in the Museo Archeologico at Florence. It has on the obverse the head of Sextus Pompey to left, bare; before, S; behind, POM; and on the reverse a galley with sail and oars; above, the triskelis (wt., 17·7 grs.; size, ·5 in.). This piece was considered genuine by Eckhel (*Doct. num. vet.*, t. vi., p. 30), by Riccio (*Mon. fam. rom.*, p. 184), and by Cohen (*Mon. rép. rom.*, p. 264, no. 28). Mommsen (*Hist. mon. rom.*, t. ii., p. 538, note), however, condemned it as a forgery, remarking, "Elle semble fausse ou du moins d'une authenticité bien douteuse, quand on pense à la désignation inouïe pour ces temps du prénom de Sextus par une simple S." Babelon (vol. ii., p. 355, no. 31, note) and Milani (*Riv. Ital.*, 1895, p. 379) both plead for its genuineness, the former remarking, "que l'épigraphie numismatique s'écarte souvent des règles de l'épigraphie lapidaire." Milani considers it to have been of the current value of 20 sestertii. On the other hand Bahrfeldt (*Num. Zeit.*, 1897, p. 55), who gives an enlarged illustration of the coin, not only endorses Mommsen's opinion, but adds other reasons for condemning it as a forgery of the 17th century—the form of the letter P, which, he says, is never closed at this time, the dissimilarity of the portrait to those on other coins of Pompey, and the fact that there is a piece of the same type and struck from the same dies in the Gotha cabinet, but of silver. Bahrfeldt's objection as to the closed P unfortunately cannot be sustained, as on the aurei in the National Collection (nos. 13, 14), and on some of the denarii, this letter is of that form. It is certainly most unusual. Though we have not had an opportunity of examining the coin we are disposed to accept Mommsen's and Bahrfeldt's opinion, since its fabric and weight alone make it impossible for it to be genuine.

There is a considerable series of bronze coins which are only found in Sicily, and which were struck about this time, and perhaps during B.C. 38—36, by Sextus Pompey for the use of the Celtiberian population in the island. They have for obverse types a male bearded head or head of Pallas, and for those of the reverse a warrior on horseback or a galloping horse only, and the legend, HISPANORVM. The reverse types are copied from the *argentum Oscense* then still current in Spain. Fröhner (*Rev. Num.*, 1908, pp. 15-17) has published two such pieces recently found in Sicily of this series. They have on the obverse a male head, bare, and the legend, C. IVNI. LEG. SIC.; and on the reverse a horseman and the legend, HISPANORVM. This C. Junius was doubtless a legate of Pompey in Sicily, and these coins were, we may conclude, specially struck for his Spanish recruits.

[1] It was in the summer of B.C. 38 that the final struggle began between Octavius and

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
16	59·9	*R* ·75	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. cxx. 12.] (de Salis Coll.)
17	59·0	*R* ·75	Similar.	Similar.
			Type II.	
18	59·7	*R* ·75	The Pharos of Messana with two windows and a balcony, surmounted by a figure of Neptune wearing helmet, leaning with r. hand on his trident, and resting his l. foot on a prow; his l. hand grasps a rudder; before the Pharos is a galley, in the prow of which is a legionary eagle, placed on a tripod; and in the stern, which is ornamented with the aplustre, is a trident, a staff with flag, and a grappling-iron; around, MAG · PI VS · IMP · ITER	The monster Scylla l., wielding with violence a rudder with both hands; her body terminates in two fish-tails and the foreparts of three dogs; around, PRÆF · CLAS · ET · ORÆ · MARIT · EX · S · C [Pl. cxx. 13.]
19	59·6	*R* ·7	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. cxx. 14.] (de Salis Coll.)

Sextus Pompey, which culminated in the defeat of the latter at the battle of Naulochus, 3 September, B.C. 36. The war opened disastrously for Octavius. In the first sea-fight off Cumae, neither side could claim any decided victory, though the Pompeians held the advantage. The second engagement was off the Scyllean promontory, in which the fleet of Octavius suffered severely. This disaster was followed the next day by a violent storm, which the experienced mariners of Pompey managed to avoid, but which further reduced the sea forces of Octavius. It was at this juncture that Octavius, having solicited the aid of Antony (see above, pp. 512, 513), and having summoned Agrippa to his assistance, was thus enabled to bring the war to a successful issue.

These denarii, from their types, were evidently struck to commemorate these successes of Pompey and the disasters which befell the enemy. The head of Neptune was no doubt adopted by Pompey as a record of the title of "Son of Neptune," which he had received in the previous war, and the trophy and figure of Scylla point to the region in which the second battle took place, and where the tempest destroyed the fleet of Octavius. The representation of Scylla tallies with the descriptions given of her by ancient writers. According to the Homeric version (*Od.*, xii. 85 f.) she was a fearful monster, yelping like a dog, with twelve feet, six long necks, and on each a hideous head, and therein three rows of teeth set thick and close, with which she devoured those whom she had snatched from the deep or from the ships. Other traditions describe her as a monster with six heads of different animals, or with only three heads, but the hybrid figure on the coin is more in conformity with the tradition that originally she was a beautiful maiden, who was beloved by the marine god Glaucus, but through jealousy was metamorphosed by Circe in such a manner that the upper part of her body remained that of a woman, whilst the lower part was changed into the tail of a fish or serpent surrounded by dogs (Ovid., *Met.*, xiii. 732 f., 905; xiv. 36 f.). The pharos is that which stood at the entrance of the harbour of Messana, opposite to the fatal rock Scylla, and which served as a warning to mariners to avoid Charybdis. It was in the harbour of Messana that the greater part of the fleet of Pompey took shelter during the tempest which was so fatal to the ships of Octavius.

There is a hybrid consisting of the obverse of no. 15, and of the reverse of the denarius of Mark Antony, with a military trophy with prow and shield, and the legend IMP · ITER. (see above, p. 510, no. 149; Bahrfeldt, *Zeit. f. Num.*, 1877, p. 48).

No.	*Weight*	*Metal and Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
20	54·6	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar; legend, PRÆF · ORÆ · MARI · ET · CLAS · S · C [Pl. cxx. 15.] (Blacas Coll.)

Q. NASIDIVS

(QUINTUS NASIDIUS[1])

Denarius

Type I.

21	61·6	Æ ·8	Head of Pompey the Great r., bare; before, trident; below, dolphin; behind, NEPTVNI	A galley with rowers sailing to r.; on the prow stands the pilot, and in the stern is seated the steersman; above on l., star; below, Q · NASIDIVS [Pl. cxx. 16.] (Nott)
22	60·0	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar. (Blacas Coll.)
23	58·8	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar. (Cracherode Coll.)
24	58·4	Æ ·8	Similar.	Similar.

[1] Quintus Nasidius, who is the only member of his gens of whom we have a record, was sent by Pompey the Great in B.C. 49 with a fleet to relieve Massilia, which was besieged by Decimus Brutus, the legate of Caesar. Failing in his attempt Nasidius fled to Africa, where he appears to have had the command of the Pompeian fleet (Caesar, *Bell. civ.*, ii. 3-7; Cicero, *ad Att.*, xi. 17). After the conquest of Africa by Caesar, Nasidius repaired to Spain, where he followed the fortunes of the Pompeian party, but he is not mentioned again for some time. From the above coins he evidently commanded for Sextus Pompey, and probably took an active part in the engagements in B.C. 38. He appears, however, to have deserted to Antony before the battle of Naulochus (Appian, *Bell. civ.*, v. 139), and was placed in charge of that part of the fleet which was defeated off Patrae in B.C. 31, previous to the decisive action at Actium (Dion Cassius, l. 13).

The denarii which bear his name were struck by Nasidius some time during B.C. 38—36. The head on the obverse is that of Pompey the Great, and is very similar to that on earlier coins of Sextus Pompey. The legend NEPTVNI refers to the title "Son of Neptune," which Sextus Pompey received in the first war with Octavius (see above, p. 560). The galley, complete with its sail, rowers, pilot and steersman, is an interesting representation of one of the period. The scene on the reverse of the denarius of Type II. is probably intended to represent a naval action, as the ships are moving from opposite directions.

The denarius figured by Babelon (vol. ii., p. 252, no. 3) with the reverse type similar to no. 21, but having for the obverse a female bust to right, before, one-handled jug, and around, the legend RMAONT . A, is not a hybrid in the ordinary sense, but a Gaulish fabrication of which there exist so many examples and varieties (Babelon, vol. ii., pp. 587 f.).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type II.[1]	
	62·0	AR ·8	Head of Pompey the Great l., bare; before, trident; below, dolphin; behind, NEPTVNI	Scene of a sea-fight; four galleys with rowers, two to r., two to l.; below, Q· NASIDIVS

[Copenhagen Coll.]

[1] The illustration of this rare type is from the specimen in the National Museum, Copenhagen. Other examples are in the Naples and Capitoline Museums (Bahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1907, p. 24)

COINAGE OF AFRICA

THOUGH differing somewhat in its composition, and also in its dates, the coinage assigned to Africa, like that of Sicily, relates to the war between the Caesarian and Pompeian parties. The two series practically cover the same period, but that of Africa commences a little later, B.C. 47, instead of B.C. 49, and continues till after the battle of Naulochus.

The chief interest of the Sicilian coinage centred in the period of the triumvirate of Antony, Lepidus, and Octavius, but that of the African series is more associated with the war between Julius Caesar and the Pompeian leaders, which preceded the foundation of the triumvirate. Individually the two series are not contemporary, the one, so to say, filling up the intervals of the other.

The groups or periods into which the coinage of Africa may be classed are marked by the following events:—

i. The arrival of Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio and M. Porcius Cato in Africa after the battle of Pharsalus, and the subsequent campaign with Julius Caesar, which was brought to a close by the battle of Thapsus, B.C. 47—46.

ii. The propraetorship of Q. Cornuficius in Africa Vetus, his assistance to Sextus Pompey, and the war with T. Sextius, B.C. 44—42.

iii. The administration of Africa by the triumvir Lepidus, B.C. 40—36.

iv. The battle of Naulochus and the return of the legions of Octavius to Africa, B.C. 36.

CLASSIFICATION.—At the beginning of the Civil war Africa was held by the Pompeian or senatorial party. It had been seized for the Senate by P. Atius Varus, who, aided by Juba, king of Numidia, defeated and slew C. Scribonius Curio, the lieutenant of Caesar. Curio had proceeded to Africa after compelling M. Porcius Cato to leave Sicily.[1] After the battle of Pharsalus and the death of Pompey, the Pompeian leaders gathered their forces for a final stand in Africa under the leadership of Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio, Lucius Afranius, and Marcus Petreius. The last two, as we have already seen, had previously conducted the war in Spain, B.C. 49.[2] These generals were joined by M. Porcius Cato, who, having collected an army in Cyrene, undertook the defence of Utica, the chief city of the province. It was on account of this and his residence in Utica that Cato received the agnomen *Uticensis*. The Pompeians were supported by Juba, king of Numidia, but soon after the beginning of the war he was kept in check by the army of Bogud, king of Mauretania, who invaded his dominions. Later he was able to rejoin the Pompeians, and

[1] See above, p. 555.

[2] See COINAGE OF SPAIN, pp. 361 f.

took part in the battle of Thapsus.[1] Just before the close of B.C. 47 Caesar landed in Africa, where he found that the Pompeian forces were far stronger than his own.[2] The chief command of the Pompeian army was held by Scipio, who was warned by Cato not to risk a decisive engagement with Caesar. After several minor actions the two armies met at Thapsus in April, B.C. 46, where, after a fierce battle, the Pompeians were totally defeated. Both the Pompeian leaders, Scipio and Cato, committed suicide, and their example was followed soon after by Juba. The coinages assigned to Africa are mostly connected with this campaign. Besides the issues of Scipio and Cato, we have those also of the former's legates, P. Licinius Crassus Junianus and M. Eppius. At the termination of the war Caesar also struck a series of coins to be used for the payment of his successful legions.

The kingdom of Numidia was now taken possession of by Caesar, who created it into a separate province, which became known as *Africa Nova*, the older province being designated *Africa Vetus*.

Under the arrangements of the triumvirate, B.C. 43, the whole of Africa was assigned to Octavius, T. Sextius, a former legate of Julius Caesar, being at the time governor of Africa Nova, whilst Q. Cornuficius held Africa Vetus for the so-called republican party. True to his principles, Cornuficius not only sent troops to the assistance of Sextus Pompey in Sicily, but, like the latter, he provided shelter and protection to those who had been proscribed by the triumvirs, and who had escaped from Italy. Having refused to hand over his province to Sextius, who summoned him to do so in the name of the triumvirs, a war broke out in B.C. 42, in which fortune at first favoured the republican troops. Eventually Sextius was victorious, and Cornuficius fell in battle. There are coins of Cornuficius struck during his government in Africa, but it is doubtful whether they were actually issued during the contest with Sextius, the period to which they are usually assigned. It seems more probable that they are of a date before hostilities commenced.[3]

Of the events which happened in Africa between the defeat of Cornuficius and the battle of Actium we have but slight numismatic evidence. When the triumvirs made their last partition of the provinces in B.C. 40, Lepidus was confirmed in his possession of Africa, and he at once proceeded to take charge of its government, Sextius being compelled to resign his position. The coins which Lepidus issued during the four years that he held Africa display his own portrait and that of Octavius. These constitute his only issue.[4] In B.C. 36 Octavius summoned Lepidus to Sicily to assist him against Sextus Pompey. Lepidus obeyed, but, tired of playing the part of a subordinate, he claimed Sicily for himself when the war was at an end, but his troops failing in their allegiance, he was obliged to surrender to Octavius, and to plead for his life on his knees. Both the African provinces now came under the rule of Octavius, and we have a record of this accession to his government in the aurei and denarii which bear his portrait on the obverse and the temple of the divine Julius on the reverse, and in the quinarii which illustrate the

[1] Hirtius, *Bell. Afr.*, 19, 25, 52.
[2] Hirtius, *op. cit.*, 1.
[3] See below, p. 578, note.
[4] See below, p. 579.

return of his legions to Africa. With these pieces the series assigned to Africa closed.

Types.—In consequence of the short period over which it extended, and of the fact that each issue is so clearly identifiable from the legends with the circumstance of its striking, the series of Africa, like that of Sicily, presents but slight difficulties in the solution of the types. There is, however, a difference in the nature of the types of the coins of the two provinces. With perhaps the exception of the last coinage, that of Octavius, the types do not actually record contemporary events, but are rather illustrative of the district in which the coins were issued, with a certain amount of personal reference to those whose names are inscribed on them. Thus on the coins of Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio, and of his legates P. Licinius Crassus Junianus and M. Eppius, the obverse types consist of representations of the national divinities Jupiter and Sekhet, or of heads symbolical of the town of Utica and of the province of Africa. The reverses show an elephant, a type applicable to Africa as well as specially to the Metelli, a curule chair, a trophy and a figure of Victory, which may record the campaign of the adoptive father of Metellus in Spain against Sertorius (see above, p. 357), and not improbably a representation of the African Baal Melkart or Makar, who may be identified with the Hercules of the Greeks and Romans. Cato for his coinage adopts a type which had been used by an ancestor for his own money issued in Italy during the progress of the Social war, viz., the head of Libertas and a seated figure of Victory.[1] It was one which was particularly applicable to the existing circumstances. Were it not for the head of Ceres, a local divinity, there is but little evidence beyond that of fabric and finds which would connect the denarii of Julius Caesar with this particular epoch.

The coin-types of Q. Cornuficius are similar in character. The obverses of both the gold and silver illustrate the local divinities, Jupiter Ammon, Ceres, and Africa herself; whilst the reverse is of quite a personal character, as it shows the augur himself crowned by Juno Sospita. Whether this last type relates to the events connected with the early period of the war with T. Sextius, B.C. 42, or to some earlier successes of Cornuficius, is uncertain. The variations in the obverse type seem to suggest that the issue extended over some lengthened period.

The remaining issues assigned to Africa, those of Lepidus and Octavius, call for little comment. Lepidus no doubt placed the portrait of Octavius on the reverse of his money in token of his gratitude for the support which he had received from his colleague in gaining possession of his province, from the occupation of which he had been debarred for at least two years, since Africa had been allotted to him in B.C. 42 under certain conditions after the battles of Philippi.[2] The part played by Octavius on this occasion was, however, not wholly disinterested, as, in case of a rupture with Antony, he hoped to attach Lepidus to his own interests. The temple of the divine Julius on the reverses of the aurei and denarii of Octavius was no doubt a tribute to the memory of his adoptive father, whose murder had at last been fully avenged by the annihilation of his enemies in the defeat of Sextus Pompey at Naulochus.

[1] See above, p. 303.

[2] See above, p. 392.

This victory and the return of the successful legions to Africa provide subjects for the quinarii which are assigned to this issue.

DENOMINATIONS.—As there are no bronze coins, the only denominations are in gold, the aureus, and in silver, the denarius and the quinarius. The aureus occurs in four issues, those of Scipio, Cornuficius, Lepidus and Octavius; and the quinarius in two only, those of Cato and Octavius. The weights of these coins are the same as of those of the central mint and of the other provinces, which at that period were issuing money of the Roman standard.

FINDS.—These afford the usual confirmatory evidence for the classification of the various issues. None of those which were struck during the African war between Julius Caesar and the Pompeians were met with in any of the hoards concealed just before B.C. 49, nor in the later discovered one at Carbonara, which was buried in that year. Specimens of most of the issues were, however, found in those of San Niccolò di Villola and Liria, the concealment of which was *circ.* B.C. 45—44 (see vol. i., pp. 501-502). No coins of Cornuficius were met with in any of the finds of which analyses are supplied.

We have precisely the same evidence in regard to the later issues of Lepidus and Octavius, which occurred for the first time at Garlasco, Arbanats, and in the earlier discovered hoard at Carbonara, *circ.* B.C. 36 (see vol. i., pp. 561-562).

MINT-PLACES.—During the whole of the African war the base of operations of the Pompeian generals was at Utica. It was there that the main army of the Pompeians was massed, and the city was used as the chief place for the storage of provisions, arms, and other warlike necessaries.[1] It may be concluded, therefore, that all the Pompeian coins were struck there. Similarity of fabric and type supports this attribution. After the battle of Thapsus, Caesar established for a short time his head-quarters at Utica, and as a punishment, levied a heavy contribution upon its citizens.[2] It was, no doubt, on this occasion that he struck money for the use of his legions and others.[3] As Utica was the chief city of Africa Vetus, of which Cornuficius was governor, his mint was probably established there also. The difference in fabric of the coins of Lepidus and Octavius renders their assignment to any particular locality uncertain. We know very little of Africa during the governorship of Lepidus; and Octavius did not himself visit the province after the battle of Naulochus. He must, therefore, have committed the issue of his gold and silver coins to his legate, Statilius Taurus.[4] It is, however, not impossible that the coins of Octavius may also be of the same mint as the previous issues.

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[1] Hirtius, *Bell. Afr.*, 89.
[2] Hirtius, *op. cit.*, 90.
[3] See below, p. 576.
[4] See below, p. 580.

PERIOD I.[1]

Circ. B.C. 47—46; A.U.C. 707—708

No.	*Weight*	*Metal and Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
			Q . METEL . PIVS SCIPIO (QUINTUS [CAECILIUS] METELLUS PIUS SCIPIO[2]) **Denarius**	
1	58·8	Æ ·7	Head of Jupiter r., laureate, beard and hair in ringlets; around and below, Q . METEL PIVS	An African elephant walking r.; above, SCIPIO; below, IMP (*Imperator*).
2	58·5	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar.
3	55·5	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. cxxi. 1.]** (Townley Coll.)

[1] The coins assigned to this period were those struck during the African war between the Pompeian generals and Julius Caesar. They comprise three separate issues: (i.) that of Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio in his name only, and in those of his legates, P. Licinius Crassus Junianus and M. Eppius; (ii.) that of M. Porcius Cato Uticensis; and (iii.) that of Julius Caesar. The first two series extend over two years, B.C. 47—46; that of Julius Caesar is of B.C. 46 only.

[2] Quintus Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio was the son of P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica, praetor B.C. 94, but was adopted by Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius, who as proconsul commanded in Spain against Sertorius (see above, p. 357). He is first mentioned in B.C. 78, and next in B.C. 70, in the latter year as one of the defenders of Verres (Cicero, *in Verr.*, iv. 79 f.). In B.C. 63 he disclosed to Cicero the Catiline conspiracy (Plutarch, *Cicero*, 15, 1), was elected tribune of the plebs B.C. 60, was consul with Pompey B.C. 52, and governor of Syria B.C. 49. Though unsuccessful in an expedition against the inhabitants of Mount Amanus he assumed the title of *Imperator* (Caesar, *Bell. civ.*, iii. 31), which he placed on cistophori struck at Pergamum B.C. 49—48 (see *Cat. Gr. Coins, Brit. Mus., Mysia*, p. 126). He commanded the centre line of Pompey's army at Pharsalus (Caesar, *Bell. civ.*, iii. 88; Appian, *Bell. civ.*, ii. 76), after which he fled to Africa and formed an alliance with Juba, king of Numidia. Through the influence of Cato (see below, p. 574) Scipio received the command of the troops of the Pompeian party, but was defeated by Caesar at Thapsus, 6th April, B.C. 46 (Hirtius, *Bell. Afr.*, 79 f.), and in order not to fall into the hands of his enemies he stabbed himself and leaped into the sea.

The above coins were struck by Scipio during the African campaign. The obverse type, head of Jupiter, probably relates to the local cult of that divinity. The same laureate head with the hair and beard in ringlets is not unfrequent on coins of Numidia, &c. (see Müller, *Num. de l'anc. Afr.*, vol. ii., p. 27; vol. iii., p. 59). On account of its peculiar form and similarity to the bust on coins of Terentius Varro struck in Spain B.C. 49 (see above, p. 362), Babelon (vol. i., p. 278) has identified it as of Jupiter Terminalis. The elephant, which is also a common type on African coins, may in this instance apply to Scipio, as it was the special symbol of the Metelli (see above, p. 357).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			METEL . ΠVS SCIΠ : Π . CRASSVS IVN	
			([QUINTUS CAECILIUS] METELLUS PIUS SCIPIO; PUBLIUS [LICINIUS] CRASSUS JUNIANUS[1])	
			Aureus	
	124·2	*N* ·9	Head of Jupiter r., hair and beard in ringlets; below, eagle's head and sceptre; before, METEL · ΠVS; behind, SCIΠ · IMΠ (*Imperator*).	A curule chair between an ear of corn and the head of a carnyx; above, cornucopiae supporting scales; around, on right, CRASS · IVN; on left, LEG · ΠRO · ΠR (*Legatus pro praetore*).

[Babelon, vol. i., p. 279, no. 48.]

Denarius

Type I.

4	60·3	*R* ·75	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. cxxi. 2.]** (Claude Stewart Coll.)
5	59·3	*R* ·75	Similar.	Similar. (Nott)

[1] Publius Licinius Crassus Junianus was, as his name indicates, a member of the Junia gens, and was adopted by a Licinius Crassus. He was tribune of the plebs B.C. 51, and a friend of Cicero (Cicero, *ad Quint. fr.*, iii. 8, 4). In the Civil war he fought for Pompey, after whose death he served under Scipio in Africa with the title of *legatus pro praetore*. After the battle of Thapsus he made his escape to the sea, and as there is no further mention of him it is probable that he perished with Scipio, his commander. These coins were struck by Junianus as *legatus pro praetore* to Scipio.

The presence of the eagle's head and sceptre identifies the head on the obverse with Jupiter, and the ear of corn, cornucopiae and scales are symbolical of the corn-producing fertility of Africa, whilst the curule chair and the carnyx may either record the offices held by Scipio himself, or they may relate to the Spanish war, in which his adoptive father, Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius commanded (see next coins). The specimen of the aureus of which an illustration is given is in the Paris collection.

Bahrfeldt (*Num. Zeit.*, 1900, p. 28, pl. ii., no. 25) mentions and figures a denarius in the Haeberlin collection, which was purchased at the Hoffmann sale, and which reads C. CASSIVS for CRASS . IVN. He considers the piece genuine, as also does Dr. Haeberlin, but he is unable to identify the moneyer or legate. The illustration of the coin shows that at least the letters on the obverse are ill-formed, which is not the case with those of Junianus. As this variation in the legend could not well be an original blunder on the part of the die-engraver, it seems, in spite of contrary opinions, that the genuineness of the coin may be questioned.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type II.[1]	
6	60·0	AR ·75	Turreted female head, Utica, r., between winged caduceus and corn-stalk; below, prow; above, corn-grain?; on r., CRASS·IVN; on l., LEG·PRO·PR; all within laurel-wreath.	A military trophy between a lituus and a one-handled jug (*capis*); the trophy is composed of Spanish arms, consisting of cuirass with sword attached to the waist, helmet, bow and quiver, and round shield; on r., METEL·PIVS; on l., SCIP·IMP [Pl. cxxi. 3.] (Cracherode Coll.)
7	55·0	AR ·7	Similar.	Similar. (Nott)
			Type III.[2]	
8	60·4	AR ·7	The Genius of Africa (Sekhet) with head of lion, surmounted by a disc, standing facing in long robes; she holds in r. hand the *ankh*; above, G·T·A (*Genius Tutelaris Africae*); on r., Q·METEL·PIVS; on l., SCIPIO·IMP	Victory standing l., holding winged caduceus in r. hand and round shield in l.; behind her, P·CRASSVS·IVN; before, LEG·PRO·PR [Pl. cxxi. 4.] (Cracherode Coll.)
9	59·4	AR ·75	Similar.	Similar. (Nott)

[1] The turreted head is symbolical of Utica, which was used as the base of operations of the Pompeians, and where their main forces were massed. It was also the principal store-city for provisions and all munitions of war, and it was there that the fleet was collected which intercepted Caesar's transports from Sicily, Sardinia and the neighbouring provinces. This is indicated by the prow. The corn-stalk and the caduceus are other emblems of Utica, which was situated in the midst of an exceedingly fertile country, producing an abundance of corn, of which there was a great export trade to Rome (Livy, xxv. 31). The object above the head of Utica is uncertain; it may be a corn-grain or some other product of the district. It cannot be a tiara (Babelon, vol. i., p. 280, no. 52). As the lituus and the capis form the reverse type of some of the denarii struck by Scipio's adoptive father, Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius, in commemoration of his victory over Sertorius (see above, p. 357, no. 47), the trophy may also be a memorial of that event, and may not have been intended to relate to the campaign for which these coins were struck.

[2] The figure of Sekhet was no doubt selected for the coin-type as being the tutelary divinity of the country. This goddess was the personification of the violent heat of the sun and its destroying powers. Her cult extended not only over the whole of Egypt and Zengitana, but also to Libya. She is therefore styled the "Tutelary Genius of Africa." Another interpretation has been given of the initials, *Genius Tutelaris Aegypti* (Eckhel, *Hist. num. vet.*, t. v., p. 154), but as the coins described above were not struck in Egypt, that of Vaillant, *Genius Tutelaris Africae*, is preferable (*Num. fam. rom.*, vol. i., p. 194). Babelon (vol. i., p. 280, no. 51) has suggested *Genius Terrae Africae*, but another solution may be *Genius Totius Africae*. The symbol, which Sekhet holds in her right hand, is the *ankh* or symbol of life. In early times this form of the *ankh* appears to have been limited to the north-west district of Africa, but at a later period it found its way into Egypt. It is also met with on the early coinages of Carthage, and on those of the western islands of the Mediterranean (Cossura) and

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Q. METELL. SCIPIO: EPPIVS (QUINTUS [CAECILIUS] METELLUS [PIUS] SCIPIO; [MARCUS] EPPIUS[1]) **Denarius**	
10	59·3	Æ ·7	Head of Africa r., wearing elephant's skin; before, corn stalk; below, plough; on r., Q·METELL; on l., SCIPIO IMP (*Imperator*).	Hercules naked, standing facing in attitude of repose; his r. hand rests on his hip, and his l. arm on his club, which is covered with the lion's skin and is placed on a rock; on r., EPPIVS; on l., LEG·F·C (*Legatus flandum curavit*). **[Pl. cxxi. 5.]** (Cracherode Coll.)

Numidia (Müller, *Num. de l'anc. Afr.*, vol. ii., pp. 81, 120; vol. iii., p. 18; Hill, *Coins of Anc. Sicily*, pl. xv. 18). It is more commonly called the "Sign of Baal," in his capacity as the solar divinity (Müller, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 121). The Victory on the reverse with the winged caduceus and the shield is symbolical of commerce and war. A similar representation of Victory has already been met with on the coins of L. Hostilius Saserna struck at Rome, B.C. 48 (see vol. i., p. 512). In that instance, however, Victory holds a trophy instead of a shield.

[1] We have already met with Marcus Eppius as legate of Sextus Pompey, for whom he struck copper coins during the war in Spain, B.C. 45—44 (see above, p. 372). When acting as legate to Scipio, he appears to have had special charge of the mint, as shown by the legend *Legatus flandum curavit*.

The head on the obverse is symbolical of Africa. It is accompanied by the emblems denoting the fertility of the province, the corn-stalk and the plough. This head is frequently met with on coins of Numidia and Mauretania (Müller, *Num. de l'anc. Afr.*, vol. iii., p. 43 *pass.*). The solution of the reverse type presents some difficulties. Cavedoni (Cohen, *Méd. fam. rom.*, p. 131) thought that it was personal to the moneyer Eppius, and was a record that Hercules, having enjoyed rest after his own labours, permitted the Epii to do the same on their lands near Rome. This solution Babelon (vol. i., p. 477) considers too ingenious, and he therefore thinks that the type symbolised the "force of the political party to which Eppius was attached." This would make it personal to the legate, which was not the case with the coins of P. Crassus Junianus. We would therefore offer the following suggestions. The first is that the figure represents the African divinity or hero Baal Melkart or Makar, who has been identified with the Hercules of the Greeks and Romans. This hero-god was much honoured in Africa, and was looked upon as the founder of the Numidian dynasty. It is related that he married Kerthe, the personification of the ancient capital and royal residence, and that he was the father of Juba, from whom were descended the kings of Numidia (Müller, *op. cit.*, vol. iii., p. 24). The head or bust of this divinity occurs frequently on coins of Numidia, but usually bearing his club on his shoulder. As the dies for the coins of Scipio were no doubt the work of a Roman artist, he represented Hercules in a form which must have prevailed in Italy. It is of the Farnese type and approaches very closely the figure of Hercules in the gallery at Florence (Clarac, *Musée de Sculp.*, pl. 802 c., no. 1984 b). As Juba was able to return to the assistance of the Pompeians before the battle of Thapsus, the type, if given the meaning proposed, may have been selected out of compliment to him. Another suggestion is that as the types of the coins of P. Crassus Junianus appear to record the deeds of Scipio's adoptive father in Spain, this one may have the same significance, and the figure may therefore represent Hercules Gaditanus, who took his name from Gades, where he was specially worshipped and where he had a celebrated temple (see above, p. 363). It was there that Geryon fed the oxen which were carried off by Hercules, the island of Erythea having been identified with Gades.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
11	59·0	Æ ·7	Similar.	Similar.
12	60·2	Æ ·8	Similar; head of Africa smaller.	Similar. [Pl. cxxi. 6.] (Nott)
13	58·6	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar. [Pl. cxxi. 7.]
14	56·7	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar. (Claude Stewart Coll.)

M. CATO

(MARCUS [PORCIUS] CATO[1])

Denarius

15	60·0	Æ ·7	Female bust, Libertas, r., with slight drapery; hair rolled back and collected into a knot behind; before, M · CATO · PRO · PR (*Propraetor*).	VICTRIX (in exergue). Victory, draped, seated r., holding patera in extended r. hand and palm-branch in l. [Pl. cxxi. 8.] (Nott)

[1] Marcus Porcius Cato, surnamed Uticensis, from Utica in Africa, where he spent the last year of his life and where he died, was born in B.C. 95, and was the son of the tribune of the plebs of the same name and the friend of Sulla. His father dying when Cato was still an infant he was adopted by his uncle, M. Livius Drusus, the tribune, who was assassinated in B.C. 91. It is not necessary here to give a detailed account of Cato's active life, during which he played an important *rôle* in the affairs of his country, but reference need only be made to the immediate circumstances which led to the issue of the above coins bearing his name. On the commencement of the Civil war, B.C. 49, Cato was appointed by the Senate propraetor of Sicily, but on the landing of Curio, the legate of Caesar, with a strong force, thinking resistance useless he proceeded to join Pompey at Dyrrhachium, was present at the battle there in B.C. 48, but took no part in the subsequent engagement at Pharsalus. After which, proceeding to Africa, where he had hoped to meet Pompey in the spring of B.C. 47, he united his forces with those of Scipio, to whom he entrusted the chief command. He himself remained at Utica, the inhabitants of which city had been spared by his intervention from being massacred by Scipio. Here he was active in collecting provisions and all kinds of materials for the campaign. He strongly urged Scipio not to risk a decisive battle with Caesar, but disregarding this advice Scipio was utterly routed at Thapsus, (6 April, B.C. 46). Cato being unwilling to fall into the hands of his enemies committed suicide (Plutarch, *Cato min.*, 53 *pass.*; Caesar, *Bell. civ.*, i. 30 f.; Hirtius, *Bell. Afr.*, 24, 36, 88; Appian, *Bell. civ.*, ii. 40, 87, 95 f., 99).

Count de Salis, like Cavedoni (*Bull. dell' Inst. Arch. di Roma*, 1843, p. 13; *Nuovi Studi*, pp. 22-23) has assigned the coins of Cato to Africa, but Mommsen (*Hist. mon. rom.*, t. ii., p. 539) thought that they were struck in Sicily on Cato's arrival there in B.C. 49, as no mention

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
16	57·3	AR ·7	Similar.	Similar. (Blacas Coll.)
17	60·0	AR ·7	Similar; the bust shows more drapery and the head is bound with fillet; below and in front, M·CATO·PRO·PR; behind, ROMA	Similar. [Pl. cxxi. 9.] (Townley Coll.)
18	56·4	AR ·7	Similar.	Similar; Victory holds wreath instead of patera in r. hand; legend, VIC R̄IX for VICTRIX [Pl. cxxi. 10.]
			Quinarius	
19	30·4	AR ·55	Young male head r., crowned with ivy-wreath; hair long; behind and below, M·CAO·PRO·PR	Similar; Victory holds patera in r. hand; legend, VICTRIX [Pl. cxxi. 11.]
20	20·6	AR ·5	Similar.	Similar; legend, VICR̄IX for VICTRIX [Pl. cxxi. 12.] (Blacas Coll.)

is made on them of Scipio, who was in chief command of the forces in Africa, and who only, therefore, had the right to strike coins. Cavedoni has, however, shown that Cato's stay in Sicily was of so short a duration that he would not have had time to strike such a large number of denarii (as specimens are even now not uncommon), and also quinarii. On the other hand, at Utica, where he remained nearly twelve months, from the spring of B.C. 47 to that of B.C. 46, not only did he need money for defraying the expenses of fortifying and provisioning the city, but also for the payment of the legions commanded by Scipio (Plato, *Cato min.*, 58). The absence of the name of Scipio, as chief in command, would not be an isolated instance, as Cavedoni remarks, for there are others in the case of the coins of C. Coponius and of the consuls L. Cornelius Lentulus Crus and C. Claudius Marcellus struck two years previously in the East (see above, pp. 466 f.), on which no mention is made of Pompey. In order to reconcile both these opinions Babelon (vol. ii., p. 375) has suggested that as Cato would need money in Sicily as well as in Africa, his mint followed him in his peregrinations. This would, however, be most unusual. Though there are slight variations in the form of the head of Libertas and in the obverse legend, these differences are not of sufficient moment to justify the attribution of these coins to different provinces. Moreover, in assigning the whole issue to B.C. 47—46, we have the confirmatory evidence of finds, as no specimens were present in the hoard discovered at Carbonara (II.), which was concealed *circ.* B.C. 49, whereas they were present in that of San Niccolò di Villola buried a few years later, *circ.* B.C. 45 (see vol. i., p. 501). This last find contained specimens of all the coinages struck in Africa during the war of B.C. 47—46, with the exception of that of M. Eppius as legate of Scipio (see TABLES OF FINDS).

The types of the coins of Cato are all copies of those issued by his namesake, and probably cousin, in Italy at the commencement of the Social war B.C. 90 (see above, pp. 303, 304). Both series contain quinarii as well as denarii.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Circ. B.C. 46; A.U.C. 708	
			JULIUS CAESAR	
			Denarius[1]	
21	60·6	*R* ·75	Head of Ceres r., wearing corn-wreath; hair rolled back and falling down her neck; before, DICT·ITER (*Dictator iterum*); behind, COS·TERT (*Consul tertio*).	Emblems of the pontificate and augurship; simpulum, "aspergillum" (sprinkler), one-handled jug (*capis*), and lituus; below, PONT·MAX (*Pontifex maximus*); above, AV GVR; on r., D (*Donativum*). **[Pl. cxxi. 13.]**
22	59·4	*R* ·75	Similar.	Similar. (Nott)
23	62·7	*R* ·7	Similar.	Similar; on r., M (*Munus*) for D (Nott)
24	61·0	*R* ·7	Similar.	Similar.
25	59·3	*R* ·7	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. cxxi. 14.]**

[1] Though the name of Julius Caesar does not occur on these denarii, yet the legends leave no doubt of his having struck them. He was appointed dictator for the second time in B.C. 47, and for the third in July of the following year; and he was consul for the third time in B.C. 46, and for the fourth in B.C. 45. These coins must therefore have been struck somewhat early in B.C. 46, as Caesar's election to the dictatorship for the third time occurred before his return to Rome in July of that year. As the letters D (*Donativum*) and M (*Munus*) show that the coinage was a special one, it may be presumed that it was struck by order of Caesar immediately after the battle of Thapsus, 6 April, B.C. 46, to be used for the payment of his successful legions. These coins are therefore assigned to Africa. The head of Ceres is emblematic of Africa, symbolizing the corn-producing wealth of that country, and the sacrificial implements refer to Caesar's priestly offices of pontifex maximus and augur. Babelon (vol. ii., p. 14, note) has suggested that this issue was ordered by Caesar to recompense his soldiers after his victory over Pharnaces, King of Pontus, when he wrote to the Senate the famous letter: *veni, vidi, vici*. He also identifies in the head of Ceres an allusion to the liberality of Caesar towards his soldiers. This solution does not quite coincide with the date supplied by the coins, as in B.C. 47, when Caesar defeated Pharnaces he was only *consul iterum*, and the dictatorship was not renewed till after the war (Plutarch, *Caesar*, 51). The coins could not have been struck at the Roman mint, and their fabric favours their assignment to Africa. Fr. Lenormant (*La Mon. dans l'Ant.*, t. ii., p. 310) gives them to B.C. 46, before the triumph of Caesar and his third proclamation as dictator. They were probably minted at Utica, which city he entered shortly after the battle of Thapsus, and from the proceeds of the contribution which he levied on that city, and also on Adrumetum, Zama and other places (Hirtius, *Bell. Afr.*, 89, 90, 97).

Borghesi (*Œuvres compl.*, t. i., p. 237) was the first to suggest that the letters D and M may be the initials of *Donum* and *Munus*. On this Cavedoni (*loc. cit.*, note 1) remarks, "ces deux initiales me paraissent mieux s'expliquer par les mots *Donativum*, indiquant les monnaies frappées pour les soldats (Tacit., *Annal.*, i. 2; *Ann. dell' Inst. Arch.*, vol. xxii., p. 152) et *Munus*, indiquant celles qui devaient être distribuées au people." Mommsen (*Hist. mon. rom.*, t. ii., p. 176, note 3) did not accept Borghesi's suggestion, but considered the letters D and M to be only mint or die-marks such as are met with in great profusion on the coinage of the Republic of the first half of the first century B.C. (see vol. i., p. 167, *pass.*). These marks, which include also numbers and symbols, fell out of use *circ.* B.C. 64,

PERIOD II.[1]

Circ. B.C. 44—42; A.U.C. 710—712

No.	*Weight*	*Metal and Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
			Q. CORNVFICI	
			(QUINTUS CORNUFICIUS)	
			Aureus	
	122·0	*N* ·8	Head of Jupiter Ammon l.	Quintus Cornuficius in augur's dress and holding lituus in r. hand, standing facing, crowned with wreath by Juno Sospita standing l.; she wears the goat's skin on her head, long robe and sandals, and is armed with spear and shield; on the latter stands a raven; around and in the exergue, Q. CORN VFICI AVGVR. IMP (*Imperator*).

[Babelon, vol. i., p. 434, no. 1.]

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and with the exception of two solitary instances do not recur in the coinage of the Roman mint (see vol. i., pp. 411, 494, 543). In such cases the letters do not occur singly, but form part of a series which extends usually throughout the alphabet. As the letters D and M are the only ones which are found on the above coins, and as this way of marking the dies had fallen into disuse, Borghesi's explanation seems to be quite correct. It must also be taken into consideration that these coins of Caesar are provincial, and that mint-marks were not in vogue in the provinces. They occur but twice in the whole series of provincial money, viz., on the Spanish coins of C. Annius Luscus (see above, pp. 352-356) and on those struck in Gaul by C. Valerius Flaccus (see above, pp. 388-390), but these issues were contemporary with those of the Roman mint on which these marks are so frequently found.

[1] The coins assigned to this Period are of Quintus Cornuficius (or Cornificius), who took an active part in the Civil war between Caesar and Pompey, being sent by the former as quaestor in B.C. 48 to Illyricum with the title of propraetor. By his prudence and skill Cornuficius reduced the province to a state of obedience (Hirtius, *Bell. Alex.*, 42), and in the following year, on his return to Rome, was rewarded by Caesar with the praetorship and augurship (*C. I. L.*, vi., 1300 *a*). He also formed an intimate friendship with Cicero, who addressed him as his *collega* in the augurship (*ad. Fam.*, xii., 17, 18). In B.C. 46 we find Cornuficius in Cilicia, of which province he was appointed governor by Caesar. This office he did not hold long, for two years later on the death of Caesar he was appointed propraetor of

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Denarius	
			Type I.	
26	54·0	AR ·75	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. cxxi. 15.]** (Nott)
			Type II.	
27	56·2	AR ·75	Head of Ceres l., wearing corn-wreath and earring.	Similar. **[Pl. cxxi. 16.]** (Nott)
			Type III.	
28	57·6	AR ·75	Bust of Africa r., draped, and wearing on her head elephant's skin; behind her shoulders, two spears.	Similar. **[Pl. cxxii. 1.]** (Cohen Coll.)

Africa Vetus, and being of the senatorial party, not only gave shelter to those who had been proscribed by the triumvirs, but also sent ships to assist Sextus Pompey. Having refused to give up his province to T. Sextius, the governor of Africa Nova, who claimed it for the triumvirs, a war broke out between them in B.C. 42, the details of which are differently related by Appian and Dion Cassius (Appian, *Bell. civ.*, iv. 53-56; Dion Cassius, xlviii. 21). At first Cornuficius was successful and compelled Sextius to retreat into his own province. To complete this success Cornuficius now invaded the territory of his rival, but his army being surrounded near Utica, he himself was slain. For a full account of Cornuficius, his career and relations with Cicero, see L. Ganter, *Philologus*, vol. 53, pp. 132 f.

The coins of Cornuficius give him the title of *Augur* and *Imperator*. The date of his appointment as augur is known, and it is generally thought that he did not receive the title of *Imperator* till after his successes against Sextius in B.C. 42 (Pauly-Wissowa, vol. iv., pt. i., p. 1627; Babelon, vol. i., p. 434; L. Ganter, *op. cit.*, p. 145), but as there was so short an interval between his success and his defeat, there seems hardly time for the issue of a coinage which offers so many varieties of the obverse type. It is therefore possible that he was acclaimed *Imperator* at an earlier period in his career, not improbably for his successes in Illyricum, where he captured several important forts, and also seized the Pompeian fleet under the command of M. Octavius (Hirtius, *Bell. Alex.*, 42, 44).

The obverse types of heads of Jupiter Ammon, Ceres and Africa, are frequently met with on coins of Mauretania and other districts of Africa. They refer to the local cult of those divinities. A symbolical allusion to the name of Cornuficius in the head of Jupiter Ammon is scarcely admissible (Babelon, vol. i., p. 434). The objects behind the bust of Africa are clearly two spears and not a *virga* as has been suggested (Babelon, vol. i., p. 435, no. 4). On the reverse Cornuficius is shown in his capacity of augur, crowned by Juno Sospita, who is accompanied by the raven (*cornix*), which was sacred to her (Livy, xxiv. 10—*Lanuvii in aede intus Sospitae Junonis corvos nidum fecisse*). Amongst the prodigies which occurred in the winter of B.C. 217, on the approach of Hannibal, Livy (xxi. 62) relates that the spear of Juno at Lanuvium moved itself, and a raven flew down into her temple and perched *in ipso pulvinario*, i.e., on the couch, whereon the goddess was supposed to recline at a lectisternium. The presence of the goddess appears only to be accounted for in the circumstance that Q. Cornuficius was a native of Lanuvium, where the principal sanctuary of the goddess was situated.

Only two specimens of the aureus of Cornuficius are known. Both came from the Brescello find, and they are in the Paris and Vienna collections. The weight given is that of the Paris specimen. His denarii are also rare, and no specimens occurred in any of the finds of which analyses have been given (see TABLES OF FINDS). There exist several forgeries of the denarius of Type II., with head of Ceres to right or left (*Num. Zeit.*, 1871, p. 111; *Riv. Ital.*, 1900, p. 154). An example of such a forgery in the British Museum has a diademed female head to right on the obverse. The type with head of Ceres was restored by Trajan (Babelon, vol. ii., p. 576, no. 19).

PERIOD III.[1]

Circ. B.C. 40—36; A.U.C. 714—718

No.	*Weight*	*Metal and Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
			Circ. B.C. 40—37; A.U.C. 714—717	
			LEPIDVS: CAESAR	
			([MARCUS AEMILIUS] LEPIDUS; [CAIUS] CAESAR)	
			Denarius[2]	
29	58·7	*R* ·8	Head of Lepidus r., bare; around, LEPIDVS · PONT · MAX · III · V · R · P · C · (*Pontifex maximus, triumvir reipublicae constituendae*).	Head of Octavius r., bare; around, CAESAR · IMP · III · VIR · R · P · C · (*Imperator, triumvir reipublicae constituendae*). **[Pl. cxxii. 2.]**
30	57·6	*R* ·8	Similar.	Similar; legend reading, IMᖴ for IMP **[Pl. cxxii. 3.]** (Blacas Coll.)
31	57·7	*R* ·7	Similar; legend reading, III · VR · R · P · C for III · V · R · P · C	Similar. (de Salis Coll.)

[1] The coins of this period are those struck by Lepidus as administrator of the province of Africa, and those of Octavius issued after the battle of Naulochus.

[2] The fabric of these denarii is unlike that of any others of the series of the triumvirs. In style the portraits of Lepidus and Octavius are somewhat similar to those which are met with on the early coins assigned to Gaul (see pl. ciii., no. 11; civ., no. 1). The attribution of these coins to Africa affords some clue to their date. After the battles of Philippi, when Octavius and Antony made a new division of the State, Lepidus, who was then consul, was temporarily deprived of his provinces, being suspected of having treasonable relations with Sextus Pompey. At the close of the Perusine war B.C. 40, Octavius being anxious to attach Lepidus to his own interests allowed him to take possession of Africa, which had been allotted conditionally to him in B.C. 42. The triumvirate was renewed in the summer of B.C. 37, and Lepidus remained in his province till the following year, when he was summoned by Octavius to give him assistance in the war against Sextus Pompey. Failing in his attempt after the battle of Naulochus to seize Sicily, he was deprived by Octavius of his province and of all his dignities, except that of pontifex maximus, and banished to Circeii, where he survived till B.C. 13. If correctly attributed to Africa these coins must have been issued some time between B.C. 40—36, but as no mention is made of the renewal of the triumvirate we may further limit them to B.C. 40—37. The above data sufficiently explain the motive which caused Lepidus to use the portrait of Octavius for the reverse type of his coins to the exclusion of that of Antony. Coins of similar type were struck about the same time by Antony and Octavius in the East and in Gaul, giving each other's portraits but not that of Lepidus. Babelon (vol. i., p. 132) has assigned these coins to B.C. 43, soon after the constitution of the triumvirate. If they are to be given to that period they must have been struck in Narbonese Gaul or in Spain, which provinces were allotted to Lepidus in the first instance. The later date is supported by the evidence of finds, as these coins occur for the first time in those unearthed at Garlasco, Arbanats, and Carbonara (I.), which were buried *circ.* B.C. 36.

The unique aureus of the same type as the denarius formerly in the French collection disappeared in the theft of 1831. A variety of the denarius reads on the reverse C . CAESAR for CAESAR (Bahrfeldt, *Num. Zeit.*, 1896, pp. 18, 19, pl. i. 13).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Circ. B.C. 36; A.U.C. 718	
			IMP. CAESAR DIVI F	
			(IMPERATOR CAESAR DIVI [JULI] FILIUS)	
			Aureus[1]	
32	124·4	*AV* ·8	Head of Octavius r., bare, with beard; around, IMP · CAESAR · DIVI · F · III · VIR · ITER · R · P · C (*Triumvir iterum reipublicae constituendae*).	Temple of four columns, within which is the statue of Julius Caesar holding the augur's staff (*lituus*); the pediment of the temple is ornamented with a star, and the frieze is inscribed, DIVO · IVL (*Divo Julio*); on the l. is a lighted altar; around, COS · ITER · ET · TER · DESIG · (*Consul iterum et tertio designatus*). **[Pl. cxxii. 4.]** (Montagu Coll.)
			Denarius	
33	60·0	*AR* ·75	Similar.	Similar.
34	59·2	*AR* ·8	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. cxxii. 5.]** (Cracherode Coll.)

[1] The date of issue of these gold and silver coins is ascertainable within a comparatively short limit by the legend and portrait of Octavius on the obverse. It was in the summer of B.C. 37 that the triumvirate was formally renewed for the second time (see above, p. 414), and it was soon after the battle of Naulochus that Octavius shaved his beard. These facts establish a limit of date extending from the summer of B.C. 37 to the autumn of the following year. Octavius was also consul designate for the second and third time from B.C. 39—34. The attribution of these coins to Africa is based chiefly on their fabric, which, as compared with those of the other provincial series is very crude. For this reason they cannot be classed with the coins struck about this time in Gaul; they cannot also be given to the East, as there all the issues bear the name of Antony; nor could they be assigned to the Roman mint from B.C. 36, as on those coins Octavius is never given his title of triumvir. They must therefore be relegated to either Sicily or Africa, and for style preferably to the latter, as there is a certain resemblance in the portrait to that on the previous coins of Lepidus. When Octavius deprived Lepidus of his province after the battle of Naulochus, he did not go himself to Africa, but sent his legate Statilius Taurus to take charge of the province. It is therefore probable that these coins were struck in the name of Octavius by Taurus, and were used for payment of the legions which had fought with success in Sicily. Though not completed at the time of the issue of these coins, the temple on the reverse may represent that which was in course of construction in the Forum at Rome (Huelsen, *das Forum rom.*, p. 124), and which was built on the spot where the body of Caesar had been burnt, and where a temporary altar was erected. The motive for selecting this reverse type was no doubt to show that by the defeat of Sextus Pompey the last remnant of the Pompeian party had been wiped out, and full atonement had thus been made for the murder of the Dictator. The star in the pediment was the symbol of his divinity, the *sidus Julium*. The quinarius not only commemorates the battle of Naulochus, but also the return of the legions to Africa.

No.	*Weight*	*Metal and Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
35	57·7	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar.
36	57·6	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar.
37	57·3	Æ ·75	Similar.	Similar. (Bank of England Coll.)

Quinarius

38	24·0	Æ ·55	Galley with rowers, sailing r.; above, IMP CAESAR	Victory l., holding wreath, long palm-branch, and rudder; on r., DIVI·F [Pl. cxxii. 6.] (Cracherode Coll.)

COINAGE OF CYRENAÏCA

CYRENAÏCA, in its widest sense, included the whole of the district which was subject to Cyrene, when that city was most flourishing. It extended from the borders of Carthage on the west to those of Egypt on the east. From B.C. 631 to about B.C. 450 it was held by the Battiadae, a dynasty named after its founder, Battus. A republican form of government then prevailed till B.C. 321, when Cyrenaïca was made subject to Egypt by Ptolemy Soter, son of Lagus. The last king of the Egyptian dynasty, Ptolemy Apion, left the country by testament to the Romans, B.C. 95; but it was not reduced to the condition of a province till *circ.* B.C. 74, when it was placed under the rule of governors. There are bronze coins of some of these governors, which in their types are of a purely local character, and were not intended for circulation outside the country. The earlier pieces appear to have been based on the semuncial standard, but the later ones on the quarter-ounce standard, which was generally adopted throughout the Roman State during the triumvirate.[1] The only pieces which come within the scope of this work are the denarii and quinarii of the governor, Lucius Pinarius Scarpus, which are of Roman types and standard. These were issued specially for the payment of the legions, but were intended for general circulation in any part of the State. Scarpus was appointed governor of Cyrenaïca by Mark Antony shortly before the battle of Actium. From the coins it is evident that this appointment was confirmed by Octavius after that engagement, and that Scarpus continued to hold it after Octavius had received the title of Augustus, B.C. 27.

The coins of Scarpus are of two Periods:—

i. Those struck by him as legate of Antony, B.C. 31—30.

ii. Those issued as legate of Octavius, *circ.* B.C. 30—27.

CLASSIFICATION.—The date of the issues bearing the name of Antony is fixed by the legend on the obverse, which commemorates his third consulship and his fourth imperatorship, B.C. 31. The coins with the name of Octavius are divisible into three series: 1, those on which the name of Scarpus does not occur, but which from their fabric and type must have been struck in Cyrenaïca, *circ.* B.C. 30—29; 2, those which give the name of Scarpus, and the title of "Imp. Caesar" to Octavius; and 3, those with the title "Augustus." These last are also inscribed with the name of Scarpus.

TYPES.—The types relate to contemporary events, or to such as were nearly so. The coins of Antony record on the reverse the number of one of the legions which Scarpus took with him to Cyrenaïca, and also some slight successes which Antony appears to have gained just before the battle of Actium. On the obverse is the head of the god Jupiter Ammon, the chief

[1] Müller, *Num. de l'anc. Afr.*, vol. i., pp. 152 f.

divinity of the district. The Victory which constitutes the only reverse type of the coins of Octavius relates to the battle of Actium, whilst the open hand may be a punning allusion to the cognomen *Scarpus*, or it may represent the line of action which Scarpus professed to follow when he changed from the party of Antony to that of Octavius. On some of these coins the head of Jupiter Ammon is retained for the obverse type.

DENOMINATIONS.—The coins of Scarpus are of silver only, the denarius and the quinarius. These, like those of the other provinces, are of the Roman standard, but they seem to be of somewhat base metal.

FINDS.—None of the coins of Scarpus were met with in any of the finds buried after the battle of Actium, of which analyses are given, viz., Chantenay, Beauvoisin, Palazzo Canavese and Terranova Pausania (see above, pp. 5-7, 47, 48).

MINT-PLACE.—The only city of Cyrenaïca which appears to have retained its right of issuing coins during the later period of the Republic and imperial times was Cyrene. Of this city we have a succession of coins, with certain intervals, extending from the time of the Battiadae down to the middle of the 3rd cent., A.D. (Head, *Hist. Num.*, pp. 725-733). Barce was the only other place of importance which had a mint, but this had been closed long before the Roman period. It may in consequence be concluded that the coins of Scarpus were issued at Cyrene, and this attribution is in a measure confirmed by the obverse type of Jupiter Ammon, which is that of the early money of the city.

PERIOD I.

Circ. B.C. 31—30; A.U.C. 723—724

Coinage of Antony and Scarpus

No.	*Weight*	*Metal and Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
			M. ANTONIO: SCARPVS	
			(MARCO ANTONIO; [LUCIUS PINARIUS] SCARPUS[1])	
			Denarius	
			Type I.	
1	48·0	Æ ·75	Head of Jupiter Ammon r.; around, M · ANTO COS III IMP IIII (*Consuli tertio, imperatori quarto*).	Three standards, a legionary *aquila* between two *signa*; in the field, LEG VIII (*Legionis octavae*); above, SCARPVS; on l., IMP (*Imperator*). **[Pl. cxxii. 7.]** (Nott)

[1] Lucius Pinarius Scarpus was the grandson of a sister of the Dictator, and heir to the eighth part of his property (Suetonius, *Caesar*, 83; Appian, *Bell. civ.*, iii. 22 f.). He

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type II.	
2	54·5	Æ ·7	Similar.	Victory, naked to the waist, walking r., bearing wreath in r. hand and palm-branch in l.; before her, ANTONIO AVG (*Antonio auguri*); behind, SCARPVS IMP (*Imperator*). **[Pl. cxxii. 8.]** (Nott)
3	52·0	Æ ·75	Similar; legend commencing above head instead of behind, M. ANTONIO COS III IMP IIII	Similar. **[Pl. cxxii. 9.]** (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.)

PERIOD II.

Circ. B.C. 30—27; A.U.C. 724—727

Coinage of Octavius (or Augustus) and Scarpus

Circ. B.C. 30—29; A.U.C. 724—725

IMP. CAESAR DIVI F

(IMPERATOR CAESAR DIVI [JULI] FILIUS)

Denarius[1]

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
4	52·8	Æ ·8	Head of Jupiter Ammon r.; behind, AVGVR; before, PONTIF (*Pontifex*).	Victory standing r. on globe, holding wreath in r. hand and palm-branch in l.; across the field, IMP CAESAR DIVI F **[Pl. cxxii. 10.]** (Cracherode Coll.)

commanded for Antony in the war against Brutus and Cassius (Appian, *Bell. civ.*, iv. 107), and shortly before the battle of Actium was placed by Antony in charge of Cyrene with the command of four legions. After the battle of Actium Antony sailed for Libya and ordered Scarpus to join him with his legions. Scarpus, however, realizing the desperate condition of the affairs of Antony refused to comply with the order, put the messengers to death, and with the view of gaining the favour of Octavius handed over his troops to C. Cornelius Gallus, who was then governor of Africa (Dion Cassius, li. 5, 9; Plutarch, *Antonius*, 69). It is evident from the coins that the policy of Scarpus was successful, for he remained in Cyrenaïca at least till B.C. 27, Cornelius Gallus having been transferred to Egypt.

The date of issue of these coins is fixed by the legend on the obverse, as Antony claimed

[1] See note 1, p. 585.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Circ. B.C. 29—27; A.U.C. 725—727	
			IMP.CAESARI DIVI F: SCARPVS	
			(IMPERATORI CAESARI DIVI [JULI] FILIO; [LUCIUS PINARIUS] SCARPUS)	
			Denarius	
5	52·7	*R* ·75	An open right hand and wrist l.;[2] above, IMP CAESARI; below, SCAR PVS IMP (*Imperator*).	Victory standing r. on globe, holding wreath in r. hand and palm-branch in l.; before, DIVI F; behind, AVG PONT (*Auguri pontifici*). **[Pl. cxxii. 11.]** (de Salis Coll.)
6	53·2	*R* ·7	Similar; above hand, SCAR PVS; below, IMP	Similar; before Victory, CA ESAR[I]; behind, DIVI F **[Pl. cxxii. 12.]**

the consulship for the third time in B.C. 31, in which year the arrangement made at Misenum in B.C. 39 expired (Dion Cassius, l. 10); but he had been deprived not only of this dignity but of all his other powers by the Senate in the previous year (Dion Cassius, l. 4). It was also in the early part of B.C. 31 that he was acclaimed *Imperator* for the fourth time (Caland, *de Num. M. Ant.*, p. 22). The obverse type, head of Jupiter Ammon, is that met with on the early coins of Cyrene (Head, *Hist. Num.*, p. 728), and the reverse of the three standards is copied from the legionary coins of Antony struck at Ephesus, B.C. 32—31 (see above, pp. 527 f.), on which the *Legio VIII* is recorded. No doubt it was one of the legions which Scarpus took to Cyrenaïca. The reverse type of Victory is adapted from the coins of Antony with the name of Decimus Turullius (see above, p. 531), which commemorated some slight successes at the beginning of the war, and in which Scarpus may also have taken some part. It is not recorded when Scarpus was acclaimed *Imperator*, but it may have been on his taking over the command of the legions in Cyrenaïca. The name of Antony is in the dative case, showing that these coins were dedicated specially to him. The same occurs on some of the coins bearing the name of Octavius also struck by Scarpus.

[1] Though this denarius does not bear the name of Scarpus, it is evident from its fabric and the obverse type that it was struck in Cyrene, and no doubt by his orders. It is possible that Scarpus, not knowing precisely what line Octavius would take after his faithless conduct to Antony, thought it politic at first to omit his own name and so to make it appear as if the coins were struck by order of Octavius. Octavius no doubt overlooked the treachery of Scarpus on account of their relationship, the latter being the grandson of the Dictator. The reverse type is met with on contemporary coins of the Roman mint (see above, p. 11, no. 4338, pl. lix. 10), which commemorate the battle of Actium. Fr. Gnecchi (*Riv. Ital.*, 1889, p. 171) has noticed a peculiar formation of the letter D in the legend; he gives it as Δ, but it really is D. The malformation of the letter is due to provincial striking (see also p. 521, no. 174 obv.).

[2] The open hand and wrist is probably a *symbole parlant* of the name of Scarpus, derived from the Greek word *καρπός*, i.e., the joint of the arm (wrist) and hand. In support of this solution it may be observed that the open hand in connection with the name Malleolus(?) is found on a bronze coin attributed to Carthago Nova (Heiss, *Monn. ant. de l'Esp.*, pl. xxxvi., no. 26; Delgado, *Med. Autón. de Esp.*, vol. iii., pl. cviii., no. 4), and a closed fist (*balio*) on a copper coin of C. Allius Bala struck in Sicily (Babelon, vol. i., p. 111, no. 5; vol. ii., p. 306). In the case of the coins of Scarpus this type is capable of another interpretation, viz., that it may be symbolical of the policy which Scarpus meant to pursue if his treachery to Antony was overlooked.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Quinarius	
7	23·0	Æ ·6	Similar.	Victory walking r., holding wreath in r. hand and palm-branch in l.; before her in two lines, CAESARI / DIVI F **[Pl. cxxii. 13.]** (Nott)
8	21·6	Æ ·55	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. cxxii. 14.]** (Nott)

Circ. B.C. 27; A.U.C. 727

SCARPVS: AVGVSTVS DIVI F

([LUCIUS PINARIUS] SCARPUS; AUGUSTUS DIVI [JULI] FILIUS)

Denarius [1]

	Æ ·75	An open right hand and wrist l.; above, IMP CAE / SARI; below, SCARPVS / IMP (similar to no. 5).	Victory standing r. on globe, holding wreath in r. hand and palm-branch in l. (similar to no. 5); behind, AVGVSTVS; before, DI / VI F

[Babelon, vol. ii., p. 307, no. 15.]

[1] This denarius was described and illustrated by Riccio (*Mon. fam. rom.*, p. 169, no. 10, pl. xxxvi., no. 7), but no specimen has been met with. The inscription on the reverse shows that Scarpus retained his government of Cyrenaïca till after Octavius had received the title of Augustus. Of his subsequent career there appears to be no record, either documentary or numismatic. Suetonius (*Augustus*, 27) when remarking on the cruel acts of Augustus mentions that on one occasion, whilst haranguing some soldiers, he observed Pinarius, a Roman knight, admit a number of strangers, and suspecting him to be a spy ordered him to be stabbed before his eyes. It is very doubtful if this member of the Pinaria gens can be identified with Scarpus.

APPENDIX

COINAGE OF ROME

AES GRAVE

TRIENTAL SERIES

Circ. B.C. 268—240; A.U.C. 486—514

No.	*Weight*	*Metal and Size*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
			Semis	
1	575·4	Æ 1·45	Head of Jupiter r., laureate; behind, ☾; all on raised disk.	Prow r.; above, S; all on raised disk. (Strozzi Coll.)
2	396·0	Æ 1·2	Similar.	Similar; prow l.;[1] mark of value, ☾ **[Pl. cxxiii. 1.]** (Strozzi Coll.)
3	435·4	Æ 1·15	Prow r.; above, S; all on raised disk.	Similar.[2] **[Pl. cxxiii. 2.]** (Strozzi Coll.)
			Quadrans[3]	
4	595·3	Æ 1·4	Head of young Hercules l., wearing lion's skin; below, •••; all on raised disk.	Prow l.; below, •••; all on raised disk. **[Pl. cxxiii. 3.]** (Strozzi Coll.)

[1] D'Ailly (*Mon. rom.*, vol. i., pl. xxxviii., no. 10) figures the previous variety, but not this one with prow to left.

[2] This is a hybrid, caused by the accidental use of two reverse moulds.

[3] A description of this denomination with an illustration from Babelon has already been supplied (vol. i., p. 20). It is a somewhat rare piece (*loc. cit.*, note 1).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Circ. B.C. 90; A.U.C. 664	
			L. H. ↄB	
			(LUCIUS HOSTILIUS TUBULUS[1])	
			Uncia	
5	86·8	Æ ·7	Head of Roma r., wearing crested helmet; behind, •	ↄ within Laurel-wreath; below which, ROMA L·H·B (Borghesi Coll.)
6	83·6	Æ ·7	Similar.	Similar. **[Pl. cxxiii. 4.]** (Cracherode Coll.)
			Circ. B.C. 88; A.U.C. 666	
			With moneyer's symbol	
			DOLPHIN	
			Semis[2]	
7	86·0	Æ ·85	Head of Jupiter r., laureate; behind, S	ROMA below Prow r.; above, S; before, dolphin. **[Pl. cxxiii. 5.]** (F. Parkes Weber Coll.)

[1] This moneyer has been identified with the praetor of B.C. 142 of the same name, who was accused by the tribune, P. Scaevola, of corrupt practices in the discharge of his duties (Babelon, vol. i., p. 548). Being unable to justify his conduct Tubulus went into exile. Cicero (*ad Att.*, xii. 5, 3; *de Fin.*, ii. 16 *pass.*; *de Nat. Deor.*, i. 23, iii. 30; *pro Scaur.*, i. 5) speaks of him as one of the vilest of men. If these coins are assigned to B.C. 90 this attribution is not possible. The coin is here given to this date on account of its similarity of type to one of the same denomination of L. Appuleius Saturninus (vol. i., p. 220). Owing to the special nature of its reverse type, Babelon (*loc. cit.*) is of opinion that it was issued outside Rome, but there is no coin assigned to Italy which corresponds so closely to it in type as that of L. Appuleius Saturninus. Considerable freedom was at this time exercised at the Roman mint in regard to the types of the bronze coins of the lesser denominations.

[2] The date of issue of this coin is doubtful. It is of the semuncial standard, and corresponds in work and style to similar pieces also with symbols which Count de Salis has assigned to B.C. 88, i.e., after the passing of the *Lex Papiria* (see vol. i., p. 285, nos. 2217-2219, and note 1). D'Ailly (*Mon. rom.*, vol. ii., pl. lxxix., nos. 10, 14) figures also the as and quadrans of this issue.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Circ. B.C. 84; A.U.C. 670	
			VER : GAR : OCV	
			(VERGILIUS; GARGILIUS; OGULNIUS)	
			As[1]	
8	195·2	Æ 1·05	Head of Janus, laureate; above, I	VER · GAR · O[CV] above Prow l.; no letter before prow. **[Pl. cxxiii. 6.]**
			Circ. B.C. 58; A.U.C. 696	
			M . SCAVR : P . HYPSAEVS	
			(MARCUS [AEMILIUS] SCAURUS; PUBLIUS [PLAUTIUS] HYPSAEUS)	
			Denarius	
			SERIES I.[2]	
9	56·9	*R* ·75	King Aretas kneeling r., holding in extended r. hand an olive-branch, to which is attached a fillet, and with l. camel, with saddle, by the bridle; above, M · SCAVR; at sides, EX S · C; in exergue, AED · CVR (similar to vol. i., p. 483, no. 3876).	Jupiter in quadriga l., horses galloping; he hurls thunderbolt with r. hand, and holds reins in l.; above, P HYPSAEVS / AED CVR; below and on r., C · HYPSAE COS CAPTV PREIVER (similar to vol. i., p. 483, no. 3876). **[Pl. cxxiii. 7.]** (Hamburger Coll.)
			SERIES I. var.[3]	
10	65·6	*R* ·75	Similar; but in the exergue, [RE]X ARETAS	Similar; below horses' feet, scorpion. **[Pl. cxxiii. 8.]** (Hamburger Coll.)

[1] This is another variety of the series of bronze coins of these three moneyers (see vol. i., p. 335, note 2), the order of their names being differently placed.

[2] This denarius varies from those previously described in reading CAPTV for CAPTVM or CAPT (see vol. i., p. 483).

[3] This variety, omitting the official title *aedilis curulis* on the obverse and substituting for it REX ARETAS, has already been noticed by Bahrfeldt (*Num. Zeit.*, 1896, p. 17).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			SERIES II.[1]	
11	57·0	R ·75	Similar; above camel, M·SCAVR AED CVR	Similar; above quadriga, P HYPSAE AED CVR; and below, C HYPSAE COS PREIVE CAPTV. [Pl. cxxiii. 9.] (Hamburger Coll.)

[1] This coin only varies from vol. i., p. 484, no. 3878 in reading HYPSAE for HYPSAEVS and PREIVE for PREIVER.

LIBRARY OF THE

COINAGE OF ITALY

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Circ. B.C. 217; A.U.C. 537	
			Double Victoriatus[1]	
	98·2	Æ ·9	Head of Jupiter r., laureate, in low relief; slight indentation at back (similar to no. 149, p. 179).	ROMA (in exergue). Victory naked to the waist, standing r., and placing wreath on trophy, which consists of shield, helmet, spear, sword and greaves, attached to stem (similar to no. 144, p. 178).

[D'Ailly Coll., Paris.]

K AND EAR OF CORN

(CAPUA)

Dupondius[2]

(UNCIAL STANDARD)

1	610·6	Æ 1·4	Head of Minerva r., wearing crested Corinthian helmet; hair long and tied with band.	ROMA below Prow r.: above, mark of value, II, and ear of corn; before, K (Capua). **[Pl. cxxiii. 10.]**

[1] Only one specimen of this coin is known. It is in the D'Ailly collection, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris, and was found in Spain. Count de Salis, in a MS. note, states that it was in the Cazlona hoard. In style and fabric it resembles very closely some of the victoriati assigned to local issue (see pl. lxxxii. 5, 6). The head of Jupiter is in low relief, and the hair straggling and the beard in rolls. Victory appears to be naked to the waist. The coin was therefore of local issue, but there is no evidence that it was struck in Spain as D'Ailly has suggested (*Mon. rom.*, vol. ii., pt. 1, p. 100). A description of this coin should have been given on p. 178 of this volume.

[2] Of this rare denomination only three specimens are known. The first specimen is that in the D'Ailly collection (see vol. i., p. 47). It came from the Depoletti cabinet. The second is that which was recently found at Ostia with other bronze coins, numbering about 600, of contemporary and later dates (*Riv. Ital.*, 1909, pp. 11 f.). The specimen above described

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Circ. B.C. 91—89; A.U.C. 663—665	
			CN . ΠISO FRVGI	
			(CNAEUS [CALPURNIUS] PISO FRUGI)	
			As[1]	
	357·0	Æ 1·2	Head of Janus, laureate; above, mark of value, I	Two galleys side by side r., with lofty prow stems and *aplustria*; below, ? Ni · ΠISO FRVGI; above, ROMA

[*Num. Zeit.*, 1900, pl. ii., no. 30.]

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has recently been acquired by the British Museum. It was formerly in the Bignami collection. This third specimen differs from the other examples in having on the reverse the legend ROMA and the mint-initials ♈ (Capua), with the symbol an ear of corn. It belongs to the series of uncial coins assigned to that mint, which have already been described (see above, pp. 208, 209). This piece is specially interesting, first of all because it adds another denomination to the coinage of Capua, and secondly because it shows that this denomination was struck outside as well as inside Rome. It is over-struck on an *as* of the sextantal standard.

[1] This unique coin, which is in the Museo Olivieri, Pesaro, was first published by Olivieri (*Della Fondazione di Pesaro*, 1757, p. 50). It was subsequently inaccurately illustrated and described by Riccio (*Mon. fam. rom.*, pl. liv., no. 3, p. 41, no. 7), who read the moneyer's name L. ΠISO FRVGI. Bahrfeldt has recently given fuller particulars of the coin with photographic illustrations in *Num. Zeit.*, 1900, pp. 31-33, pl. ii., no. 30; 1909, p. 77, pl. i., no. 9. The weight, 357·0 grs. (23·11 gramm.), proves it to be of the uncial standard, and it therefore cannot be attributed to L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi, who, as a moneyer in B.C. 88, issued bronze coins of the semuncial standard (see vol. i., pp. 280 f.); nor to C. Calpurnius Piso Frugi, who did not hold office till B.C. 64 (see vol. i., pp. 450 f.), when the issue of the bronze money was in abeyance. Bahrfeldt (*Num. Zeit.*, 1900, p. 33) has noticed its similarity of fabric to the *asses* of C. Fonteius and Cn. Blasio (vol. ii., pp. 293, 296, pl. xciv. 15, xcv. 5), which are assigned to local issue. He further suggests that, on account of its weight, it may be classed with the coins of Sextus Pompey and M. Eppius, which were struck in Spain in B.C. 45—44 (see above, pp. 371-373, pl. ci. 13-15); but as it is only in this respect that there can be established any connection between the two series we are disposed to propose its attribution to an earlier date, B.C. 91—89, when the issue of the uncial *as* was resumed locally as well as in the capital, and to place it with the coinages of C. Fonteius and Cn. Blasio, which it resembles so closely, not only in weight but also in fabric. Its attribution to local issue is also favoured by the novel reverse type, in which respect it corresponds to similar coins of Cn. Blasio (pl. xcv. 5). The moneyer must remain uncertain, especially as there is no member of the Calpurnia gens of the early part of the first century B.C. with whom he can be identified; moreover the praenomen on the coin is somewhat indistinct, though Bahrfeldt considers it may be Cn. (Cnaeus).

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